

Transformations of Romanness

Millennium-Studien

zu Kultur und Geschichte
des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr.

Millennium Studies

in the culture and history
of the first millennium C.E.

Herausgegeben von / Edited by
Wolfram Brandes, Alexander Demandt,
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Volume 71

Transformations of Romanness

Early Medieval Regions and Identities

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DE GRUYTER

ISBN 978-3-11-058959-7

e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-059838-4

e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-059756-1

ISSN 1862-1139

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A CIP catalog record for this book has been applied for at the Library of Congress.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

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Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

www.degruyter.com

Contents

Abbreviations — IX

List of figures — XI

Preface and acknowledgements — XIII

Aspects of Romanness in the early Middle Ages

Walter Pohl

Introduction: Early medieval Romanness – a multiple identity — 3

Guy Halsall

Transformations of Romanness: The northern Gallic case — 41

Yitzhak Hen

Compelling and intense: The Christian transformation of Romanness — 59

The Late Antique and Byzantine Empire

M. Shane Bjornlie

Romans, barbarians and provincials in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus Marcellinus — 71

Richard Corradini

A stone in the Capitol: Some aspects of *res publica* and *romanitas* in Augustine — 91

Johannes Koder

Remarks on linguistic Romanness in Byzantium — 111

Ioannis Stouraitis

Byzantine Romanness: From geopolitical to ethnic conceptions — 123

The City of Rome

Rosamond McKitterick

'Romanness' and Rome in the early Middle Ages — 143

Paolo Delogu

The post-imperial Romanness of the Romans — 157

Veronica West-Harling

The Roman past in the consciousness of the Roman elites in the ninth and tenth centuries — 173

Italy and the Adriatic

Giorgia Vocino

Looking up to Rome: Romanness through the hagiography from the duchy of Spoleto — 197

Thomas Granier

Rome and Romanness in Latin southern Italian sources, 8th–10th centuries — 217

Annick Peters-Custot

Between Rome and Constantinople: The Romanness of Byzantine southern Italy (9th–11th centuries) — 231

Francesco Borri

Dalmatian Romans and their Adriatic friends: Some further remarks — 241

Gaul

Ralph W. Mathisen

'Roman' identity in Late Antiquity, with special attention to Gaul — 255

Ian Wood

Roman barbarians in the Burgundian province — 275

Helmut Reimitz

Histories of Romanness in the Merovingian kingdoms — 289

Jamie Kreiner

Romanness in Merovingian hagiography: A case study in class and political culture — 309

Stefan Esders

Roman law as an identity marker in post-Roman Gaul (5th–9th centuries) — 325

Lukas Bothe

From subordination to integration: Romans in Frankish law — 345

The Iberian Peninsula

Javier Arce

Goths and Romans in Visigothic Hispania — 371

Ann Christys

‘Made by the ancients’: Romanness in al-Andalus — 379

Northern peripheries: Britain and Noricum

Ingrid Hartl

Walchen, Vlachs and Welsh: A Germanic ethnonym and its many uses — 395

Robin Fleming

Four communities of pot and glass recyclers in early post-Roman Britain — 403

Katharina Winckler

Romanness at the fringes of the Frankish Empire: The strange case of Bavaria — 419

From Roman provinces to Islamic lands

Roland Steinacher

When not in Rome, still do as the Romans do? Africa from 146 BCE to the 7th century — 439

Jack Tannous

Romanness in the Syriac East — 457

Bibliography — 481

Index — 573

Abbreviations

AA SS	Acta Sanctorum
AE	L'Année Épigraphique, Revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité romaine
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
CC	Corpus Christianorum
CM	Continuatio Mediaevalis
LP	Lingua Patrum
SL	Series Latina
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , VI – <i>Inscriptiones Urbis Romae Latinae</i> , ed. Wilhelm Henzen / Giovanni B. Rossi / Eugen Bormann, Berlin, 1876
CLE	<i>Carmina Latina Epigraphica (Anthologia Latina)</i> , ed. Franz Bücheler / Alexander Riese, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1869–1870, 1895–1897
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CTh	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i> , ed. Theodor Mommsen / Paul M. Meyer, <i>Theodosiani libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis et leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes</i> , 2 vols., Berlin, 1904–1905, repr. Dublin, 1971
Deutsches Archiv	Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters
DNP	<i>Der Neue Pauly</i> , ed. Hubert Cancik, 16 vols., Stuttgart, 1996–2003
HA	<i>The Scriptores Historiae Augustae</i> , ed. and trans. David Magie, 3 vols., Loeb Classical Library 139/140/263, Cambridge/Massachusetts and London, 1921–1932
ICERV	<i>Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda</i> , ed. José Vives, Barcelona, 1942
ICUR	<i>Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores, Nova Series</i> , ed. Giovanni Battista De Rossi / Angelo Silvagni / Antonio Ferrua / Danilo Mazzoleni, 10 vols., Rome and Vatican City, 1922–1992
ILCV	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres</i> , ed. Ernst Diehl, Berlin, 1925–1931
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae selectae</i> , ed. Hermann Dessau, 3 vols., Berlin, 1892–1916
LP	<i>Liber Pontificalis</i> , ed. Theodor Mommsen, MGH Gesta pontificum Romanorum 1, Berlin, 1898. Trans. Raymond Davis, <i>The Book of Pontiffs</i> , 3 vols.: 1. <i>The Ancient Biographies of the First Ninety Roman Bishops to AD 715</i> , Liverpool, 1989, ³ 2010; 2. <i>The Lives of the Eighth Century Popes</i> , Liverpool, 1992, ² 2007; 3. <i>The Lives of the Ninth Century Popes</i> , Liverpool, 1995
LP I/II	<i>Liber Pontificalis</i> , ed. Louis Duchesne, <i>Le Liber Pontificalis: Texte, introduction et commentaire</i> , 2 vols., Paris, 1886–1892, ² 1955
LP III	<i>Liber Pontificalis</i> , ed. Louis Duchesne / Cyrille Vogel, <i>Le Liber Pontificalis: Texte, introduction et commentaire</i> , vol. 3: <i>Additions et corrections</i> , Paris, ² 1957
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
AA	Auctores antiquissimi
Cap.	Capitularia regum Francorum
DD	Diplomata
EE	Epistulae
LL	Leges
SS	Scriptores
Neues Archiv	Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca</i> , ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 161 vols., Paris, 1857–1866

PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina</i> , ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols., Paris, 1844–1855
PmbZ	<i>Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online</i> , ed. Ralph J. Lilie / Claudia Ludwig / Beate Zielke / Thomas Pratsch / Ilse Rochow, Database De Gruyter, https://www.degruyter.com/view/db/pmbz
RE	Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
RIB	<i>The Roman Inscriptions of Britain</i> , ed. Robin G. Collingwood / Richard Pearson Wright, Oxford, 1965
RICG	<i>Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures à la renaissance carolingienne</i> , vol. 8: <i>Aquitaine première</i> , ed. François Prévot, Paris, 1997
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
Settimane	Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo
TLG	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/index.php

List of figures

Vocino

- 1 Italy in the late eighth century — 203

Mathisen

- 1 Lead proof: Barbarian families crossing the Rhine River — 257
- 2 The epitaph of Vibius Longus — 258
- 3 The epitaph of Hariulfus — 259
- 4 The epitaph of Maximilla — 261
- 5 The epitaph of 423 CE of an unnamed *civis Alamanna* — 261
- 6 Gloss on a ninth-century manuscript of the *Liber historiae Francorum* — 268

Fleming

- 1 Color-coated beaker from the California cemetery, Hertfordshire — 410

Steinacher

- 1 The *Arae Philaenorum*, 1937 — 445

Preface and acknowledgements

This volume is one of the results of the ERC Advanced Grant Project ‘Social Cohesion, Identity and Religion in Europe, 400–1200 (SCIRE)’ led by Walter Pohl and carried out at the Institute for Medieval Research of the Austrian Academy of Sciences and the Department of History at the University of Vienna (ERC Advanced Grant No. 269591, 2011–2016). In a sub-project, a working group addressed the complex issue of Roman identities in the early Middle Ages. Previous results have already been published in two volumes: first, ‘Being Roman after Rome’, a special edition of the journal ‘Early Medieval Europe’ 22, 4 (2014), in collaboration with Rosamond McKitterick, University of Cambridge; second, the volume ‘Walchen, Romani und Latini. Variationen einer nachrömischen Gruppenbezeichnung zwischen Britannien und dem Balkan’, edited by Walter Pohl, Ingrid Hartl, and Wolfgang Haubrichs, which was published in Vienna in 2017. It deals with the names given to Romans after the fall of the Roman Empire, and especially with the Germanic outside designation **walhoz*, *Walchen*, Welsh, Vlachs, Walloons, which developed a remarkable dynamic until the present day. In addition, a companion volume to the present one on the Transformations of Romanness is in preparation, and will discuss the problems raised by the attribution of late antique/early medieval archaeological evidence to ‘Romans’ (or in German, *Romanen*).

The present volume contains the results of several conferences and workshops held in Vienna between 2013 and 2015. It could not have been produced without the help of many people, to whom the editors would like to express their sincerest thanks. Ingrid Hartl organized the conferences and workshops. Graeme Ward corrected the English texts where necessary, and Lena Kornprobst helped with the preparation of the manuscript. We also would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their suggestions. Finally, thanks go to Wolfram Brandes, editor of the Millennium series, for his support, and to everyone at De Gruyter who was involved in the publishing process.

*Walter Pohl, Clemens Gantner, Cinzia Grifoni and Marianne Pollheimer-Mohaupt,
Vienna, August 2017*

Walter Pohl

Introduction: Early medieval Romanness – a multiple identity

Few pre-modern empires had an impact on their subjects that was comparable to that of the Roman Empire. Arguably, it also affected the identities of its population to a considerable extent, until well after its rule had faded out. Unlike nation states, empires rarely strive for the full integration of their subjects; rather, they seek to maintain difference, which is a feature in the definition of empire given by Burbank and Cooper: ‘Empires are large political units, expansionist or with a memory of power extended over space, polities that maintain distinction and hierarchy as they incorporate new people.’¹ The Roman Empire certainly maintained and moderated distinctions. However, it also pursued nuanced strategies of integration. Step by step, immigrant inhabitants of Rome, Latins, Sabines and other Italic groups became involved, without abandoning their urban or ethnic origins.² This created a model for the later integration of non-Italic groups in Roman political life and identity.

What had once been a clear-cut designation of the inhabitants of Rome was thus amplified in many ways by imperial expansion.³ ‘Roman’ became a label for the multiple ways in which subjects of the empire were drawn into its sphere by the Roman army, by imperial elite identities, by Roman law and citizenship, by Latin language and education, by ‘Roman’ art and customs, by the spread of consumer goods and of ways of life, or by imperial administration and taxation. Those were not simply aspects of a consistent process of Romanization, which we could take for granted. All of these ways of becoming Roman, as much recent research has demonstrated, proceeded at a different pace and only partially overlapped. Their common denominator was not *romanitas*, a term late to appear and limited in its uses⁴ – unlike in Greek, where *romaiosynē* provides an equivalent for our notion of ‘Romanness’.⁵ Ultimately, the meaning of all these modes of identification was derived from the authority of the Empire, prestigious and awe-inspiring as it was. In its extensive realm, and sometimes beyond it, all these emblems of Romanness gradually spread over wide regions that had never before shared an identity or a common designation, and would never again do so after the end of Roman rule. In Late Antiquity, many

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council in the Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–13) under the ERC grant agreement No. 269591. I am grateful to Guy Halsall, Helmut Reimitz and Herwig Wolfram for comments and suggestions.

1 Burbank/Cooper 2010.

2 Farney 2007, esp. 29–45 and 243–246.

3 See also Pohl 2014.

4 Woolf, forthcoming.

5 See the contribution by Johannes Koder, in this volume.

inhabitants of the Empire had thus become *Romani*, in different ways and to different extents. What once had been a civic identity had now become the marker of an *orbis Romanus*, a Roman World, if in fuzzy ways. That, of course, did not mean that all these Roman subjects and citizens had stopped being anything but Romans. A striking example is provided by a bilingual inscription from Thullium in Roman Africa, where the Latin text calls the deceased Caius Iulius Gaetulus, veteran of the army and *flamen perpetuus*, a high-ranking priest, whereas the Libyan text presents him as Ketī, the son of Masawallat, an imperial servant from the people of the Misiciri, from the subunit of the *S'rmmi*.⁶ This is a remarkable case of 'code-switching' between a local and an imperial language of identification.⁷ In Latin, the ethnic cognomen Gaetulus is the only clear indication of the man's non-Roman identity, whereas in Libyan the ethnic self-designation is much more specific, and the reference to imperial service is the only hint to Romanness. Being Roman was perfectly compatible with maintaining or obtaining more particular civic, ethnic, provincial, linguistic, religious or cultural identities. Many of these specific frames of reference had been created by the Empire – new cities, provinces or ethnographic designations (it is even likely that Julius Caesar had invented the umbrella term 'Germans' for the Empire's best enemies, with long-lasting consequences⁸).

Even in the imperial period, few Roman citizens combined all attributes of Romanness. Many spoke Greek or 'barbarian' languages, came from remote and less reputable provinces, practised exotic oriental cults or were soldiers of barbarian origin who despised the 'real' Romans. Still, there was an underlying dynamic that tended to make different forms of Romanness cohere. For a career in imperial service, a good knowledge of Latin, rhetorical skills, some measure of classical education, and the use of visible attributes of Romanness might be required. When (and where) Roman rule ended, this process was reversed, and the modes of Roman identification became increasingly disconnected. Many features of Romanness – language, law, Latin literacy and culture – continued, but their connectivity and their potential for identification was fading. In many social contexts, being Roman gradually lost its significance.

How the ancient texts use the label *Romanus* is therefore inconsistent, in line with the multiplicity of ways to be Roman in the Roman Empire. There is no reasonable way to translate the enormous variation in the uses of the term into a clear scholarly concept of who was or was not a 'Roman'. Uses differ considerably between the disciplines. 'Roman' is a key term for ancient, medieval and legal historians, for historians of art, for classical and early medieval archaeologists, and for classical philology, which deals with Latin, but calls its speakers 'Romans'. Likewise, 'Roman' also means different things between different national research traditions. In Ger-

⁶ CIL 8.5209; Shaw 2014, 531.

⁷ See Wallace Hadrill 2008, 13. See also the contribution by Roland Steinacher, in this volume.

⁸ Pohl ²2002e; Lund 1998.

man, we can differentiate between *Römer*, ancient Romans, and *Romanen*, post-Roman Romans: a convenient, but controversial distinction.⁹ Difference in terminology and approach reflect the multiplicity of the subject and of its modern uses.

Different schools of thought as to what exactly constituted a ‘Roman’, however, have not influenced general narratives of the period. For a long time, scholars have confidently employed the term ‘Roman’ as if it corresponded to some substantial reality of belonging. The concept of identity employed in this book is not intended to affirm this unquestioned sense of Romanness of the Romans; it should allow us to question who was Roman and in what way. It is striking, as Ralph Mathisen notices in his contribution to this volume, that hardly any late antique inscription identifies individuals as Romans or as Roman citizens. Before Caracalla’s edict of 212, Roman citizenship had been a mark of distinction; after its extension to all free inhabitants of the Empire, it almost went without saying. The conclusion can hardly be that being Roman did not matter anymore in the late Empire. A lack of self-identifications as Romans in the post-Roman evidence cannot therefore be taken as proof that Romans had disappeared – these silences may just have continued established practice. Generally, personal identities were multi-layered, from very local to much broader allegiances and aspirations of belonging. Which of these identifications became salient depended on the circumstances (and was ‘situational’). In a Roman World, Roman-ness was less distinctive than other, more specific identities; it only needed to be highlighted if it was in doubt, or if it had been a recent achievement.

Work on what Roman identity and Romanness meant in ancient Rome has been intense in recent years, starting in the late 1990s. Here I shall mention just a few substantial contributions. Andrea Giardina’s *L’Italia romana: storia di un’identità incompiuta* showed that opening up Romanness (and its elite focus, the senate) to provincial elites in the first century CE crucially extended the basis of Roman rule, but prevented the consolidation of a regional or core identity.¹⁰ Greg Woolf’s *Becoming Roman* provided fundamental new insights into the ways in which Gaul became integrated in a wider form of Romanness.¹¹ Emma Dench’s *Romulus’ Asylum* departed from Livy’s story about the multiple and rather disreputable origins of the city’s population to discuss its implications for the development of Roman identities.¹² Gary D. Farney’s *Ethnic Identity and Aristocratic Competition in Republican Rome* showed how republican senators manipulated their ethnic background in order to increase their status.¹³ Louise Revell’s *Roman Imperialism and Local Identities* understood ‘Roman’ as ‘a discourse, a project which each person understands in a different way’ – a point reinforced by her recent sequel, *Ways of Being Roman: Discourses*

⁹ See Pohl 2017, 21.

¹⁰ Giardina 1997.

¹¹ Woolf 1998.

¹² Dench 2005.

¹³ Farney 2007.

of Identity in the Roman West.¹⁴ Florence Dupont, in *Rome, la Ville sans origine*, elaborated on the ambiguity of Roman origins, in which the stranger Aeneas played a key role.¹⁵ Further monographs and several important collaborative volumes about 'Rome, the Cosmopolis' and its cultural identities complete the picture.¹⁶

David Mattingly, in his *Imperialism, Power and Identity*, used extensive material evidence to describe imperial identities as the result of a colonial experience – 'four centuries of foreign domination', as he claims for the British case.¹⁷ Not least stimulated by his contributions, a controversial debate emerged about the process of Romanization, mostly among archaeologists. 'Romanization' was criticized as a teleological concept, and as a way to gloss over brutal colonial expansion with a term suggesting the peaceful spread of a superior civilization. Some of the British contributions to the debate appear to have been written in a somehow Boudiccan spirit. Others tried to fade out the imperial context by attributing the spread of *terra sigillata* and other forms of material culture to object agency.¹⁸ A post-colonial perspective certainly offers valuable complementary points of view to our deep-seated Renaissance & Enlightenment scholarly attitude that we owe much of our modern achievement in Europe to the Romans. Both approaches – regarding Romanness as a colonial layer that can be removed to return to a more or less pristine cultural landscape, or as a process of acculturation that made imperial subjects culturally 'Roman' by degrees – have some basis in the sources, but do not suffice as an explanation.

Things were not all quiet at the other end of the Roman period, where the debate about the 'Fall of Rome', the 'Transformation of the Roman World' or the smooth continuation of Romanness was even more heated than the one about Romanization.¹⁹ However, in all the discussions about the impact of the barbarians, and about the end or apotheosis of Roman civilization, surprisingly little attention was paid to the question of what happened to all these Romans in the centuries after the fall of the Empire in the West. Debates were mostly conducted within rather static categories of 'Roman', 'barbarian' or 'Germanic'. While ancient historians and classical archaeologists challenged the concept of Romanization, there was not even a concept of post-Roman de-Romanization which we could now begin to discard as teleological. For the transformationists (among whom I still count myself), gradual changes in Roman identity were implied by the broader and less teleological term 'transformation'. For catastrophists such as Heather or Ward-Perkins, Romanness declined dramatically after the fall of the Empire, so that no processual concept was

¹⁴ Revell 2008 and 2015.

¹⁵ Dupont 2011; German translation: Dupont 2013.

¹⁶ Richter 2011; Laurence/Berry 1998; Greatrex/Mitchell 2000; Edwards/Woolf 2003a.

¹⁷ Mattingly 2011, 7.

¹⁸ See the debate in *Archaeological Dialogues* 2014.

¹⁹ Overview of the debate: Pohl 2008; Pohl 2016a. See also Halsall 1999; Halsall 2007a.

needed.²⁰ For Roman continuists such as Walter Goffart, Romanness continued to shape post-Roman Europe, so that changes of identity did not matter much within this overall vision of a continuous political culture.²¹ Cultural historians explored all the aspects of continuation and re-appropriation of Roman cultural idioms and remains, but did not care much to what extent those who transmitted these cultural contents regarded themselves, or were regarded as Romans or not. In fact, few people worried about what Roman identity may have meant in the fifth- to eighth-century West.

This issue has been approached from several angles in the ERC grant project, Social Cohesion, Identity and Religion in Europe, 400 – 1200.²² Our interest in this field also took into account methodology. Romanness provides an extraordinary test case for concepts of identity and ethnicity.²³ Early medieval ethnicity has mainly been discussed on the basis of ‘barbarian’ identities. That was an important step, but it had its limitations. Roman identity covers a much broader range of modes of identification. Few identities spread so far and wide in the ancient world, and consequently remained ‘unachieved’, as Andrea Giardina has called it.²⁴ Can being Roman be understood as a civic, legal, political, imperial, religious, or cultural identity? To what extent did it assume ethnic characteristics? One reason why we need modern concepts such as identity and ethnicity in this field is that Romanness could mean very different things in the course of Roman history, and all the more, after it. It is important to have the conceptual tools to track these changes and differences.

The challenge is that these differences were gradual, not fundamental. It is certainly correct to say, as Patrick Geary has done, that the *populus Romanus* represented the model of a ‘people by constitution’, whereas the barbarians were ‘peoples by descent’, *gentes*.²⁵ However, there are instances in which (the) Romans can also be described as a *gens*. This usage spread in Late Antiquity. Fifth- and sixth-century grammarians (such as Priscian) unproblematically use *gens Romana* as an example.²⁶ In the letters written by King Childebert II to the Byzantines in the 580s, he repeatedly referred to the peace between the two *gentes*, Franks and Romans; incidentally, these letters also provide the first evidence for the official use of the title *rex*

²⁰ ‘The wide spread diffusion of well made goods ceased. Sophisticated cultural tools, like the use of writing, disappeared altogether in some regions, and became very restricted in others’. B. Ward Perkins 2005, at 183. Heather 2014, 432–443, speaks of the fall of central Romanness, but allows for survivals of local Romanness, which meet different fates.

²¹ Goffart 2008b.

²² Pohl 2013c; see also the contributions by Maskarinec 2013, and von Rummel 2013; McKitterick 2014a; Pohl/Haubrichs/Hartl 2017; Fehr/Pohl/von Rummel, forthcoming.

²³ See Pohl 2013c.

²⁴ Giardina 1997.

²⁵ Geary 2003.

²⁶ Priscian, *Institutiones grammaticae* 17, ed. Hertz, 2, 181; *Pseudacronis scholia in Horatium vetustiora*, ed. Keller, 340. For this and further examples see the database GENS, <http://www.oeaw.ac.at/imafo/gens/>, which was funded from the ERC project SCIRE.

Francorum by the Franks, whereas the emperor is addressed as *princeps Romanae rei publicae*.²⁷ There is little discussion in our sources whether the Romans were either a *populus* or a *gens*, or what exactly the semantic distinction entailed. Yet the alternative use of these terms is often deliberate. Jordanes called his Roman History ‘*De summa temporum vel de origine actibusque gentis Romanorum*’, and his Gothic history ‘*De origine actibusque Getarum*’ – he underlined that he saw the Romans as a *gens* like the Goths (where it went without saying), not a *populus*.²⁸ Roman origin myths from Livy to the fourth-century *Origo gentis Romanae* balanced ‘ethnic’ elements (descent, migration, mixing of populations) with civic features (foundation, constitution by law, attracting a varied population) and also took the land, *terra*, into account. Therefore, it makes no sense to debate whether Roman identity was political/legal/civic or ‘ethnic’. It could be both, and more.

An adequate scholarly concept of Roman identity, therefore, has to fulfil four requirements:²⁹ it needs to be inclusive (including all elements of Roman identity); dynamic (allowing for changes of significance); multi-layered (taking into account that Romanness was only one level of identification besides more local and particular identities); and it needs to account for the extraordinary tenacity of some Roman identities (for instance, of the *Romantsch* population in the Swiss Alps), and for the low profile and fluidity of others. It has become habitual in scholarship to gloss over problems with identities by saying that they were fluid and flexible; but that is not enough. I have proposed a model of a ‘circuit of identifications’ that may be more adequate for interpreting our sources.³⁰ In my view, group identities are the result of a continuing process of interaction and identification (and not just of a phase of ethnogenesis).³¹ This process includes three forms of identification – of individuals within a group (which has to be accepted by this ‘in-group’); of the group as such through joint rituals or by its representatives; and the outside perceptions of the group. Identities thus are not what a group ‘has’, but what is formed, maintained or modified in a series of interactions in which the cohesion of the group is at stake. Our sources are traces of this process of communication in which identities are negotiated. These recurrent acts of identification are rarely only ethnic, political, religious, civic, military, territorial or other, but they contain several of these modes of identification. Such composite identities are still badly understood. Romanness is an excellent example. Being Roman might mean something different for different people at the same place and time. In order to differentiate be-

²⁷ *Epistulae Austrasicae* 28–42, ed. Rochais, 451–465. See also the contribution by Helmut Reimitz, in this volume.

²⁸ Jordanes, *Romana* and *Getica*, ed. Mommsen, 1 and 53; the title occurs in the manuscripts, although that of the *Getica* is omitted in a number of them.

²⁹ For a similar argument, see the contribution by Guy Halsall, in this volume, and Halsall 2007a, 35–45.

³⁰ Pohl 2013a, 3.

³¹ For the history of research about ethnogenesis and ethnicity, see Pohl, forthcoming (a).

tween these forms of identity and to detect changes in the prevalent ways of establishing cohesion in a group, it is useful to distinguish between various modes of identification (political, ethnic, religious etc.). They rarely occur in their pure form, but their relative weights shift, and related modes of identification might become disconnected. That is exactly what happened with ‘Romanness after Rome’.

Modes of Roman identification

Therefore, I would like to explore in this article what ‘modes of identification’ the term ‘Roman’ may imply, and how that is expressed in the sources. The first question is whether a person, group or practice is explicitly called Roman in written sources, or whether we use a, however well-founded, modern categorization to describe someone as ‘Roman’ (which is of course admissible, but makes a difference). The second question is whether we have any clues to understand what the sources mean by calling somebody or something ‘Roman’, and the third, in what cases some form of Romanness may have been implied without explicitly mentioning the term. What is striking is the multiplicity of ways to be, feel, act as or be recognized as ‘Roman’ even in the classical period. Of course, they overlapped in many respects. There was a discourse of Romanness that linked multiple realities, as Louise Revell has argued, but connectivity was not only discursive.³² What we have become accustomed to see as Romanness is in fact a conglomerate of closely linked ways to be Roman. For centuries, these interlocking circuits of identification were at work connecting millions of people more or less profoundly with the Roman Empire. That corresponded to the long-term success of the Roman policy of imperial integration: it turned out to be easier to become Roman than it had been to become Athenian or Carthaginian. The Romans were aware of that; the Emperor Claudius, in Tacitus’ version of his speech about admitting Gauls to the senate, says: ‘What else proved fatal to Lacedaemon and Athens, in spite of their power in arms, but their policy of holding the conquered aloof as alien-born? But the sagacity of our own founder Romulus was such that several times he fought and naturalized a people in the course of the same day!’³³

No doubt the city of Rome was the core of ancient Romanness: an *urban identity* like many others in Classical Antiquity, defined against a multitude of other cities and against an outer rural or savage sphere. Unlike many Asian urban centres, classical cities were mostly civic communities with their own institutions and some measure of citizen participation. Internally, the ancient *polis/civitas* was carefully graded: according to social status within the city; between the city and the surrounding countryside; and between citizens and inhabitants of foreign origin, *peregrini*.

³² See also Revell 2008, 192.

³³ Tacitus, *Annales* 11, 24.

Still, living in the city of Rome, the *caput mundi*, entailed privilege in itself. Rome could thus become the cosmopolis par excellence. 'Which people is so barbarous, Caesar, from which no spectator would be in your city?', is what Martial wrote in a poem to Titus on the occasion of the inauguration of the Colosseum.³⁴

In Late Antiquity, the city gradually lost its exceptional status; Ammianus describes it almost as a foreign city, debased by vice and corruption, as Shane Bjornlie shows in his contribution to this volume. In the fifth and sixth centuries, it was repeatedly humiliated by Gothic and Vandal conquerors. However, the papal see, and Rome's almost unparalleled spiritual capital as a centre of pilgrimage helped retain some of the city's supra-regional significance. Increasingly, the term *Romani* came to be restricted again to the inhabitants of the city, or of the duchy of Rome. Whereas in the letters of Cassiodorus, written in the first half of the sixth century, *Romani* still mostly designates the Roman majority living in Italy under Gothic rule, Gregory the Great who wrote at the end of the century almost exclusively used the name for the population of the city.³⁵ In Paul the Deacon's eighth-century *Historia Langobardorum*, *civis Romanus* may be used for someone born in the city of Rome, as in the case of the late-sixth-century Archbishop of Ravenna Mar(in)ianus.³⁶ Legally, of course, all other archbishops of Ravenna were Roman citizens too, as long as Byzantium ruled there. When other uses of 'Roman' faded in the course of the early Middle Ages, the urban identity gained ground again. Vernacular terms were coined that more or less restricted Romanness to the city, such as Old English *Rōmwaran* or South Slavic *Rimljane*, 'inhabitants of Rome'.³⁷

Interestingly, *civitas Romana*, the city of Rome, occurs rather rarely in Antiquity as compared to the overwhelming evidence for the agency of the *populus Romanus*, the Roman people, or as the more inclusive formula has it, *senatus populusque Romanus*, SPQR. Romanness could thus denote the *political identity* and the republican ethos of this *populus*. *Populus* in that sense could be distinguished from the lowly *plebs*, a distinction still found in Isidore of Seville: *populus est universus cum senatu et civibus Romanis*.³⁸ The political identity of the *populus Romanus* and of its *res publica*, which was built on law and political organisation, was supposed to have given

³⁴ Martial, *De Spectaculis*, carmen 3, l. 1: *Quae gens tam barbara, Caesar, ex qua spectator non sit in urbe tua?*; Edwards/Woolf 2003b, 1.

³⁵ For instance, Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistolarum* XI, 35, ed. Norberg, vol. 2, 924: The reputation of the English queen Berta has not only spread *apud Romanos* [...], *sed etiam per diversa loca et usque Constantinopolim*.

³⁶ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 4,10, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 120; Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis* 30, ed. Nauwerth, vol. 2, 380, calls him *Romana natione*, of Roman birth.

³⁷ Pohl 2017, 15.

³⁸ Isidore of Seville, *De differentiis uerborum*, CPL 1187, 472: *Inter Populum et plebem. Quod populus est universus cum senatu et civibus Romanis, plebs tantum vilior numerus*. See also Isidore, *Etymologiae* IX, 4, 5: *populus universi cives sunt, connumeratis senioribus civitatis [...] vulgus vero plebs est*.

unity to an initially heterogeneous crowd that first settled in the city.³⁹ *Res publica* remained part of the imperial rhetoric. Between the sixth and eighth centuries, the Eastern Empire could still be called *res publica* or *sancta res publica* by western authors.⁴⁰ In the eighth century, as Byzantine control of the city of Rome crumbled, this term was appropriated by the popes for their, much more regional, sphere of influence. Paul the Deacon allows for the agency of the *populus Romanus* in one instance, when the Emperor Philippicus sent a letter to Rome regarded as heretical by the pope: then ‘the Roman people confirmed that they would not receive the name, the charters or the image on the coins of the heretical emperor.’⁴¹ This was the *populus* of the city of Rome. It is remarkable that the pope relied on legitimation by the people of Rome to back his stance against what he regarded as a heretical measure by the emperor. The political agency of the Romans as a civic body is rarely highlighted, but it always represented an option. When Charlemagne was proclaimed emperor in 800, the acclamation by the Roman *populus* played an important role.⁴² For all of its papal and imperial implications, early medieval Roman identity in the city of Rome had purely local dimensions, as Paolo Delogu states in his contribution.

In a more restricted sense, a small caste of hereditary office-holders and members of the senate could represent the polity. This privileged group continued to dominate the city well into the Gothic Wars, when the senate disappeared from the city and its remaining members mostly went to Constantinople. In Gaul, senatorial identity was maintained until the seventh century, and claiming origin from a senatorial family was obviously preferred to Roman identity in the more general sense. Sidonius Apollinaris, in the fifth century, mostly called the Roman elite in Gaul ‘senators’, and a member could be described as *senatorii seminis homo*, a man of senatorial descent, ‘who every day rubs shoulders with the figures of his ancestors arrayed in robes of state’.⁴³ A hundred years later, Gregory of Tours was proud of his senatorial family and his peers, but avoided calling them Romans.⁴⁴ A Carolingian genealogy produced in the late eighth century traced the dynasty to an obscure Ansbert *ex genere senatorum*, from senatorial stock, who married a Merovingian princess.⁴⁵ In Spain, a man *ex genere senatorum* is attested in the seventh-century *Vitas patrum*

39 ‘An obscure and humble multitude’ of migrants and fugitives that Romulus attracted into his asylum, as Livy put it: Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 1.8.5. See Dench 2005.

40 For instance in the letters of Pope Gregory the Great or in the *Epistulae Austrasicae*: e.g. Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistolarum* I, 73, ed. Norberg, vol. 1, 82; *Epistulae Austrasicae* 41; 48, ed. Rochais, 462–463; 470 (*de parte rei publicae*). Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 4, 36, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 128 (*Eractius rem publicam Romanam regendam suscepit*).

41 Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 6, 34 ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 176: *Statuit populus Romanus, ne heretici imperatoris nomen aut chartas aut figuram solidi susciperent*.

42 See the contribution by Paolo Delogu, in this volume.

43 Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistula* 1, 6, 2, ed. Anderson, vol. 1, 362. See also Pohl, forthcoming (c).

44 For a selection of sources, see the contribution by Ralph Mathisen, in this volume.

45 *Commemoratio genealogiae domni Karoli gloriosissimi imperatoris*, ed. Waitz; see Reimitz 2002; Pohl 2016.

Emeretensium.⁴⁶ In Lombard Italy, *Senator* could become a personal name: it is attested for two persons in eighth-century charters. One of these men, a top-level estate owner, was married to a woman called Theodelinda; their daughter was called Sine-linda, according to a Germanic habit of onomastic variation: Sen(ator) + (Theod)e-linda.⁴⁷ The other Senator was a *paraueredanus*, responsible for transport horses.⁴⁸ In the city of Rome, the aristocracy resumed representing itself collectively as the senate in the eighth century, without, however, reviving the institution.⁴⁹

Roman citizenship had been limited to the city for a long time, then opened up to the allies in Italy in 89 BC, and gradually extended until Caracalla granted it to all free inhabitants of the empire in 212 CE: a *legal and civic identity* that implied certain privileges; among others, full access to Roman law.⁵⁰ In the early fifth century CE, Rutilius Namatianus, using a familiar trope, maintained that by granting access to citizenship and law, Rome had turned the world, *orbis*, into a city, *urbs*.⁵¹ Ralph Mathisen's contribution makes a case that by its omnipresence Roman citizenship had lost much of its attraction, and stopped being mentioned in inscriptions. In an episode recounted in Ammianus Marcellinus, the citizens of Africa are simply *cives* without qualification, whereas only the Roman soldiers are called *Romani*.⁵² However, Roman citizenship did not disappear when direct Roman rule receded from the West, a topic treated in the contributions by Stefan Esders and Lukas Bothe. The Gai Epitome, a second-century juridical text contained in the early sixth-century *Breviarum Alarici*, distinguishes between three forms of *liberti*, freedmen: *cives Romani*, *Latini*, and *dediticii*, among which the first were the most desirable option.⁵³ The *Lex Romana Curiensis* follows that model in a number of instances.⁵⁴ Isidore's Etymologies also differentiate between these three categories.⁵⁵

⁴⁶ *Vitas sanctorum patrum Emeretensium* 4,2, l. 4–5, ed. Maya, 26; see the contribution by Javier Arce, in this volume.

⁴⁷ Senator, son of Albinus, founds a monastery together with his wife Theodelinda: *Codice Diplomatico Longobardo* (CDL), vol. 1, 18, ed. Schiaparelli 52 (http://www.oeaw.ac.at/imafo/ressourcen/quellen_zur_langobardengeschichte/langobardische_urkunden/codice_diplomatico_longobardo_cdl/kopial_ueberlieferte_urkunden/#c3306). See also Gasparri 2005b, 168.

⁴⁸ *Codice Diplomatico Longobardo* (CDL), vol. 2, 277 and 289, ed. Schiaparelli, p. 393 and p. 423. For the *paraveredus*, see below and Esders 2009.

⁴⁹ See the contribution by Paolo Delogu, in this volume, and Arnaldi 1997a.

⁵⁰ For the role of citizenship Gardner 1993; in the early Empire see Marotta 2009; in Late Antiquity, Mathisen 2006.

⁵¹ *Dumque offers victius proprii consortia iuris/urbem fecisti quod prius orbis erat*. Rutilius Namatianus, *De reditu suo* 1, 65–66, ed. Wolff, 5. Edwards/Woolf 2003b, 3.

⁵² Ammianus Marcellinus 28, 6, ed. Seyfarth, 4, 88–94; see the contribution by Shane Bjornlie, in this volume.

⁵³ *Lex Romana Visigothorum, Liber Gai* 1, 1, ed. Haenel, 314–316.

⁵⁴ *Lex Romana Curiensis* 22, 1, ed. Zeumer, 406: *Liberti vero sunt, sicut iam diximus, trea genera; hoc est: cive Romanum et Latini et divicii. [1]. Cives Romani ingenui per tres modis facere potest; id est per testamentum; alium vero in ecclesiam ante plebem; tertia vero ante principem*. See also *ibid.*, 2, 20, ed.

Gregory the Great, in a letter, freed two *famuli* of the Roman Church and turned them into *cives Romanos*.⁵⁶

In the *regna*, manumission as a slave seems to have led by default to the status of a *cives Romanus*. This is attested in the seventh-century Visigothic Formulae by the formula: *ingenium te civem Romanum esse constituo*.⁵⁷ The *Formulae Arvernenses* list the advantages that people manumitted to become Roman citizens had, mainly in the freedom of drawing up a will.⁵⁸ The seventh-century Frankish *Lex Ribuaria* offers three procedures of manumission, one of which, the ritual of the ‘open doors’, resulted in Roman citizenship, now a ‘medium status of limited freedom’.⁵⁹ This was also the only option to live under Roman law. Manumission in church, although explicitly stated as conforming to Roman law, did not confer Romanness any more: it made the freedman a dependent of an ecclesiastic institution – which seems to be an innovation of the Ribuarian Code. The most favourable option now was manumission by ‘penny-throw’ in the presence of the king, which made a free Ribuarian. Options may have been reduced, but one could still become Roman in the *regna*. The practice of manumission to become a Roman citizen was also continued in Byzantine Italy, as is attested by a document from Bari in which a slave is freed to become a *politēs Rōmaïōn*, cited in the contribution by Annick Peters-Custot.⁶⁰ An indirect reflection of a continuing idea of citizenship may perhaps be found in the name of the modern Welsh for themselves, *Cymry*, which could be derived from ‘fellow citizens’.⁶¹

Roman law continued to be applied, and remained more important in the early medieval West than we tend to believe, as is also attested by a considerable manuscript transmission.⁶² Alaric’s ‘Breviary’ (also known as *Lex Romana Visigothorum*),⁶³

Zeumer, 322; 3, 18, ed. Zeumer, 339; 9, 19, ed. Zeumer, 374; 18, 6, ed. Zeumer, 399; 26, 10, ed. Zeumer, 436.

55 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies* IX, 4, 49–52, ed. Lindsay.

56 Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistolarum* VI, 12, ed. Norberg, vol. 1, 380: *vos Montanam atque Thomam famulos sanctae Romanae cui Deo auctore deservimus ecclesiae liberos ex hac die civesque Romanos effecimus omneque vestrum vobis relaxamus peculium*. Previously, as the letter states, they had been under *iuris gentium iugo*.

57 *Formulae Visigothicae* 2–6, ed. Zeumer, 576–577; see the contribution by Javier Arce, in this volume.

58 *Formulae Arvernenses* 3, ed. Zeumer, 30. See also *Formulae Augienses* 42, ed. Zeumer, 363, and *Formulae Bituricenses* 9, ed. Zeumer, 172; *Formulae Salicae Lindenbrogianae* 10, ed. Zeumer, 273. They all mention the ritual of the *portae apertae*.

59 *Lex Ribuaria* 64, ed. Bayerle/Buchner, 117: *Si quis servum suum libertum fecerit et civem Romanum portasque apertas conscriberit [...]*. See the contributions by Stefan Esders and Lukas Bothe, in this volume.

60 *Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari* 46, ed. Nitti, 93.

61 Brown 2003, 129.

62 See the contribution by Stefan Esders, in this volume, and Esders 2007; Liebs 2002; Liebs 2016; in general, Harries/Wood 1993; Harries 1999; Matthews 2000; Mathisen 2001; for the manuscript transmission, Radding/Ciaralli 2007, esp. 37 with a list of 17 manuscripts of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* from the sixth until the eighth centuries listed in the *Codices Latini Antiquiores*; Kaiser 2004.

the *Lex Romana Burgundionum* and the *Lex Romana Curiensis*, which were based on the *Codex Theodosianus*, were put together and remained in force in the *regna*. Interestingly, the Frankish kings never issued a Roman law collection for their subjects.⁶⁴ The assumption in the *leges*, which is most clearly seen in the Frankish realm, is that the majority of the population had a clearly circumscribed legal status as Romans, whether they lived according to Roman law or not. ‘Barbarian’ law codes presuppose or explicitly mention the existence of a ‘Roman’ population, who generally received reduced *wergild*, rates of compensation for wounds or killings. The *Lex Salica* neatly differentiates in its Germanic Malberg glosses between the categories of *leodi*, ‘(compensation for) people’, and *uualaleodi*, ‘for Roman people’. The latter were classed into *possessores*, landowners, and *tributarii*, dependent farmers who owed rent. It is an asymmetrical distinction between ‘the’ people (Franks and other barbarians who live according to Salic law, and their corresponding legal value) and ‘Roman people’. However, the distinction does not apply to the king’s Roman table companions, also classed under *leodi*.⁶⁵ Roman status could also be granted in the case of Roman immigrants, *advenae Romani*.⁶⁶ The *wergild* between all these categories differed widely, between 300 and 62,5 solidi, and represented half of that of a Frank of comparable status.⁶⁷ Unlike the *Lex Ribuaria* cited above, the *Lex Salica* is not concerned with Roman law and citizenship.

Being subject to Roman law seems to have been an important element of continuing Roman identification. People could still become Romans in the legal sense through a *professio iuris*, the adoption of Roman law, and Romanness could also be conferred as a privilege.⁶⁸ That is also attested in other kingdoms. In 731, King Liutprand introduced a clause into Lombard law under which the Lombard wife of a Roman would ‘become a Roman’, and she and her offspring would henceforth live under Roman law. As a consequence, her relatives could not sue them any more according to the clauses of Lombard law, if, for instance, she chose another man after her husband’s death.⁶⁹ That must have been an attractive option for women who sought to escape the *mundium*, guardianship, of her male relatives.

63 *Le Bréviaire d’Alaric. Aux origines du Code civil*, ed. Rouche/Dumézil.

64 Liebs 2016 and the contributions by Stefan Esders and Lukas Bothe, in this volume.

65 *Pactus legis Salicae* 41, 1;5;8;9, ed. Eckhardt, 203–204; Olberg 1998, 69; and the contribution by Lukas Bothe, in this volume.

66 Esders 2011, 269–270. An *advena Romanus*, a Roman immigrant, was protected only by a quarter of the *wergild* of an *advena Francus*, and also less than a Saxon or Burgundian, in the *Lex Ribuaria* 40, 3, ed. Beyerle/Buchner, p. 92.

67 For an extensive overview of the debate about the exact status of these Romans, see the contribution by Lukas Bothe, in this volume.

68 See the contribution by Lukas Bothe, in this volume.

69 Liutprand 127, ed. Azzara/Gasparri, 192: *Quia [mulier langobarda] postea romanum maritum se copulavit, et ipse ex ea mundio fecit, romana effecta est, et filii, qui de eo matrimonio nascuntur, secundum legem patris romani fiunt et legem patris vivunt*. Her relatives could not claim *faida* (feud) or *an agrip* (illegal sexual intercourse) any more even if she was a widow.

The different social meanings of Romanness had never formed a coherent whole in ancient Roman society; now they were reduced to a few formal categories integrated in the new hierarchy of the Frankish kingdoms. As we can see in more descriptive sources, the few top-notch Roman *leodi* mostly preserved their Romanness for a few generations, but in Northern Gaul they gradually merged with the Frankish elite (if they had managed to maintain their status). The others had to be content with their prescribed Roman legal status, which (at least in Northern Gaul) was not necessarily a distinction to assert with pride. This (at least in legal terms) ‘Roman’ majority was hereditary; the Romanness of these born Romans has otherwise left relatively few traces in the sources. Identification as Romans in these categories tended to fade away. Eighth-century sources from the Salzburg area still call a distinct social group *Romani tributales*, which eventually turned into simple *tributales*.⁷⁰ The legal category ‘Roman’ tended to become detached from Roman (self-)identification, and was gradually transformed into a marker of status groups in the social hierarchy, formally measured by the amount of the respective *werigild*. Thus, the universal significance of being Roman was eroding; as Stefan Esders puts it in his contribution to this volume: ‘Legal Romanness ceased to be a universal category but became a feature of one group among others within the post-Roman kingdoms.’ In that respect, Southern Gaul, where Romans continued to dominate regional politics, remained an exception.

However, in seventh-century Gaul, we still have instances of individuals being rather straightforwardly identified as ‘Romans’. Jamie Kreiner’s contribution analyses a small set of early seventh-century hagiographic texts that emphasize the Roman origin of episcopal saints, principally the *Passio* of Praeiection of Clermont and the *Life* of Gaugeris, bishop of Cambrai, born in the Ardennes region. Both are presented as sons of Christian Roman parents, who were not of senatorial status: Gaugeris’s parents, for example, were ‘not the first and not the last in secular dignity’.⁷¹ Non-senatorial Roman and Christian origin seems to be underlined here in a perhaps stubborn effort to insist on the dignity of such a family: *Romanae generis stemate effulsit*, he shone with a pedigree of Roman descent, as the *Passio Praeiectioni* begins.⁷² As we know from the *Life* of St. Eligius of Noyon, Roman bishops could also be rejected in Northern Frankish cities when they interfered with local customs.⁷³ Senatorial saints in the seventh century, unlike in the works of Gregory of Tours, may also receive the epithet ‘Roman’, such as Bonitus of Clermont – did authors

⁷⁰ *Romani tributales*: *Breves Notitiae*, 2, 6; 2, 8; 4, 3, ed. Lošek, 90 and 94; *tributarii Romani*: *Notitia Arnonis* 7,8, ed. Lošek, 82; in general, see Wolfram 1995a, 197–212, and Wolfram 2017. See also the contribution by Katharina Winckler, in this volume.

⁷¹ *Vita Gaugerici Episcopi Camaraciensis* 1, ed. Krusch, 652: *Igitur beatissimus Gaugericus episcopus Germani oppido Ebosio castro oriundus fuit parentibus secundum saeculi dignitatem non primis, non ultimis, Romanis nationes, christianitates vero religionem*.

⁷² *Passio Praeiectioni* 1, ed. Krusch/Levison, 226.

⁷³ *Vita S. Eligii*, ed. Krusch.

begin to feel that they could not take that for granted anymore?⁷⁴ As the contribution by Helmut Reimitz shows, the name 'Roman' is used a lot in the Fredegar Chronicle, so the discourse of Romanness had regained some salience in the seventh century.

One of the ways in which men from remote provinces had always acquired a sense of Romanness was in the Roman army. In the early imperial period, the 'Roman' army was still differentiated from the auxiliary troops of barbarian origin; Vegetius, who wrote around 400 CE, noted that among the ancients, 'the principle was observed that there should never be a greater number of allied auxiliaries in camp than of Roman citizens.'⁷⁵ Yet, this *military identity* had always been open to foreigners from beyond the frontiers, and much more so in Late Antiquity.⁷⁶ As Shane Bjornlie shows in his contribution to this volume, Ammianus Marcellinus identifies mostly military men as Romans. Similarly, as we learn from the contribution by Jack Tannous, the Syriac *r(h)ūmāyē*, Roman, mostly meant 'soldier', so that in the Syriac Bible it could be used to translate the Greek *stratiōtēs*, soldier. A rare glimpse of Roman pride in a barbarian soldier can be caught in the third-century funerary inscription from Pannonia, *Francus ego cives Romanus miles in armis*. Although there are several other inscriptions which link the concept of *cives* with particular identities of Roman citizens or even with 'ethnic citizenship', as Ralph Mathisen argues in his contribution, the text could also be read, according to Kent Rigsby: 'I, a Frank, a Roman citizen, a soldier in arms'.⁷⁷ In Late Antiquity, Romano-barbarian military ways of life could seem quite alien and threatening to the civil population. On the other hand, they offered an efficient context for acquiring the basics of Romanness. As Stefan Esders has repeatedly shown, post-imperial society in Gaul and elsewhere preserved and developed many features of the Roman army, from the military oath to the *paraveredus*, the system of service horses.⁷⁸ Roman military law, which was quite different from the better-known civil law, thus had an important influence on the *regna*.

Procopius gives an interesting example of how a Roman and military identity could develop along ethnic lines when he describes the fate of the Roman troops in northern Gaul ('the other Roman soldiers' apart from the Arborychi):

These soldiers, having no means of returning to Rome [...], gave themselves, together with their military standards and the land which they had long been guarding to the Arborychi and Ger

⁷⁴ *Ex senatu Romano dumtaxat, nobili prosapia*. Vita Boniti 1, ed. Krusch/Levison, 119; see the contribution by Jamie Kreiner, in this volume.

⁷⁵ Vegetius, *Epitome rei militaris* 3, 1, 12, trans. Milner 65.

⁷⁶ See Botta/Loschiavo 2015.

⁷⁷ CIL 3.3576; Rigsby 1999. But see the different interpretations in Geary 1988, 79; and the parallel example of CIL 11.1731, the funerary inscription of a *civis Alamanna* from 423 CE; reproduced and discussed in Mathisen, 2009b, at 147. She was the wife of a Roman *domesticus* who certainly was a Roman citizen. See also the contribution by Ralph Mathisen, in this volume, with a number of examples where *civis* was linked to a territorial or ethnic designation.

⁷⁸ Esders 2009.

mans; and they handed down to their offspring all the customs of their fathers, which were thus preserved [...]. For even at the present day they are clearly recognized as belonging to the legions which they served in ancient times, and they always carry their own standards when they enter battle, and always follow the customs of their fathers. And they preserve the dress of the Romans in every particular, even as regards their shoes.⁷⁹

There was a recognisably Roman military tradition which could obviously also be maintained under Frankish rule; a military unit was thus ethnicized by handing down ‘the customs of the fathers’ to the next generations.

In the course of expansion, Romanness could become a *territorial identity* of some core areas, most likely, of the *Italia suburbicaria*, that is, central and southern Italy, perhaps also of Italy as a whole. In the different origin myths of Rome and the Romans, that level was often present as the most ancient one, prior to the foundation of Rome.⁸⁰ The arrival of Saturn and/or Janus in Italy opened up an Italian line of narrative. Then there is a Latin strand, starting with Latinus, King of the ‘Aborigines’, and establishing the heritage of the Latini. The fourth-century *Origo gentis Romanae* extensively used this material.⁸¹ As Andrea Giardina has shown, this option of a limited Italian Romanness in the heartland of the Empire began to be replaced by a more open vision of empire when Gauls were admitted into the senate under the emperor Claudius.⁸² When the Western Empire dissolved, there was no trace of a particular sense of Italian Roman identity, apart from a growing feeling of distance to the ‘Greeks’ who, since the Gothic wars, now represented the Roman state. Paul the Deacon repeatedly used the ancient poetic expression ‘Ausonia’ for Italy, but that hardly reflected a consolidated sense of Italian identity.⁸³ As Giorgia Vocino’s contribution shows, the hagiography in the duchy of Spoleto preserved memories of classical Romanness in a rather general guise, peopled by emperors, the senate and imperial officials; only after 774 is there a certain trend to fashion Spoleto’s own Romanness as a resource.

However, there were regions in which particular territorial identities remained more or less distinctively, although not always explicitly Roman. In some provinces, legends of a particular relatedness to Rome had developed in the imperial period. A curious case is Justinian’s Novel 25, which relates that the Lycaonians believed themselves to be ‘most closely akin to the Roman people’, and that the founder king Lycaon ‘gave beginning to the Roman Empire’ in ‘times far more ancient than those of Aeneas and Romulus.’⁸⁴ Similarly, Sidonius Apollinaris claims that the Arverni ‘dared once to call themselves brothers to Latium and counted themselves a

⁷⁹ Procopius, *De bello gothico* V 12, 16–19, trans. Dewing, vol. 3, 121–123.

⁸⁰ See Dupont 2011.

⁸¹ *Origo gentis Romanae*, ed. Sehlmeier. See Dench 2005; Pohl 2014; Dupont 2011; Revell 2015.

⁸² Giardina 1997.

⁸³ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 2, 24, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 86; Poem to Adelperga, written in 763: Paul the Deacon, *Carmina*, 2, ed. Neff, 10.

⁸⁴ Justinian, *Novellae* 25, ed. Kroll/Schöll, 195–196; Maas 1992, 46.

people sprung from Trojan blood.’⁸⁵ Sidonius presents the Auvergne and Clermont, the *civitas Arvernorum*, as an isolated bulwark of Romanness. He was as Roman as one could be in fifth-century Gaul, even hyper-Roman, as Peter Brown put it,⁸⁶ but hardly ever explicitly defined himself as a Roman. Much more emphatic is the ‘*nos, miseri Arverni*’ he employed when describing how the city was threatened once more by a Gothic onslaught.⁸⁷ Civic identity, ethnic reminiscences and a privileged link with Rome were entangled in Sidonius’ view. Southern Gaul, mostly ruled but hardly inhabited by the Franks, preserved its Roman-style allegiances. In Aquitaine, ‘Roman law retained an almost territorial application,’ although the development of a regional identity was not without ambiguities.⁸⁸

The alpine part of Raetia around Chur, administered by a dynasty of bishops, had its own law code and regional Roman identity, and its relative autonomy was still confirmed in a privilege by Charlemagne.⁸⁹ Eventually, its Raetian identification prevailed, as can be seen from two successive versions of the *Via Sancti Galli*: whereas Wettī’s version written around 820 has robbers despicably speak of *isti Romani*, Walahfrid Strabo in 833/34 replaces that by *isti Rhetiani*.⁹⁰ Onomastic studies have suggested that in the contact zones between Romance-speakers and Alamanni north of the Alps, by that time not only *Walchen*, but also *Romans* was used as an outside designation and hardly for self-identification.⁹¹ A smaller but rather homogeneous group of Romans, including some nobles (the *genealogia de Albina*), lived south of Salzburg; but they did not preserve or create a strong regional affiliation, and their distinctiveness faded out in the Carolingian period.⁹² Another regional Roman group, presented in Francesco Borri’s contribution, lived in Dalmatia, where Carolingian Annals distinguish between Roman and Slavic settlers.⁹³ In the tenth century, Constantine Porphyrogenitus distinguished these as *Rhōmanoi* from the general subjects of the Empire, the *Rhōmaioi*.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, these ‘Roman’ Dalmatians disappear from the sources in the course of the eleventh century. The Greek term *Rhōmanos* also appears in Italo-Greek documents for the representatives and inhabitants of Rome.⁹⁵

A more difficult question regards the extent to which the vast populations that were subjected to Rome without necessarily being citizens had become Roman. Was there such a thing as an *imperial identity* as a loose frame of convergence within

⁸⁵ Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistula* 7, 7, ed. Anderson, 326. Cf. Barlow 1995; Pohl, forthcoming (c).

⁸⁶ Brown 2012.

⁸⁷ Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistula* 7, 1, ed. Anderson, 286. Harries 1994.

⁸⁸ See the contribution by Stefan Esders, in this volume.

⁸⁹ *DD Caroli Magni* 78, ed. Mühlbacher, 111–112; Wolfram 1995b, 100–103 and 143.

⁹⁰ *Vita Galli confessoris triplex*, ed. Bruno Krusch, 277 and 314.

⁹¹ Schneider/Pfister 2017; see also the contribution by Ingrid Hartl, in this volume.

⁹² Wolfram 1995b, 295–297; Wolfram 1995a, 132–134.

⁹³ *Annales regni Francorum* a. 117, ed. Kurze, 145.

⁹⁴ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* 29, trans. Jenkins, 124.

⁹⁵ See the contribution by Annick Peters Custot, in this volume, and ead. 2014.

the *orbis Romanus*? Few empires have created such a rich and coherent language of power. On the material level, the impact of empire was massive: attires and symbols of rulership, palaces, public buildings, statues, inscriptions, images, coins, uniforms and many other things, complemented by a differentiated discourse of empire. That was hardly a material culture ‘beyond representation’; for the most part, it created serial and recognisable reminders of Roman rule.⁹⁶ It is more difficult to assess the extent to which such symbols could inspire a sense of belonging in the subject populations, and how they affected the ways subjects ‘experienced empire’, as David Mattingly has put it (comparing them with subalterns in European colonial empires, as he suggests, may yield interesting perspectives, but should not level out the obvious differences).⁹⁷ ‘Becoming Roman’ was not always something one could freely choose or avoid, and the benefits of Roman rule were distributed unevenly, so that social inequality rose sharply in Gaul and other subjugated areas in the West after the Roman conquest, as Greg Woolf has shown.⁹⁸ Provincial elites who could profit from Roman rule were probably quite susceptible to assimilating imperial symbols into their own forms of representation, and became part of the system soon.

We know less about the lower strata of society. Egyptian papyri provide some insight in the impact of empire on the local level and on all groups of population.⁹⁹ This problem touches on very general and rather controversial issues of interpretation. How deeply had Roman rule penetrated? Were the slaves of Romans Roman slaves? Even with the only mention of a Roman in the seventh-century Lombard *Edictus Rothari*, an *ancilla Romana*, we do not know whether she was a Roman or the servant of a Roman; we only know that her master should receive a mere 12 solidi as compensation if another man had intercourse with her, as compared to the 20 solidi for an *ancilla gentile* (sic).¹⁰⁰ Was the Roman population largely hybrid and used to smooth code-switching, as Andrew Wallace-Hadrill has argued, and globalized by ‘an accelerating process of interconnectivity’, as Miguel Versluys has put it?¹⁰¹ We can probably agree that we want to go ‘beyond Romans and natives’, and beyond the old paradigm that these natives were gradually Romanized in a more or less linear process of acculturation.¹⁰² We surely have to assume differences in space, time, background and social status in the ways in which Roman rule affected the population, and made itself felt on a regional level.

It seems that it was only in the fifth and sixth century that ‘*Romani*’ could be fairly generally used for all subjects of the Roman state. At that time, imperial identity

⁹⁶ Cf. Malafouris 2004; Versluys 2014, 17.

⁹⁷ Mattingly 2011, 269–276.

⁹⁸ Woolf 1998.

⁹⁹ Palme 2009; id. 2012; id. 2014. His contribution at the conference, ‘Rhomaioi, Hellenes and Barbaroi in Late Antique Egypt’, will be published at a later date.

¹⁰⁰ *Edictus Rothari* 194, ed. Azzara/Gasparri, 56 (here translated as ‘serva di un Romano’).

¹⁰¹ Versluys 2014, 12.

¹⁰² Woolf 1998.

was strong enough to support the adoption of the collective name *Rhomaioi* for the population of the Eastern Empire. What that meant for these ‘Romans’ surely varied. As Annick Peters-Custot shows in her contribution, “‘Byzantine’ individuals from Italy never describe themselves as ‘Roman’, although ‘Romanness’ is supposed to be the political foundation for being part of the Eastern Empire.’ Yet Romanness could provide a potential frame of identification, especially in times of trouble. For instance, an inscription scratched onto a brick, obviously during the Avar siege of Sirmium in 580–582, reads: ‘Oh Lord, help the town and halt the Avar and protect the *Romanía* and the scribe. Amen.’¹⁰³ The Empire could be regarded as ‘*Romanía*’ by someone in its exposed periphery who looked towards it for protection. Probably people in Syria or Egypt considered themselves less Roman during the Islamic conquests. In Syriac historiography, ‘like Persians, Armenians, and Arabs, Romans are almost always treated in the third person’, as Jack Tannous remarks. After the watershed of the seventh century, what remained of Byzantium was more homogeneous. In John Haldon’s new book, identities and solidarities play an important role in explaining the strange case of ‘the Empire that would not die’.¹⁰⁴ As Ioannis Stouraitis argues in his contribution to this volume, ‘the apparently enhanced cultural homogeneity (single *lingua franca*, Chalcedonian orthodoxy)’ could have been used to construct and project an image of the *Rhomaioi* as an ethnic group; but the elites rather promoted loyalty to the centralized rule of the city-state of New Rome and its emperor. An ethnic image of a Roman *genos* only appeared in Byzantine historiography in the twelfth century.¹⁰⁵

Seen from the Latin West, *Romani* was now often used for the inhabitants of the remaining Empire, that is, if one did not want to express a sense of distance by calling them Greeks. In Isidore’s early seventh-century *History of the Goths*, for instance, the term *Romanus* is employed in this sense. Whereas in the beginning of the text, the term *Romani* covers the inhabitants of the whole Roman Empire, it is subsequently reduced to the Eastern Romans and to the Byzantine military forces in Spain (*milites*). On no occasion does the term *Romani* describe the inhabitants of the former provinces.¹⁰⁶ The Merovingian *Vita Eligii* notes the saint’s presence at the reception of foreign embassies at the royal court, which came from the Roman, Italian or (Visi-) Gothic realm.¹⁰⁷ In Paul the Deacon’s late eighth-century *History of the Lombards*, Ro-

¹⁰³ Published in Noll 1989. See the contribution by Johannes Koder, in this volume (the translation is his), and for the context, Pohl 2015a, 75.

¹⁰⁴ Haldon 2016, esp. 120–158.

¹⁰⁵ The implications are controversial, see Stouraitis 2014, Kaldellis 2011, and Kaldellis 2015. For the problems of Roman/Byzantine/Hellenic identity in general, the contribution by Johannes Koder in this volume, and Koder 1990; Olster 1996; G. Page 2008; Zacharia 2008, especially the contribution by Rapp 2008.

¹⁰⁶ Isidore, *Historia Gothorum* 73, ed. Mommsen, 296; Diesner 1973, 67–68; J. Wood 2012.

¹⁰⁷ *Vita Eligii*, I 10, ed. Krusch, 676–678: *Flagrabat eius ubique fama in tantum, ut si qui ex Romana vel Italica aut Gothica vel quaecumque provintia legationis foedere aut alia quacumque ex causa palatium regis Francorum adire pararent.*

mani refers consistently, but not exclusively to the Byzantine state and its inhabitants, and in a number of ways.¹⁰⁸ This corresponds to the usage of ‘Roman’ in the laws of King Aistulf, who conquered Ravenna in 751 and proudly states in his prologue: ‘The Roman people has been transferred to us by the Lord’.¹⁰⁹ The modern regional terms Lombardia/Romagna go back to that territorial juxtaposition between Byzantine and Lombard Northern Italy. As Paolo Delogu remarks in his contribution, Charlemagne later sought to suppress the ‘ethnic’ perception of an *imperium Romanorum* to avoid the impression that the imperial title could be bestowed by the people of Rome in the same way the Franks could raise a *rex Francorum*; but this tension remained open throughout the Middle Ages.¹¹⁰

Cultural Romanness first of all constituted a mark of social distinction.¹¹¹ High-status Roman *cultural identity* was acquired in upper-class education through the mastery of rhetoric and of the literary canon, and should guarantee impeccable performance in public. In that sense, full-fledged *romanitas* was an elite identity, which gradually disappeared after Sidonius Apollinaris and Cassiodorus. Eugippius, in his early sixth-century *Vita Severini*, styled Severinus as the last true Roman on the Danube, of noble birth, a *homo omnino Latinus*, a man of thorough Latin education.¹¹² One could, of course, aspire to Roman *civilitas* by degrees, and even barbarians could master it quite admirably. Educated Franks of the late sixth century were lauded as ‘Franks by birth and Romans by education’ or similar by Venantius Fortunatus, whereas Gregory of Tours ridiculed King Chilperic’s attempts to write Latin poetry.¹¹³ Correct use of language was an important feature of identification that involved a much wider range of Romans, and still allowed for subtle strategies of distinction by the use of different registers.¹¹⁴ However, it was not unambiguous – the name of the language was Latin, a term that occasionally also served as an identity marker in the late- and post-Roman period. Speakers of the *Rhōmaikē*, that is, Greek could regard themselves as the true Romans in Byzantium.¹¹⁵ On the other hand, the fluent

108 *Res publica Romana* (Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 4, 36, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 128), *Romanum imperium* (ibid., 1, 25, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 62), *reges Romanorum* (ibid., 3, 12, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 98; ibid., 4, 36, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 128; ibid., 5, 30, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 154; ibid., 6, 11 ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 168); see also below.

109 Aistulf, *Prologue*, ed. Azzara/Gasparri, 250: *traditum nobis a domino populum romanorum*. See also Aistulf 4, ed. Azzara/Gasparri, 250, on penalties for doing business with Romans in times of war: *Sic patiat, qui contra voluntatem regis cum romano homine negotium fecerit, quando lites habemus*.

110 See also Classen 1985. Sarti 2016 gives a broad, but rather superficial overview of the development of Roman identities in the Frankish kingdoms up to Charlemagne.

111 Cf. Laurence/Berry 1998.

112 Eugippius, *Vita Severini*, ed. Mommsen, 5.

113 For Venantius Fortunatus, see n. 174 and n. 177. Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 5, 44, ed. Krusch/Levison, 254; ibid., 6, 46, ed. Krusch/Levison, 320.

114 See Kramer 1998.

115 See the contribution by Johannes Koder, in this volume.

use of Latin became a distinctive feature of high-level Frankish, Irish or Anglo-Saxon clerics and monks, without turning them all into Romans. The issue of Roman cultural identity touches on many aspects of materiality and performativity that cannot be addressed here, and raises the question of whether and how the archaeological record can shed a light on identities.¹¹⁶

The subject of Roman *religious identity*, like many other modes of identification touched here, is particularly striking because Romanness was transformed by a complete change of religion in the fourth and fifth centuries, and opinions about the reasons and the impact of this fundamental change differ widely.¹¹⁷ The contribution by Yitzhak Hen discusses this issue, and underlines the close connection between Roman religion and identity. Ancient Romans believed that the extraordinary success of their state had been a reward of the gods for their piety.¹¹⁸ Roman 'religion' focused on correct cult practice, which was, as Clifford Ando put it, 'of and for a political community or body of citizens, one that included both humans and gods.'¹¹⁹ Therefore, 'the imperial city did not impose or export its religion on or to its provinces.'¹²⁰ However, it could easily be translated; just as Roman gods roughly equalled the Greek pantheon, the gods of other cities or of 'barbarian' subject peoples could be seen as analogous to Roman deities. These efforts of cultural translation sat well with imperial expansion because they acknowledged differences and allowed integration at the same time. Roman imperial domination could be expressed by the imperial cult, and identity was maintained by venerating the gods of the city of Rome on a scale that was adequate to their enormous achievement of enabling empire.

This balance changed when oriental cults with their own mysteries spread across the Empire; of these Christianity was the most successful. Constantinian Christianity provided a new religion for empire, however we want to explain that momentous change.¹²¹ It swiftly replaced the *mos maiorum*, the customs of the forefathers, as a token of Romanness.¹²² Augustine, as Richard Corradini shows in his contribution to this volume, was certainly averse to the Roman thirst for glory; in a happier world, 'all kingdoms would have been small, rejoicing in neighbourly concord'.¹²³ At the same time, he ridiculed localized Roman religion and the idea that the gods were closely connected to their shrines.¹²⁴ Christianity offered a much more cen-

116 See Fehr/Pohl/von Rummel, forthcoming.

117 Still the most convincing overall narrative: Brown 1978; see also Brown 2013a.

118 E.g. Cicero, *De natura deorum* 2, 3; Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 28, 5. Liebeschuetz 1979, 3. See also Beard/North/Price 1998; Veyne 2005.

119 Ando 2008, 3.

120 Ando 2008, 105.

121 See, among others, Brown 1995; Clark 2004; Markus 1990; Av. Cameron 1991; Veyne 2007; Al. Cameron 2011; van Dam 2007; Rebillard 2012.

122 See the contribution by Yitzhak Hen, in this volume.

123 Augustine, *De civitate dei* 4, 15, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 111.

124 Fredriksen 2006, 590; see the contribution by Richard Corradini, in this volume.

tralized ‘vision of community’.¹²⁵ Although a certain tension was inevitable, religious unity could now serve as a vehicle for imperial unity – one God for all, an extremely ambitious, powerful and potentially divisive vision of an empire united in Christ. The intense efforts of bishops to push emperors to suppress dissent on rather peculiar theological matters, and the struggles of the emperors to force churchmen to agree on some Unitarian dogmatic formula soon entangled the exercise of power with questions of religious authority.¹²⁶ All of this is well-known, but the consequences for Roman identity may deserve some further thought.¹²⁷ For a while, the Roman Empire and Christendom were almost co-extensive. However, it can hardly be a coincidence that the erosion of the Empire started at the very moment when Theodosius I had removed the last checks to the progress of Christianity triumphant. The vision of Christian Rome provided a new frame for a wide range of identifications. To an extent, this conjunction survived the end of Roman rule, as Jack Tannous observes: ‘The history of Rome had become inextricably linked with the history of Christianity; as a result, Syriac-speaking Christians were interested in Roman history regardless whether they were living under Roman rule.’ In a thirteenth-century Syriac gospel lectionary, the pagan Mongol khan Hülägü could be portrayed as a new Constantine.¹²⁸ Memories of Constantine were much more ambiguous in the Latin West.¹²⁹

As the Empire fell apart, it became clear that in the Latin West Christian identity could not correspond directly with an imperial one. Christian Romanness contracted again to the city of Rome, which represented the rock of St Peter on which the Church had been built. Rome disposed of an unrivalled treasure of relics, sacred spaces and Christian memories, soon to be propagated in the *Liber Pontificalis*, one of the most ambitious trans-generational book projects of the age.¹³⁰ This made up in part for Rome’s loss of central functions in the Empire. Even so, for a considerable time *ecclesia Romana* mostly referred to the diocese, in spite of its universal ambitions; that is still the case in Paul the Deacon’s late eighth-century *History of the Lombards*.¹³¹ Then, in the later eighth century, *res publica* was used for the sphere of political domination that the popes tried to carve out of former Byzantine possessions.¹³² Yet already in the sixth century, ‘Romans’ could also be used for those who followed

125 For ‘visions of community’: See Pohl/Gantner/Payne 2011; Hovden/Lutter/Pohl 2016.

126 Cf. Cooper 2014; Cooper 2011; Leyser 2000; Rapp 2005.

127 See also the contribution by Richard Corradini, in this volume.

128 Vatican Syriac 559, see the contribution by Jack Tannous, in this volume.

129 Cf. Pohl 2015b, 18–25; van Dam 2011.

130 See the contribution by Rosamond McKitterick, in this volume, and McKitterick 2015; McKitterick 2014b.

131 Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 1, 25, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 63; *ibid.*, 2, 10, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 78; *ibid.*, 3, 26, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 106; *ibid.*, 4, 5, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 117 (the pope as *papa Romanae urbis*); *ibid.*, 4, 36, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 128 (Phocas recognises the Roman church as *caput omnium ecclesiarum*); *ibid.*, 6, 4, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 166; *ibid.*, 6, 29, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 175; *ibid.*, 6, 40, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 179.

132 Noble 1984; Gantner 2014b; see also the contribution by Thomas Granier, in this volume.

the Roman creed and the liturgical practices of the Roman Church.¹³³ In that sense, the seventh-century conflict about the correct date of Easter in the British Isles could be perceived as a struggle between Roman and Irish practice.¹³⁴ Later, in the Carolingian period, Roman liturgy, chant, canon law and ecclesiastic practice played a major role in reform debates. As Rosamond McKitterick shows in her contribution, this particularly 'Roman' history of Christian liturgy was based on the *Liber Pontificalis*, where liturgical innovations are attributed to single popes, an effort that only gained momentum in the course of the eighth century. Christianity could now become 'Roman' in a way that was very different from the Christian Empire of Late Antiquity, and it hinged more on the popes than on the succession of distant 'Roman' emperors. That could trigger concerns about the relationship of this form of Roman-ness with other modes of Roman identification. Just as there are 'Roman' Catholics in Europe now, they are called Rūm, Romans, in Syria to this day.¹³⁵

Finally, identities are always constituted by differences, and the Romans had inherited a powerful scheme of 'us and them' from the Greeks, for whom they had initially been barbarians themselves. Romans and Greeks could be juxtaposed to barbarians, the Other of classical culture. Identity means difference, and this *binary identity* provided the most general frame of identification for the inhabitants of the Roman World in an asymmetrical scheme: civilization against barbarism, culture against nature, reason against irrationality, freedom against tyranny, a *populus* established by law against *gentes* bred naturally. In spite of its ideological uses, this black-and-white matrix allowed for many shades of grey: some barbarians could be more barbarian than others, and some Romans could be criticized as barbarous. Distinguishing themselves from despised barbarians was not the only way by which Romans could reassure themselves of their Roman-ness; that could be achieved by various distinctions, as Erich Gruen has shown.¹³⁶ 'Barbarians' could be used in a rather neutral manner as a general label for those whose (sometimes rather distant) origins lay outside the Empire, and it could be employed in a deprecating sense implying a number of prejudices and stereotypes. Ralph Mathisen remarks in his contribution to this volume that both before and after the end of the Western Empire, Roman identifications mostly occur in juxtaposition with barbarians, both in general and with specific peoples, for instance, Goths or Franks. It is hard to ascertain to what degree the stereotypes reflected back on what appears to us as neutral use.

In Late Antiquity, the Roman/barbarian distinction had obviously become fuzzy; the crisis of Roman identity threatened the great divide.¹³⁷ Boundaries had to be re-

¹³³ For instance, see Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum* 24, ed. Krusch, 502: *Romanos enim vocitant nostrae homines reigionis*; trans. van Dam, 23: 'By Romans they [i.e. Arian Goths] refer to men who accept our [Catholic Nicene] Christianity'.

¹³⁴ Corning 2006.

¹³⁵ See the contribution by Jack Tannous, in this volume.

¹³⁶ Gruen 2011.

¹³⁷ Greatrex 2000.

drawn; not least, Roman/barbarian opposition shifted to that between Christians and pagans. Only for a brief period, these two binaries more or less coincided. Already Augustine had emphasized that ‘the semen of Abraham was promised not only to the Romans, but to all peoples.’¹³⁸ Soon, many former barbarians had become Christians and even Catholics. Bishop Avitus of Vienne wrote to Clovis on the occasion of his baptism: ‘Let Greece, to be sure, rejoice in having an orthodox ruler, but she is no longer the only one to deserve such great a gift.’¹³⁹ Remarkably, the Roman Empire had now become ‘Greece’ to a bishop from southern Gaul.¹⁴⁰

Modern scholars have reappropriated the clear binary logic of the Roman/barbarian distinction, and also extended it to the early medieval period when the inside/outside dichotomy had turned into a leopard skin of romano-barbarian confrontation and hybridity. This may not be totally inappropriate, because the binary distinction also remained in use in the period. Still in the late eighth century, the road from Chur, where Raetians lived, to the Alamanni in the North was called ‘Via Barbaresca’.¹⁴¹ Contemporary authors, however, were capable of making distinctions. Agathias, in the sixth century, writes that the Franks were ‘practically the same as ourselves except for their barbaric style of dress and peculiar language’.¹⁴² He still allows for some differences, but acknowledges that in fact there was a continuum between people who were more or less Roman or barbarian. Early medieval sources, biased as they may be, do not overwhelmingly class the population of post-imperial Europe into Romans and barbarians, and even less, into Romans and Germans. These broad categories became less and less convenient for the definition of particular communities. It is up for discussion whether the term ‘barbarian’ in the *regna* is used to include or to exclude the ruling people, Goths or Franks, in their kingdoms. In the *Lex Salica*, *barbarus Salicus* could obviously be used for the Franks; the manuscript variants of § 14.2 display a whole range of options: *barbarus Salicus*, *Francus Salicus*, *homo barbaricus* or *homo Francus*.¹⁴³ By and large, the juxtaposition of Romans vs. barbarians (for specific people or in a generalizing sense) wore off, and Romans were integrated as more specifically defined groups into a new landscape of social and ethnic distinctions. We can still use the term ‘Roman’ for general classification, as in the broad perspective offered by this volume, but we have to be aware that this hardly corresponds to the usage of the sources. And it is important to historicize the term ‘barbarians’, which was not only open to different uses simultane-

138 Augustine, *Epistula* 199, ed. Goldbacher, vol. 4, 285: *Non enim Romanos sed omnes gentes dominus semini Abrahae media quaque iuratione promisit*. See the contribution by Richard Corradini, in this volume.

139 Avitus of Vienne, *Epistula* 46 (to Clovis), trans. Wood/Shanzer, 370.

140 Pohl 2013c, 22–23.

141 In a charter from 844: Erhart/Kleindinst 2004, n. 40, 225.

142 Agathias, *Historiae*, I 2, 3–4, ed. Keydell, 11; trans. Frendo, 10; see also Wood, 2011.

143 *Pactus Legis Salicae*, 14, 2–3, ed. Eckhardt, 64–65; for a general discussion, Sivan 1998.

ously, but, as Ian Wood has shown, also changed in a more general sense in the course of the ‘transformation of the Roman World’.¹⁴⁴

Romanness and ethnicity

Romans have not usually been regarded as an ethnic group by scholars. No doubt, Rome was a city state, a universal empire, and later, a Christian society defined by orthodoxy rather than by ethnicity. However, it was already possible in the classical period to regard the Romans as a *gens*, and I would interpret that as *ethnic identity*. That became more marked in Late Antiquity when increasingly the Romans could be seen as one people among many, although perhaps a special one. Only recently, ancient historians have addressed the question of Roman ethnicity.¹⁴⁵ For a long time, studies of late antique and early medieval ethnicity have rather concentrated on the barbarians, and bypassed the Romans, as Guy Halsall argues very compellingly in his contribution to this volume. Should we take, as he suggests, ethnicity to the heart of (at least post-Roman) Romanness? Or should we rather discard ethnicity as unhelpful for understanding Roman and barbarian identities in Late Antiquity?

An exemplary statement for such an ‘ethno-sceptical’ position is Erich Gruen’s argument that ancient Greeks, Romans, and even Jews ‘did not agonize much about ethnicity’.¹⁴⁶ ‘The ancients did not have a word for ethnicity [...] Ethnicity is an elusive notion, much discussed, debated, and stubbornly resistant to definition.’¹⁴⁷ Gruen’s own criteria for ethnicity, as they emerge from his fast-forward discussion of a great number of ancient sources, are very narrowly defined: for Gruen, ethnicity is incompatible with previous migrations or even myths about it, only a strong consensus about the autochthony of the people in question fits his definition. It excludes any intermingling or mixed marriages and not only requires contempt for the inferiority of others, but that inferiority must also consistently be sought in their very nature. Furthermore, his definition requires that ethnicity corresponds to a ‘fixed nature, inherent in the people’ and does not allow any change of lifestyle.¹⁴⁸ This rather pejorative concept of ethnicity equals that of ‘race’ as perceived by racists. Read against these criteria (never discussed but systematically used to exclude possible cases of ethnicity), it is little wonder that Gruen cannot find sufficient evidence for ethnicity in his sources. He would hardly find any nowadays.

Geoffrey Greatrex offers a more nuanced argument as to why ‘ethnicity’ is unhelpful to understand ‘Roman identity in the sixth century’. He very aptly describes the many options open to successful commanders in the period: ‘A man of ambition

¹⁴⁴ Wood 2011.

¹⁴⁵ Farney 2007; Greatrex 2010; Revell 2015; McNerney 2014.

¹⁴⁶ Gruen 2013, 20.

¹⁴⁷ Gruen 2013, 1.

¹⁴⁸ Gruen 2013, 12.

born in the Balkans in the fifth century, who pursued a military career at least partly in Roman service, might go on to be king of the Ostrogoths, consul, *magister militum*, emperor or rebel tyrant (or several of these).¹⁴⁹ However, does this really warrant the following conclusion? ‘The term “ethnicity” is particularly unhelpful in coming to grips with the notion of Roman-ness or Roman identity in the sixth century. [...] *Genos* [...] in no way played a deciding role in determining an individual’s ethnicity or political allegiance’.¹⁵⁰ ‘Ethnicity’ is disconnected on both sides here, almost as if one needed to make sure that this explosive concept would not blow up a well-ordered argument: it is not always determined by *genos*, that is, descent; and it does not determine political allegiance. But why should we assume that ethnicity would only be a helpful term if it could be shown to ‘determine’ anything? Would we want to abandon the term ‘family’ because it did not determine allegiance and solidarity, as can clearly be shown in the case of the Merovingians? In fact, the relatively wide variety of options available, among which clear ethnic identification was just one possible career path, is what makes the period so interesting. Ancestry determined ethnic identity to a lesser extent than in other periods, and we can observe ambiguous or shifting identities (as in the case of Odoacer) more often than at other times. Likewise, identities and affiliations were not always decisive for careers and political loyalties. Goths and Franks fought for Romans, and Romans for Goths and Franks.

Playing the card of *gens/genos* in these power games was always an option, and that included not only barbarian identifications, but also asserting one’s Roman descent, or an ancient Roman sense of community that at least tacitly excluded those who behaved too obviously like foreigners. First-generation barbarian immigrants were de facto excluded from the imperial throne; non-Roman origin constituted a glass ceiling. Yet in the hothouse of military ambitions and shifting alliances, boundaries tended to be drawn pragmatically, and not according to any clearly-defined ideological divide between Romans and barbarians. In sixth-century texts, as Greatrex argues, ‘Romans’ usually are those who remain loyal to the emperor and can pass for Chalcedonian Christians.¹⁵¹ By implication, such a definition was rather open and volatile, and left little room for arguments about distant Roman or barbarian origins. This seems to have been the hegemonic model of Romanness in the Justinianic period. It had lasting impact; ‘Romans’ could now finally become an inclusive term which could refer to all Christian subjects of the emperor. However, this movement of inclusion had only limited political success, and provoked much adversity. Perhaps that was because its principal instruments were ruthless tax-collectors, increased pressure on orthodox dogmatic unity and a Roman army that often appeared to the civil population like a horde of foreigners.

149 Greatrex 2000, 274.

150 Greatrex 2000, 278.

151 Greatrex 2000, 268 and 278.

In the West, an alternative model of identity politics was more successful. Procopius makes the Gothic king Totila say to his army before the decisive battle against the forces of Narses in 552: 'The vast number of the enemy is worthy only to be despised, seeing that they present a collection of men from the greatest possible number of peoples. For an alliance which is patched together from many sources gives no firm assurance of either loyalty (*pistis*) or power, but being split up in origin (*genēsis*), it is naturally divided likewise in purpose'.¹⁵² This is Procopius' attempt to explain the success of the *gentes* and of their kingdoms in the West. The irony is that it is put into the mouth of a Gothic king before a lost battle and the downfall of his kingdom. However, that does not invalidate the author's critique of the Justinianic policy of putting loyalty first at the expense of true Romanness. Procopius, in the guise of Totila, denied the Romanness of the victorious Roman army; and he spoke from experience. The assumption is that ethnic solidarity could help to integrate large groups of soldiers even in hardship and defeat. Indeed, that may have been an advantage that Roman commanders who were also barbarian kings had over those who were not in the fifth and sixth centuries. Shared ethnic background, of course, offered no guarantee against scission and bitter conflict, as can be seen in the struggles between Theoderic the Amal and Theoderic Strabo.¹⁵³ Yet it probably was no coincidence that in the West, the new kingdoms that replaced the Empire came to be distinguished by ethnic designations.

Therefore, if in the sixth-century Empire ethnicity did not serve to establish clear boundaries or allow peoples' loyalties to be predicted, that does not mean it is worthless as a scholarly category. It is not that sixth-century authors did not try to get their ethnic distinctions right: Procopius' 'Wars' are full of ethnonyms and ethnographic digressions, and they are not limited to areas outside of imperial control: 'Procopius refers not just to people of the Armenian, Gothic, Persarmenian and Herul *genos*, but also to those of the Cilician, the Palestinian, the Calabrian and Illyrian.'¹⁵⁴ I would regard 'ethnicity' as just that: a way of distinguishing between large and inclusive social groupings through the use of ethnonyms. And it increasingly became applied to Roman provinces. Like Geoffrey Greatrex, we may find that confusing and inadequate. But the complex stories that fifth- and sixth-century Roman authors tell could not be told without using all these names. It adds an important element to the story of the two Theoderics if we know that they were both Ostrogoths, and perhaps from the same family. They competed for the loyalty of the same set of warbands. And the flexible uses of 'Roman' do not only tell us something about identity politics and their short-term perspectives; they also betray an underlying insecurity about the boundaries of Romanness, and a lack of consensus about the qualities essential for a true Roman.

¹⁵² Procopius, *De bello gothico* VIII 30, 17–18, ed. Dewing, vol. 5, 366–369.

¹⁵³ Ethnic loyalties: Pohl 2011. Struggle of the two Theoderics: Wolfram 2009 and engl. trans. Wolfram 1988, 268–276.

¹⁵⁴ Greatrex 2000, 268.

Guy Halsall, in his contribution to this volume, advocates a solution that is in some ways contrary to the variants of ethnoscepticism I have just discussed. He subverts the seeming contrast between Romanness and ethnicity by the model of multi-layered identity. ‘Gentile’ identities, as he calls them, could well be compatible with being Roman, because they were situated on a different plane. Regional and civic identities could also be complementary to an overarching Roman affiliation. In sixth-century Gaul, ‘gens’ and ‘civitas’, Franks, Arverni or Turonenses, were then analogous. ‘There is nothing’, Halsall states, ‘that allows us analytically to distinguish these types of identity from the gentile level.’¹⁵⁵ This issue is central to recent debates about ethnicity and ‘ethnogenesis’ because, in Halsall’s words, many misunderstandings were prompted by two silences: ‘the silence about what distinguishes an ethnic group from a non-ethnic group within the same part of the spectrum, or layering of identities. The other is the silence about what distinguishes such identities or layers of identity among barbarians from their equivalents among the Romans, or more accurately among the inhabitants of the Roman empire.’¹⁵⁶ As this is not only an issue that seems to be in need of clarification, but also very pertinent for the subject of Roman identities, I would like to discuss it at least briefly here.

The question is relevant on two levels, specific and theoretical. There is much to recommend the view that in many respects, urban and ethnic identities had something in common. In the Merovingian kingdom of the fifth and sixth centuries, ethnic, regional and urban denominations constituted a rather mixed system of subdivisions: ‘new’ ethnic groups (Saxons, Alans and others); traditional Gaulish identifications (the revived Arverni, the name of a *civitas* with strong ethnic overtones); an ethnonym that had turned into a political-regional designation (Burgundians); a Roman province that that acquired ethnic overtones (Aquitaine); later even the term for province itself that came to designate a region and its population (Provence); the name of the Franks which could both refer to the entire kingdom, and to a particular ruling group within it; and the ambiguous, and therefore often rather avoided term ‘Romans’ – it was an interestingly hybrid set of internal distinctions. I have argued that ethnicity is, on a rather formal level, a system of distinctions between basically analogous, inclusive social groupings predominantly based on ethnonyms, and a way to endow these groups with agency and meaning. Within sixth-century Gaul the predominant form was distinction by the name of the *civitas* (or rather, of its inhabitants). Sometimes, ethnic distinctions were used, not least, within the cities; an example is King Gunthram’s reception by the citizens of Orléans in 585: ‘An enormous crowd proceeded towards him with signs and standards. Here one heard the language of the Syrians, here of the Latins, and here even that of the

¹⁵⁵ Halsall, in this volume, p. 46.

¹⁵⁶ Halsall, in this volume, p. 44.

Jews.¹⁵⁷ Some ethnic groups were directly associated with the cities where they lived, for instance the Saxons of Bayeux or the Franks of Tournai.¹⁵⁸

Ethnic and civic or regional categories could all serve as subdivisions within the kingdom, and could have similar functions for internal distinction. However, if these different sets of distinction are mixed, that usually has a purpose in our texts. Sometimes it expresses geographic or social distance. For instance, the *Liber Pontificalis*, at the beginning of each pope's life, gives the origin of the incumbent: *natione Romanus*, if (and only if) he came from the city of Rome; *natione Tiburtinus*, *Ostiensis* etc., if from the cities around Rome; *natione Tusculus*, *Campanus*, *Siculus* etc., if he came from Italian regions; and *Grecus*, *Syrus* or *Afer* (from Africa) if he came from distant lands.¹⁵⁹ A mixing of different types of group identifiers may also express emotional distance and be a sign of quiet protest; a contemporary example comes to mind: German-speaking Alpine skiers from South Tyrol are part of the Italian national team; but when the German Tyrolean papers print the results of races, South Tyroleans are listed with their home village, whereas all others, including Italians, are identified by their nation. Surely, Gregory of Tours was more concerned to pinpoint the city of origin of Gallo-Romans (especially if they came from Tours) than to differentiate between Franks. A Frank was a Frank, whether he lived in Tours or north of the Silva Carbonaria. From his very restricted and not at all contingent use of the ethnonym 'Frank', we may also infer that Gregory considered them to be on a somewhat different plane from the Arverni or the Turonenses.¹⁶⁰ It was not easy for him to integrate the Franks in his vision of a non-ethnic, post-Roman Christian world. Other sources unproblematically operate on a level of ethnic distinctions, where Romans are seen as analogous to Franks, Burgundians and others; that occurs, for instance, in the seventh/eighth century *Formulae Marculfi*.¹⁶¹ However, and here I agree with Guy Halsall, the coincidence of different modes of identification and differentiation may also point to insecure terminology and shifting identities, which was certainly the case in late sixth century Gaul.

On the theoretical level, it is striking that most current definitions of ethnicity are as valid for urban, regional, religious or even linguistic identities. A.D. Smith's often-cited definition of ethnicity lists six criteria: a collective name, a common myth of descent, a shared history, a distinctive shared culture, an association with a specific territory and a sense of solidarity.¹⁶² If we replace 'a common myth of descent' with a myth of foundation, we can easily apply the same definition to ancient and medieval cities – considering that it is a weak criterion anyway, because many peoples and

¹⁵⁷ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 8, 1, ed. Krusch, 370.

¹⁵⁸ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 5, 26, ed. Krusch, 232; *ibid.*, 10, 9, ed. Krusch, 492.

¹⁵⁹ See also the contribution by Ralph Mathisen, in this volume.

¹⁶⁰ Reimitz 2015a.

¹⁶¹ *Formulae Marculfi* 8, ed. Zeumer, 47–48: *Omnis populus ibidem commanentes, tam Franci, Romani, Burgundionis vel reliquas nationis*. See also the translation in Rio 2008.

¹⁶² A. Smith 1986, 22–30.

many cities have no such myths. It would be more distinctive to use definitions that rely on ‘metaphoric or fictive kinship’; but that idea is only very patchily attested among early medieval *gentes*.¹⁶³ In fact, genealogical thinking occurs surprisingly rarely on the early medieval continent, apart from some spectacular cases such as the Amal genealogy in the *Getica* or King Rothari’s pedigree in the prologue of his Edict.¹⁶⁴

Yet there is a difference between ethnic identities and many other ‘modes of identification’: ‘Most identities [...] have a decisive point of reference outside the group: the city, the land, the state, the army, a religious creed. Symbolic strategies of identification attach themselves to these figures that represent the common denominator, the defining feature of the community. In ethnicity, by contrast, the principle of distinction and the symbolic essence of the community are thought to lie in the human group itself. Its symbolism builds on kinship, blood, origin and fate. Distinctive features are perceived as expressions of an innermost self, an ingrained common nature.’¹⁶⁵

Isidore of Seville, in the ninth book of his *Etymologies*, clearly differentiated the ‘*gentes*’ from those who identified with their *civitas* or territory. His long list of *gentes* contains hardly any examples of groups that we would not consider as ethnic, with the exception of a few ethnicized populations of regions such as the Tuscans. And he lists the Romans, in a fine example of an almost Derrida-esque display of ‘différance’:

The Romans are called after the name of Romulus, who founded the city of Rome and gave the name to the *gens* and the city. Before that, these were called Saturnians after Saturn, and Latins from Latinus. For Latinus was a king of Italy, who after his own name designated those Latins who were later called Romans. These are also called Quirites, for Romulus was called Quirinus, because he always used the spear, which is called *curis* in the language of the Sabinians.¹⁶⁶

This is about as much ethnic language as can be used on the basis of the rather ambiguous urban/ethnic Roman origin narratives: the Romans were not created by the foundation of the city, but they had existed before, albeit under different names; they can thus be derived from three other ethnic groups, and linked to the Sabines. These peoples took their name from divine ancestors; and it is explicitly mentioned that the *gens* of the Romans were named after Romulus, and not after the city. The story of the

¹⁶³ Eriksen 1993, 12.

¹⁶⁴ Jordanes, *Getica*, 14, 79, ed. Mommsen, 76; Wolfram 1988, 31; *Edictus Rothari*, Prologus, ed. Az zara/Gasparri 12; for the argument, Pohl 2016b.

¹⁶⁵ Pohl 2013a, 25.

¹⁶⁶ *Romani a Romuli nomine nuncupati, qui urbem Romam condidit gentique et civitati nomen dedit. Hi antea a Saturno Saturnii, a Latino Latini vocati sunt. Nam Latinus Italiae rex fuit, qui ex suo nomine Latinos appellavit, qui postea Romani nuncupati sunt. Hi et Quirites dicti, quia Quirinus dictus est Romulus, quod semper hasta utebatur, quae Sabinorum lingua curis dicitur.* Isidore, *Etymologiae*, IX 2,84, ed. Lindsay (my translation). See Pohl 2014, with further discussion.

origins of Rome and of the Romans has also been told in very different ways in the course of Roman history.¹⁶⁷ To assess that difference, the category of ethnicity is very useful; and for that purpose, we need a medium-range definition calibrated to our evidence, so that neither almost everything nor nothing at all can be accommodated. The example of Isidore is telling: a Hispano-Roman with a brilliant classical education, a defender of the Roman Church and at the same time a professed enemy of ‘the Romans’, that is, the Byzantines, who lived under Gothic rule and never used the label ‘Romani’ for the Latin-speaking population of Spain.¹⁶⁸ Isidore lived in a world of *gentes*, and he regarded the Goths and Romans of his day as pretty much on the same plane, while paying full respect to *Roma caput gentium*, *Roma victrix omnium populorum* and *urbs cunctarum gentium victrix* of the past.¹⁶⁹ The (Hi)spani, to whom he belonged, are mentioned rarely in his works; here, the point of reference is the *patria*, *Spania*, a pointedly non-ethnic solution for the issue of identity of the subjects of the Goths in Spain.

What, then, is the significance of ‘Roman ethnicity’? It is important to be precise here. First, on an abstract level, it means that the name ‘Romans’ is included in a system of ethnic distinctions that offers an overview of collective actors, organized by their ethnonyms. This is what I would regard as the baseline of ‘ethnicity’. As we have seen, *Romani* often sit uneasily among the *gentes* because of the much wider semantic range of the term. The tension is what makes the example so fascinating. Still, early medieval lists of peoples, such as the so-called Frankish Table of Nations or Isidore’s catalogue of *gentes* in the Etymologies, unproblematically include Romans on the same level with Goths, Franks and others. This cognitive level of ethnic classification says little about actual Roman ethnic identities in the sense of a mode of identification that presupposed that these Romans had something intrinsically in common that went beyond their shared political, legal or urban identities. Secondly, therefore, higher levels of Roman ethnicity might be reached in cases where the Romans would emphatically be styled as a *gens* (as in the title of the Roman History of Jordanes), or where their origin was described in ethnic language (for instance, in the *Origo gentis Romanae* or in Isidore’s summary of Roman identity). That might still be due to outside ascription (Isidore may not have regarded himself as a ‘Roman’), but where the evidence gets more substantial that could imply it also was what Romans thought about themselves. Of course, this ethnic mode of Roman identification remained in competition with other forms – political, legal, or urban forms of Roman identity.

What I would like to suggest here is certainly not that ethnicity was necessarily the lead identity, the one that in case of conflict superseded all others in the early Middle

¹⁶⁷ See Dench 2005.

¹⁶⁸ Pohl/Dörler 2015; J. Wood 2012.

¹⁶⁹ Isidore, *Historia Gothorum*, Prologue (*De laude Spaniae*), ed. Mommsen, 267; *ibid.* 67, ed. Mommsen, 294; *ibid.* 15, ed. Mommsen, 273.

Ages (something that has been argued for the modern nation).¹⁷⁰ Neither would I maintain that the late antique Romans were first of all an *ethnos*. I simply advocate that we should continue using the concept of ‘ethnicity’, and using it in a sense that is neither too restricted nor too all-encompassing, so we can use it to detect differences and changes in the way identifications were handled in the period. This is not easy, because if you look only at ethnicity you tend to lose it. Ethnicity is a very powerful mode of community construction but also a precarious one. It seldom survives in its pure form; rather, it has to attach itself to other, more tangible forms of community – a common homeland, state or religion.¹⁷¹ And it has to interact closely with more local and regional communities. Therefore, I agree with Guy Halsall that ethnicity has to be seen in conjunction with all other, and often very similar modes of identification, and not singled out as a special quality of barbarians or as a feature on which the future of Europe was to depend. Not saying this clearly enough has created unpleasant misunderstandings.¹⁷² Finally, we should not forget the point that Halsall makes in his preamble: identity is always ‘a motion towards an ideal’, from a past to be proud of to the promises of the future. Hopes can also be disappointed. Ultimately, the ideal is unattainable. Early medieval Romanness in the West had a most glorious past, but held little promise for the future.

Towards a history of Roman identifications

Around 570, the poet Venantius Fortunatus wrote a panegyric to the duke Lupus, one of the military leaders and advisors who served under the Frankish king Sigibert I of Austrasia. In this poem, he pictures Lupus as the last Roman: ‘You alone possess all traits which were exercised by Scipio the wise, by Cato the venerable, and by Pompey the fortunate. With these men as consuls, Rome’s might shone in splendor; but with you as duke, Rome has now returned for us.’¹⁷³ Apart from his role of representing the Roman past, Lupus’ Roman ancestry is underlined: ‘Gaining your venerable traits from Roman stock, you wage war with force of arms, you govern the sway of law in tranquillity.’¹⁷⁴ It was a time of transition. Lupus gave his son a Germanic name, Romulf, a name of studied ambiguity: Germanic speakers would understand it as the ‘glory wolf’, whereas it could also be understood as the ‘Roman wolf’, *lupus Romanus* – an emblem of Romanness translated into the language of the Frankish rul-

¹⁷⁰ Wehler 2001, 40.

¹⁷¹ Pohl 2013a, 25.

¹⁷² See Pohl, forthcoming (a).

¹⁷³ Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmen* 7.7, ll. 2–6, ed. Reydellet, vol. 2, 94–97, at 94 (for the difficulty of dating it, *ibid.* 184); trans. George, 59; see George 1992, 79–82.

¹⁷⁴ Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmen* 7.7, trans. George, 60.

ers.¹⁷⁵ It is remarkable that for speakers of Frankish or Old High German, 'Rome' sounded like glory, '*ruom*'.

Unlike his contemporary and friend Gregory of Tours, Venantius, who was born near Treviso during the Gothic war and later migrated to the Frankish realm just when Narses finally seemed to establish full 'Roman' control over Northern Italy in 566, liberally underlined the Romanness of Romans, or the exquisite Roman qualities of Franks: 'Roman by upbringing, barbarian by descent'¹⁷⁶; 'you restore the spirit of the great emperor Trajan [...] Though you are a Sigamber, progeny of a noble people [...] you overcome us Romans in eloquence'.¹⁷⁷ It is useful to read Venantius alongside Gregory who, as has often been noticed, rather avoids the name Romans and would have never written of '*nos Romani*'.¹⁷⁸ The rhetoric of barbarians' achievements in Roman virtues and Latin eloquence did not disappear, and surfaced again in the Carolingian period. High-status Romans in Merovingian service are still attested in the seventh century.¹⁷⁹ However, as a voice that propagated the persistence of a coherent Romanness in Frankish Gaul – noble Roman lineage, military virtues, political office, traditional eloquence, literary education – Venantius would not find a successor.

That does not mean that 'Roman' disappeared from the political language of the early Middle Ages. On the contrary, it became available for a variety of meanings and uses. Helmut Reimitz, in his contribution, traces the development of its significance in Merovingian Gaul. In my contribution, Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards* may once more serve as an example.¹⁸⁰ For him, similar to Germanic identity, Romanness is in many respects a thing of the past. This becomes clear with an emblematic story in one of the first chapters, in which the legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus is transferred to 'the farthest boundaries of Germany, in the West-North-West', where they lie in a cave, uncorrupted and venerated by the *barbarae nationes* in the area: 'These then, as far as regards their dress, are perceived as being Romans'.¹⁸¹ The veneration of these Christians of by-gone days raises hopes that these barbarians may one day be converted. Romanness, then, is a sleeper: a thing of the past, still recognisable by its specific and venerable cultural flavour, which may hold a promise for the future. Roman dress and customs are mentioned

¹⁷⁵ Haubrichs 2014b, 57. See the contribution by Helmut Reimitz, in this volume.

¹⁷⁶ Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmen* 4, 26, ed. Reydellet, vol. 1, 155–61, at 156; trans. George, 9, on the noblewoman Vilithuta (I have replaced the antiquated and misleading 'race' for *proles* by 'descent').

¹⁷⁷ Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmen* 6, 2, ed. Reydellet, vol. 2, 53–57, at 56–57; trans. George, 37 (in stead of 'race' for *gens* I have put 'people'), on King Charibert.

¹⁷⁸ See also Buchberger 2016.

¹⁷⁹ See the contributions by Helmut Reimitz, Ralph Mathisen and Jamie Kreiner, in this volume.

¹⁸⁰ For an extensive analysis of the significance of Romanness in Paul the Deacon's *Historia Romana*, see Maskarinec 2013.

¹⁸¹ *Hi denique, quantum ad habitum spectat, Romani esse cernuntur*. Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 1, 4, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 49; trans. Foulke, 6.

once more as a model for the Lombards.¹⁸² In a similar vein, Roman History may still teach useful things.¹⁸³

As already exemplified above, the overwhelming use of ‘Roman’ in Paul’s *History of the Lombards* is political; it refers to the Eastern Empire and its representatives. Its continuous existence is never in doubt, but its Romanness needs to be mentioned as an attribute to its numerous manifestations.¹⁸⁴ In most cases, Paul routinely qualifies kings, provinces or offices not as ‘Roman’ (*Romanus*), but ‘of the Romans’ (*Romanorum*), an important difference as far as identifications are concerned. One can even distinguish an older, classicizing layer, mostly used in the early chapters, of a ‘Roman’ empire (only mentioned under Justinian), *res publica* and the ‘Roman and public standards’ of the army, from the ‘Byzantine’ layer in which the Empire and its institutions have become a ‘kingdom of the Romans’. These ‘Romans’ are the representatives, but also the subjects of the Roman (in our terminology, Byzantine) state; they attack, wage war, are defeated by Lombards, conclude peace, hide treasures, are suppressed by their emperor etc. Roman law, as established by Justinian, is called *leges Romanorum*, in analogy to the *Langobardorum leges* promulgated by King Rothari.¹⁸⁵

One can detect a shift of meaning around 600 in Paul’s use of ‘Roman’ for the population in Italy, which is limited to the sixth century.¹⁸⁶ The plague strikes only the Romans,¹⁸⁷ and the ‘Romans’ complain to Narses about his harsh rule, threatening that it would suit them better to serve the Goths than the Greeks.¹⁸⁸ In the early

182 Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 4, 22, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 124.

183 Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 2, 14, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 81; *ibid.*, 2, 23, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 85–86.

184 *Romanum imperium* (Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 1, 25, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 62), *res publica Romana* (*ibid.*, 2, 1, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 72; *ibid.*, 4, 36, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 128), *Romanorum regnum* (*ibid.*, 5, 30, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 154), *Romanorum partes* (*ibid.*, 4, 8, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 118), *Romanorum provinciae* (*ibid.*, 4, 36, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 128), *Romanorum civitates* (*ibid.*, 4, 45, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 135), *Romana ac publica signa* (*ibid.*, 3, 19, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 102), *gloria Romanorum* (*ibid.*, 3, 13, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 100), *rex Romanorum* (*ibid.*, 3, 12, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 98; *ibid.*, 4, 36, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 128; *ibid.*, 5, 30, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 154; *ibid.*, 6, 11, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 168), *patricius/exarchus Romanorum* (*ibid.*, 3, 26, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 107; *ibid.*, 4, 8, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 118; *ibid.*, 4, 12, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 121).

185 Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 4, 42, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 134.

186 It may be noted that the terminological shift does not coincide with the end of the parts based on the *Historiola* of Secundus, which end at c. 610.

187 Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 2, 4, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 74: *Et haec quidem mala intra Italiam tantum usque ad fines gentium Alamannorum et Baioariorum solis Romanis acciderunt.*

188 Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 2, 5, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 75: *[Romani] contra eum Iustiniano Augusto et eius coniugi Sophiae in haec verba suggesserunt, dicentes quia expedierat Romanis Gothis potius servire quam Grecis.* However, these seem to have been mainly Romans from the city of Rome.

570s, the Lombard king Cleph kills or expels many powerful Romans.¹⁸⁹ In the later parts of the book, 'Romans' is (apart from the Byzantine subjects in general) specifically used for the inhabitants of Rome.¹⁹⁰ In that sense, *ecclesia Romana* is used for the church of the city of Rome, not for the 'Roman Church' of the West.¹⁹¹ Paul the Deacon's uses of *Romanus/-i* in his Lombard history are manifold and show that Romaness still had a strong potential for distinction; yet it is remarkably consistent and usually allows for relatively clear distinctions, if we discount that he stopped calling Lombard subjects 'Romans' at a certain point. On the whole, most of the modes of Roman identification discussed above are still present in Paul's *History of the Lombards*; but they constitute different registers of Romaness that gradually move apart.

The results of the brief analysis of Paul's text should not be generalized, and the present volume contains a wide range of case studies that show similar, but also different developments. Running the risk of simplifying the more complex and detailed assessments of regional developments and changing features of Romaness presented in this volume, I would like to make a few general points about the rhythms of change in the meanings of Roman identity in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.

1. Many of the unifying visions and robust attempts at drawing the Empire together into a single body only go back to Late Antiquity. Universal Romaness was work in progress furthered by a number of ambitious projects of integration and control. The generalization of citizenship under Caracalla, for example, created a formal equality in the legal status of the free population in all provinces. Although the Roman administrative apparatus was still comparatively slim by modern standards, practices of bureaucratic control were expanded, not least by the reforms of Diocletian. Christianization resulted in a hitherto unparalleled drive for religious unification and for the suppression of dissent. In parallel, Christian art and architecture propelled a simplified late-Roman canon of public building and images into all parts of the Empire and beyond, replacing classical forms and their local appropriations. The codification of Roman law certainly did not remove legal pluralism, but established an inclusive corpus of imperial legislation that would last. In many respects, the Late Empire was more 'Roman', if less classical, than the early Empire had been.

189 Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 2, 31, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 90. There is one possible later example, Theodota *ex nobilissimo Romanorum genere*, lover of King Cunincpert and later confined to a monastery; but as the Greek name suggests, she most probably came from the Empire.

190 Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 4, 10, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 120 (*civis Romanus* from Rome as archbishop of Ravenna, see above); *ibid.*, 6, 34, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 176: the *populus Romanus* refuses a heretical doctrine imposed by the emperor (see above); the *civitas Romana* is flooded (*ibid.*, 6, 36, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 177).

191 See above n. 132.

2. All these efforts to establish shared discourses and practices throughout the Empire deeply shaped the social fields in which they unfolded: civic identity; administration and language of state; religious life and beliefs; art and architecture; legislation and jurisdiction. They would by far survive the Western Empire, and carry ingrained notions of Romanness into the future, in a way that in most of these fields could not easily be disentangled from their Roman character. What was much more precarious was the way in which they were complementary and related to each other and to an overriding sense of Romanness. Ultimately, only the Empire could make a meaningful whole of them.

3. In the course of the fifth century, direct imperial control receded from the West. This did not mean the end of the cultural hegemony of Romanness, which still dominated the courts of ‘Roman Barbarians’ for a long time to come.¹⁹² Yet political power was now finally dissociated from the hegemony over defining what Romanness might mean. In parallel, some traditional anchors of individual Roman identity were abandoned surprisingly smoothly. The ‘statue habit’ that had accentuated public spaces with marks of personal achievement disappeared in the fifth century.¹⁹³ Public inscriptions declined in many places, and funerary epigraphy became less elaborate, abandoning many features relevant for discerning the identity of the deceased.¹⁹⁴ Somewhat later, the traditional Roman naming system of the *tria nomina* was abandoned.¹⁹⁵ It is not always clear whether these changes were in some way linked to the dissolution of the Empire, or were more due to the effects of the Christianization of society. As Ian Wood has recently demonstrated, it took some time until contemporaries realized that these were not just temporary problems, but that the glory days of Rome were gone forever.¹⁹⁶ In the barbarian kingdoms, categories of subaltern Romanness became legally fixed. It is no coincidence that the terms ‘Romans’ and ‘Welsh, Walach’ could eventually acquire the meaning ‘serf’ in several languages, among them, Old English and Romanian, whereas ‘Vlach’ in Balkan languages signified low-status transhumant herdsmen.¹⁹⁷

4. There are substantial traces that the significance of Romanness changed around 600. This is a point specifically made by Guy Halsall in his contribution to this volume. It also becomes visible in the changes in Paul the Deacon’s terminology analysed above. Romanness became defined not only through loyalty to the emperor, but increasingly also by orthodoxy, whatever that meant at any given point.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹² Hen 2007.

¹⁹³ Smith/Ward Perkins 2016.

¹⁹⁴ De Rubeis 2013; De Rubeis 2002; Cardin 2008.

¹⁹⁵ Salway 1994.

¹⁹⁶ Wood, forthcoming (a).

¹⁹⁷ Insley 2006; Pohl 2017.

¹⁹⁸ Greatrex 2000, 278.

That provided a more convenient way in which barbarians could become good Romans. Indeed, many of the *Romani* who acted on behalf of the Empire in Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards* were presumably of barbarian extraction. In Italy, the Gothic war effectively split the Roman elites into those who supported Gothic rule (such as Cassiodorus) and those who favoured the imperial side; and later, into those who acquiesced to Lombard rule and those who withdrew to lands under Roman control. Shared Roman identity ceased to provide a sense of social cohesion.¹⁹⁹ The end of the senate in the West removed a group that had always set the standards of what Romanness meant.

5. In a simplifying overview, the semantic development of 'Roman' between Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages could be sketched like this. Both in the Empire and initially in the *regna*, there was a basic binary division between Romans and non-Romans/barbarians which could be used on several levels, in a political/ideological, legal, ethnic or linguistic and cultural sense, which were mostly seen as intrinsically related. This overall distinction gradually faded out as a key organizing principle of the social world. The political unity of the Romans in the Western Empire collapsed, making the term accessible for rather diverse ideological uses. The legal significance of Romanness became fragmented, as we can see most clearly in the Frankish kingdoms, and some of the diverse status groups resulting from the process lost their Roman connotation: *Romani tributales* tended to become simple *tributales*. Ethnic identification as Romans by origin declined: in many contexts, self-identification and outside designation became dissociated. The Germanic term **walhoz* and its derivatives spread as a term used by outsiders, and even 'Roman' itself seems to have become restricted to an ethnic category in some contexts. As territorial identifiers, the names of regions such as Aquitaine, Provence or Raetia replaced 'Roman', which had become elusive and contradictory. Spoken Late Latin slowly drifted apart and became regionalized too in what were to become Romance languages; through the Carolingian reforms, they became disconnected from the literate classical Latin that served as an instrument of elite communication. Christian education selected, appropriated and reshuffled what had once been a distinctively Roman cultural canon. As a result, several residual meanings of 'Roman' became detached from each other: inhabitants of the city of Rome; representatives of the 'Byzantine' empire; the 'Roman' Church, eventually expanding its range beyond the Roman diocese; and, of course, Romanness as a thing of the past, *tempore Romanorum*. Whereas these forms of identification retained their significance throughout the Middle Ages, the 'Roman' population in the *regna* became reduced to a few minorities, mostly in Alpine regions, in the course of the early Middle Ages. Where 'Romans' remained the majority, as in Gaul or Spain, Roman identity tended to fade away.

199 Pohl, forthcoming (b).

6. Thus, eventually, many forms of Roman representation in the West were detached from a sense of Roman identity, as far as we can see. This means that they became available for reappropriation, a process that has gone on until the present. As Stefan Esders puts it, ‘the process by which Roman law in many areas lost its importance as an identity marker could also give way to it being more freely used and adapted as a legal resource’.²⁰⁰ Romanness remained only in a vague sense as a general frame of reference that might allow social groups, individuals or cultural contents to be re-connected to the prestigious notion of Rome. Ideological references to that ancient source of magnetism mattered until modernity in European history.²⁰¹ By 800, when a new Roman emperor was crowned in Rome, self-identification as Romans had become marginal in most areas of Western Europe, and most of these ‘Romans’ had a lower social status. Living Romans, in Rome and elsewhere, had a rather dubious reputation. Hate or despal of Romans is recorded more frequently in the Carolingian period. *Stulti sunt Romani, sapienti sunt Paioarii* is what an early ninth-century gloss records in both Latin and Old High German.²⁰² Saint Goar, according to his Life written in 839 at Prüm, had to deal with people who hated *omnes Romane nationis et linguae homines*.²⁰³ As Liudprand of Cremona put it in the tenth century: ‘We regard “Roman!” as one of the worst insults.’²⁰⁴ In such cases, Roman identities could still become quite conspicuous, though controversial.

At the same time, Romanness remained a political and cultural model, and a source of unfailling prestige. The name ‘Rome’ could be attached to the second and third Rome, Constantinople and Moscow, to the Scandinavian *Romvarar* or to the Rum Seljuks, and European cities and aristocratic families were proud of their often imagined Roman origins. The Roman past continued to generate Roman identifications and appropriations, because they were no longer linked to a consistent Roman identity. This paradox can tell us a lot about how identities work.

200 See the contribution by Stefan Esders, in this volume.

201 See Hirschi 2012.

202 *Kassel Glosses*, in: *Die Althochdeutschen Glossen*, ed. Steinmeyer/Sievers vol. 3, 13, 1–5.

203 *Vita et miracula sancti Goaris* 6–7, ed. Stiene, 49–52.

204 Liudprand of Cremona, *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana* 12, ed. Becker, 182–183; for an excellent analysis: Gandino 1995, 257–270. For the bad reputation of the citizens of Rome, see the contribution by Paolo Delogu, in this volume.

Guy Halsall

Transformations of Romanness: The northern Gallic case

No identity can remain fixed and stable. Any perspective informed by modern continental philosophy cannot fail to see any primordialist position on ethnic identity as fundamentally wrong-headed. Identity is a question of desire, of a 'motion towards' an ideal. The ideal, naturally, is unattainable. No identity is coextensive with itself, nor can it be, except among the dead (which opens a different perspective on the study of identity in early medieval cemeteries). What makes an identity is, furthermore, always something more than itself; something in other words that – in elementary Lacanian – operates at least as much in the realm of the imaginary as in that of the symbolic. This is why external markers or signs of distinction never suffice. An identity is always constructed in part by what it is not, however that negation is articulated. In this purely symbolic sense it is no different from any other sign, operating within a chain of metaphor and difference. It is impossible to separate an identity from its alterity, from its negations. This is one reason why it makes no sense to study 'othering' or alterity as some sort of process distinct from identity-construction.¹ A strategy of distinction is always at the self-same time a strategy of identification, and vice versa, bound together like the two sides of a Möbius Strip. To raise a common identity in a social interaction is simultaneously to raise those things that both actors share in *not* being and those things that they do not share. The things held to constitute an identity, those things which are 'in it more than itself' are contingent, ever changing, and yet, at any one moment, always constructed as timeless and essential. In any given context, an identity is always already what it is. This is yet another reason to mistrust views that portray something like Gothic identity as an unchanging monolith.

In my 2007 book *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West* I included a long discussion of ethnicity in which I made a number of points which, sadly, I do not think have made much impact on the study of the topic.² One is the that ethnicity is multi-layered, so that ethnic change is much *more* about the acquisition of new layers and the reshuffling of old ones through time than it is about swapping one for another. It is this misguided notion that is at stake, for example, in Patrick Amory's work and in Peter Heather's critiques of it.³ I argued that everything that we might say about what we consider to be an unproblematic 'ethnic' identity at the level to which I will, here, provisionally (with full recognition of the problems of the term) refer as 'gentile' (i.e.

1 See also Halsall 2017.

2 I had actually made them in 1995 in Halsall 1995a, 56–58, but they are more fully worked through in Halsall 2007a, 35–45.

3 Amory 1997; Heather 2003; Heather 2007.

as a *gens* ‘people’) can be applied to identities that come at perhaps lower levels, which might loosely (but misleadingly) be described as residential, local or regional.⁴ I then made the point that what we think of as the appropriately ‘ethnic’ (i.e. ‘gentile’, as above) level within this arc of the spectrum of identities is contingent upon historical circumstance. Ethnicity is *dynamic*. I hypothesized that a break-up of the UK into regional units might lead to a situation where a Yorkshire identity was considered more important than an English or British one. Again, the point concerns layers of ethnicity and their contingent reordering as part of the dynamics of historical change. Hierarchies of identity might be reordered in the opposite direction too. Some of us would rather be seen as British than English and as European rather than British. The study of Roman identity, its many levels and its change through time, is an excellent case study of these points. There are other reasons why the topic is important.

Deconstructing the tortured historiography of Roman ethnicity

Derrida said that ‘deconstruction is what happens’ (‘ce qui arrive’) in a reading.⁵ Let me offer a little deconstruction of my own previous writing. In Gregory of Tours’ account of the various diplomatic comings and goings in late sixth-century Gaul, he describes one embassy as including ‘Warinar [or Warmar] the Frank and Firminus the Arvernian’.⁶ Another comprised ‘Bodegisil the son of Mummolenus from Soissons, Evantius the son of Dynamius from Arles, and Grippio the Frank.’⁷ In my own work,⁸ I have used these references to talk, first, about what a *Frank* was in Gregory’s writings and, second, about the northern Gallic aristocracy and why Gregory did not think there was a Frankish nobility. Yet what one might term the ‘repressed other’ of the discussion is represented precisely by the two non-Frankish characters, Firminus and Evantius. What of *their* identity, which Gregory specifically tells us about in terms that seem to mark its structural equivalence to *Francus*: Ses-

4 The problem with the term is that it resonates with earlier uses of *Gentilismus* in the literature. However, it was felt that a term was necessary to specify the level of ethnicity concerned with named ‘peoples’, especially as the subtleties and many layered nature of ‘ethnicity’ have become widely recognised. For the problems of *Gentilismus*, see Pohl 1999, 195–196.

5 Derrida’s most accessible comments on these key issues may be found in Derrida/Ronse 1972, English translation Bass 2002. Useful introductions to Derrida’s thought include: Dooley/Kavanagh 2007; Glendinning 2011; Howells 1998; Stocker 2006.

6 Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum*, 4, 40, ed. Krusch/Levison, 171–173; trans. Thorpe, 234–235.

7 Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum*, 10, 2, ed. Krusch/Levison, 482–483; trans. Thorpe, 547–549.

8 Halsall 1995b, 31, 39.

sionicus and *Arelatensis*?⁹ What passes without discussion is what it meant to be an Arvernian or from Arles, or – if Mummolenus' sons *weren't* identified as Franks – from Soissons.

I am, however, in good company. A similar deconstructive reading of Walter Pohl's writings illustrates, as I hope to show, how a crucial misunderstanding has come about and how the present volume might deal with and ameliorate the results of that, to move the debate on in productive fashion. The debate – maybe dispute would be better – between Walter Pohl and Walter Goffart is well known. It causes me some distress. I have friends on both sides – I like to think that I get on well with both of the principals – and no one likes to see their friends arguing so bitterly. Most of the rudeness has come from the western shore of the Atlantic, but rudeness is not the only, and certainly not the most effective, form of academic aggression. This confrontation has long perplexed me, largely because I have strained to see exactly what the 'Toronto School's' objection to the 'Vienna School' was.

I should not have to make clear that Walter Pohl's works have been immensely valuable and important to me, or that I am almost entirely in agreement with its principal conclusions. Both points should be visible from my own previous writings. It must furthermore be stressed that deconstruction is not in and of itself a hostile move. As any aficionado of Derrida's writing knows, it is a recognition of a text's, or a body of writing's, quality, importance and value. Having thus made clear that what follows is motivated not by hostility or confrontation but by respect and friendship I should like to discuss what seemed to me to emerge from a deconstructive re-reading of as much of the Pohl oeuvre as was available to me, especially the classics of the corpus.¹⁰

Throughout this work, the analysis of what makes (or does not make) and what distinguishes (or does not) a people remains at the level of those groups which have always been considered to be peoples: Franks, Goths, Lombards, Burgundians and the rest, for whom the constitutive outside is indeed formed by the Romans, the Roman Empire. For example, in his classic article, 'Telling the difference', Walter Pohl asked what it meant to be (*inter alia*) a citizen of the *civitas* of Tours.¹¹ That part of the question, however, was never answered. That type of identity, *Wir-Gefühl* or whatever played no further role in the discussion. The 'repressed other' throughout the text is the *non-ethnic group*, whatever (if ever) that was or might

⁹ I assume that Firminus, Evantius and (perhaps) Bodegisil were the people who in the *Pactus legis Salicae* would be termed *Romani* – perhaps belonging to the evidently Roman category of *conviviales regi*. *Pactus legis Salicae* 41, 8, ed. Eckhardt, 157.

¹⁰ These works included: Pohl 1998b; Pohl 1998c; Pohl 1999; Pohl 2002a; Pohl 2002b; Pohl 2005b; Pohl 2008. I am grateful to Walter Pohl not only for copies of most of these works but also for tolerating this close reading of his oeuvre with good humour. I must underline that, as any reader of Derrida's work will know, a deconstructive reading is a mark of respect, of a text's importance and in fluence.

¹¹ Pohl 1998b, 22.

have been. Put another way, the analysis (however subtle, persuasive and brilliant) remains at the level of the ethnic groups that have *always* been considered to be ethnic groups and which have *always* been the ethnic players in the story: the barbarians. It will become clear below that this is in fact commonplace in discussions of early medieval ethnicity, from *all* historiographical camps, but the inevitable point is that if one limits the discussion in this way, to those social units which have always been held, *a priori*, to be ethnic groups, the argument runs a strong risk of circularity, or at least of simply reaffirming its initial premises.

What has therefore escaped the discussion thus far is how the Turoni, Arverni and Bituriges, or the Gauls, Spaniards and Italians, differed from each other, or what the difference was between those ethnic taxonomies and that of the *Germani*. Was a Batavian any more different from a Frank than from a Treverian? I doubt it, but then I think we have not sufficiently carefully kept the analysis of the Roman-Barbarian dichotomy separate from that of the taxonomic ethnography that pervades our sources. And yet, the deconstructive reader of the Pohl oeuvre (as it stood before the 2013 Vienna conference) will see an effective division between *Germani* – who have ethnic groups – and Romans – who, within the explicit discussion of the texts published thus far, seem not to have. Also visible is the persistence of the type of identity, which earlier I provisionally labelled *gentile* (identity as a people), as something somehow ‘special’, vis-à-vis other types of identity that could and should be positioned within the same, ‘ethnic’ part of any map of identities. On that basis, whether one likes it or not, seeing ethnicity in the Pohl oeuvre as a means of clothing old-style invading barbarians in new garb is one possible legitimate reading. This is permitted by two *aporias*: silences, or rather by the spaces left by those silences, which represent a ‘blockage’ in the reading of a text where interpretation can proceed no further but must follow the reader’s choice.¹² These are points of undecidability. One point is the silence about what distinguishes an ethnic group from a non-ethnic group within the same part of the spectrum, or layering, of identities. The other is the silence about what distinguishes such identities or layers of identity among the barbarians from their equivalents among the Romans, or more accurately among the inhabitants of the Roman Empire.

Now, as it happens, it is vital to point out that a deconstructive reader will encounter precisely the same aporetic silences – if anything – *more* easily, in the works of some of Pohl’s critics, and indeed with more serious consequences for their arguments, as we shall see. Leaving that aside for the moment, however, I would like to propose, in the interests of attempting to bridge the historiographical divide, that it is in the silent spaces of these *aporias* that the misunderstanding between the Toronto and Vienna ‘schools’ originates. The Toronto school views the silences as *constitutive*, integral to the argument. By contrast, in my own previous readings of the *corpus Pohlianum*, I never have assigned them any significance. I

¹² On the *aporia* in Derrida’s thinking, see Royle 2003, 92–93.

admit some positive curiosity about them but I perceived them more as a sign of incompleteness, as a space yet to be filled, as an area where the argument could be advanced. The Toronto School's critique, by contrast, is – as I see it – based on a reading of those silences that suggests that they imply a genealogical link to the more traditional *Lehre* of 'Germanic' history. Now, *just as long as* one sees the critique as based upon extant *silences* within the Pohl argument, and *just as long as* one acknowledges that an argument is composed of its silences as well as its statements, one must concede that the Toronto critique is based on a valid reading. If one does not accept this, one must continue either, as I did, to be unable to recognise the works of Walter Pohl in the Toronto critiques thereof and – in consequence – to be simply bemused about what was going on, or more actively to see them as a malicious and wilful distortion. I do not think that the last option is justified either. There may have been malice involved – certainly the critique could have been expressed in less hostile and offensive language – but I do not think there has been deliberate distortion.

This, I think, suggests why the two sides have continued to talk past each other and how such bitterness and anger has arisen. To repeat: what is at stake is silence and, when silence is at stake, 'I never said that' will never be an adequate riposte. Hence, as I see it, one side's frustration with the other for not dealing with what is actually written on the page and the other side's frustration that their opponents seem to refuse to answer its criticism. When the space exposed by those silences opens onto the traditional *Lehre* of the *Völkerwanderung* and thence – inevitably – to Nazis, and where the two principals are of the precise respective heritages of those involved here, unsurprisingly tempers will flare and would have done, I suspect, even if the critique had been made in less deliberately (or carelessly) provocative terms.

The point about an *aporia*, or an aporetic silence, as here, is that it is, in Derridian terms, a space of *différance*, where a choice between two undecidable options can only be made on the basis of a purely political decision. Put another way, as intimated above, the text itself provides no empirical pointer so one must decide for oneself, for one's own reasons, what the silence means. Thus the debate becomes as tribal as it has done: almost ethnic (meta-ethnic?) in itself. That is why we have made so little progress in resolving the issue, for all the debate's heat. Not dealing with those *aporias* in the argument, once pointed out, though, will not merely not close up that space; it will actively keep it open. That is why this volume and the conference upon which it was based are so important. They overtly address – or should do – both of the silent spaces I have mentioned. I am not the sort to argue for cosily artificial rapprochement or, worse, consensus but one of the many tributes one can pay to Walter Pohl is that, in spite of the calumny he has received, he has continued to talk to the Toronto historians. What I hope for from addressing those *aporias* is – one way or another – the provision of something concrete and *decidable*, on the basis of which those of us with no tribal affiliation can make a choice.

Roman identity

Roman identity serves as a particularly good case study of the multi-layered, situational and dynamic nature of ethnic identity. Let us return to Gregory of Tours. Edward James and Walter Goffart have both argued that ethnicity was not important for Gregory.¹³ Why not? Because he rarely ascribes a 'gentile' identity to the people in his stories. He does not talk all that often about *Franci*; *Saxones* crop up a couple of times, once famously or infamously cutting their hair and dressing in the Breton style; a Goth makes an appearance here and there; and that is about that. But the *Historiae* are full of people identified by *civitas*. James says that Gregory identifies himself not as a Roman but as an Arvernian.¹⁴ That sort of identity, according to *civitas* or in some cases, as with the men of Champagne, *ducatus*, was – very obviously – something that mattered a lot in Gregory's world.¹⁵ There is nothing that allows us analytically to distinguish these types of identity from the 'gentile' level.

Let us pause here to note the implicit assumption within James' and Goffart's articles: that ethnicity is a level of identity equating with 'people' generally (that is to say it operates, in the term provisionally adopted here, at the 'gentile' level) and with Germanic people specifically. Presumably, ethnicity can only have mattered to Gregory if his works were filled with descriptions of the characters in his tales as 'Franks', 'Goths' or 'Saxons' or, for James, if he had self-identified as 'Roman' (apparently in opposition to Frankish). This is a point of considerable interest, not least because it marks a point at which Pohl's and Goffart's writings come together and indeed join those of many other writers on the topic. For Pohl and Goffart equally, as for James (and the early Halsall), ethnicity and its importance is to be judged according to the usage of Germanic ethnonyms as markers of identity. The implication of Goffart's article is that people had no ethnic identity of any significance if that was not 'Germanic'. The fact that the *Libri Historiarum* are replete with *Arverni*, *Turoni*, *Lemovici*, *Turnacenses*, *Bituriges* and the rest is a point which, for Goffart, seems to have no bearing at all upon the question of the political importance of ethnic identity in Gregory's Gaul. Indeed, close reading and comparison of the Goffart and Pohl corpora reveals that 'Germanic' ethnicity is far more real for Goffart (and his followers, especially Callander Murray¹⁶) than for Pohl. The crucial issues are these: first, in Goffart's view these Germanic ethnic groups did not bring down the Roman Empire and were of no historical significance whereas, for Pohl, whether or not they brought down the Empire, ethnically-named political groups were of central importance in

¹³ Goffart 1982b; James 1998.

¹⁴ James 1998, 66. James says that Gregory writes of the identities 'Frank' and 'Arvernian' 'as if they were equivalent ethnic terms' but the implications of that point are left unexplored, James 1998, 60.

¹⁵ The men of Champagne: Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum*, 5, 3; 5, 14; 8, 18 (implicitly); 10, 3; 10, 27, ed. Krusch/Levison, 196 198, 207 213, 384 385, 483 486, 519 520. There is a good discussion of Gregory's references to *civitates* in Heather 2000, 441 443, 456; Lewis 2000.

¹⁶ Murray 2002.

the political changes of the fifth and sixth centuries; and second, Goffart reads Pohl's argument (as above) as a refiguring of the old view of the conquest of the Roman Empire by Germanic peoples.¹⁷ Indeed – ironically – it may actually be his own view of ethnicity (especially 'Germanic') and its reality that predisposes Goffart to read Pohl in this way.

Returning to Gregory of Tours and the precise problem of Roman identity, one must ask why the bishop of Tours avoids the designation of *Romani* for those people he identifies by *civitas* or *ducatus*. Any answer must acknowledge first of all that this was nothing new; Roman ethnicity had always worked at multiple levels.¹⁸ Another key problem in so much discussion of late antique ethnicity is the failure to tease out or consistently analyse these different levels. Especially important – and perhaps confusing for the issue – is the fact that the concept of 'Roman' functioned at a structural as well as a taxonomic level and that these two levels could sometimes be run together. By the structural level I mean the use of the terms 'Roman' and 'barbarian' to mark an important organisational, cultural difference between civilised and savage. By the taxonomic level I mean the way in which the world was described as divided up into the territories of different peoples.¹⁹ The two different levels are well illustrated by the two parts of Tacitus' *Germania*. The first section differentiates the *Germani*, qua barbarians, from the Romans in a way that, as has long been noted, cannot really be read other than as a critique of Roman society and politics under Domitian; the second half gives a taxonomy of the Germanic peoples, with few or no points of contact with the first section.²⁰ Like any identity, Roman identity operated in the symbolic and imaginary realms (as above)²¹. The crucial point is that the structural level of Roman identity – that which has barbarian as its opposite or other – functions almost entirely in the imaginary register and even then in a mainly self-referential way; the taxonomic level works in the symbolic to a much greater degree. The term *Romanus* may confuse the issue by (unlike *barbarus*) being capable of being used in both levels but it is analytically vital to keep them distinct. Failure to do that has bedevilled much study of late antique ethnicity. The opposite of *barbarus* is *Romanus*; the opposite of, say, *Francus* is not.

The structural level mapped onto the taxonomic in historically-contingent ways. Caesar, for example, described the Gallic and Germanic peoples but there is no sense from Tacitus' historical writings that the movement of the imperial *limes* in the inter-

¹⁷ Goffart 2006, 47, 198.

¹⁸ Geary 2002, 63–73; Miles 1999; Mitchell/Greatrex 2000; Woolf 1998; recently, Conant 2012.

¹⁹ I owe the term 'taxonomic' to Michael Kulikowski. As late Roman examples of the genre, one can cite Ammianus' ethnographic excursus on the people who live beyond the Danube (Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* 22.8; 31.2, trans. Rolfe, 212–241, 380–395), the Arabs (Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* 14.4, trans. Rolfe, 26–29), and so on.

²⁰ Tacitus, *Germania* 1–27 (structural discussion), 28–46 (taxonomy), trans. Rives, 79–97.

²¹ See above, p. 41.

vening century and a half had much altered this taxonomy.²² When Ammianus launched into his periodic ethnic excursus it makes little difference whether he is talking of areas inside or outside the imperial frontiers.²³ The whole world was made up of different peoples with their own characteristics. Plenty of fourth-century evidence backs up the idea that the Romans thought of the world *within* the *limes* as a mosaic of different *ethne*.²⁴ The late Roman popularity of works on the *origines* of those people, within which genre post-imperial *origines gentium* are surely to be located, makes this clearer still.²⁵

Thus, contrary to what Walter Goffart has written,²⁶ one of the many interesting things that happened to the Roman Empire in the fifth century was *not* that it ran into a wave of ethnicity. Ethnic identity was alive and well throughout imperial history. The problem, noted above, is that Goffart's work contains the same aporia, the same silence concerning what differentiates an ethnic from a non-ethnic identity and about what differentiated an intra-imperial ethnic group or identity from an extra-imperial one. Throughout Goffart's work they remain tacitly present and unchallenged, and with a much more serious impact upon his argument.

The development of Roman identity to c. 476

The questions I wish to examine in the remainder of this paper are, first, how and especially why Roman ethnicity should have defaulted to the *civitas* level by Gregory's day; and, second, why it then got worse. In *Salic Law*, the Romans are clearly a parallel population to the Franks, even if legally disadvantaged in some ways.²⁷ A century or so later, *Romani* are just one of several semi-free categories in parts of *Lex Ribuaria*, who are restricted in their legal capacity.²⁸ That situation would have been unthinkable even a century earlier, let alone in 400.

An answer to this question requires us to consider the role of Romanness, as a supra-regional, imperial identity in the process of subjectivization. Here in important ways, the taxonomic and the structural come together with the political and cultural. Romanness was central to the formation of the political subject. What was held to distinguish man from woman also distinguished Roman and barbarian, and

²² Caesar, *Commentarii de bello Gallico* 6, 21–24, ed. and trans. Edwards, 344–351.

²³ Thus Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* 15.11–12 (on the Gauls); 22.15–16 (on Egypt), trans. Rolfe, 188–199, 278–309, differ little if at all from the excursus referred to at footnote 19.

²⁴ For example Ammianus Marcellinus' excursus on the Gauls (Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* 15.11–12, trans. Rolfe, 188–199; see footnote 19).

²⁵ See Ps. Aurelius Victor, *Origo Gentis Romanae*, ed. and trans. Richard; English trans. Pearse.

²⁶ Goffart 2006, 1.

²⁷ E.g. *Pactus legis Salicae* 14; 32; 41; 42, 4, ed. Eckhardt, 64–69, 122–123, 154–161, 164.

²⁸ *Lex Ribuaria* 61, 10–11; 61, 19; 68, 2–3; 69, ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 112, 113–114, 119–120. On the meaning of *Romani* in the *Lex Salica* and the *Lex Ribuaria* see the contributions by Stefan Esders and Lukas Bothe in this volume.

human and animal: moderation, control of the emotions, reason. These aspects learned during socialisation, *paideia*, enabled participation in legitimate government and rendered Roman forms of government superior to others. Movement towards the ideal legitimised behaviour and authority of all sorts. Movement away – real or alleged – had the opposite effect. Control over the political centre, the imperial court, enabled one to define who was and who was not behaving in the correct legitimate fashion or moving in the right direction. Thus Roman identity, as something moved towards, was central to the sex-gender system and to political legitimacy. This transcended taxonomy. As is well known, a barbarian could behave in such a ‘Roman’ fashion that his non-Roman origins were held of no account or – more correctly – were held simply in the taxonomic register, just as we may suppose were the origins of a Spaniard, Gaul or African at the imperial court. This should not be controversial.²⁹

Nonetheless, the point just made is worth stressing. In the taxonomic sense, Romans had always had multiple layers of identity: as a citizen of the Empire; as originating in one of the major imperial regions, whether or not fossilised as dioceses in the Diocletianic Empire (Britain, Gaul, Spain, Africa, etc.); as the inhabitant of a particular province or *civitas*. The writings of the Gallic authors of the late Empire make this last level very clear.³⁰ Someone could claim different *civitates* as bases of identity from paternal and maternal descent.³¹ Perhaps there were lower, nested levels too, based around lesser settlements or communities, or *pagi*.³²

None of these levels differs fundamentally from a ‘gentile’ or similar identity.³³ The tribal origins of the Gallic and British *civitates* in any case made them ‘gentile’ identities of a sort. Classical ethnography provided a resource for the assigning of characteristics to such identities. We can see this in Ausonius’ jibes about a British rival or in Ammianus’ comments on the Gauls, and their differences from the Italians, or on the Pannonians who came to pre-eminence under Valentinian, or, earlier,

²⁹ For an important discussion of some of these issues, see Kulikowski 2013. On *paideia*, a good introduction is P. Brown 1992, 37–41.

³⁰ See, for example, Ausonius, *Epigrammata* 108–113, ed. Schenkl, 225, where he mocks the notion of a good Briton. Rutilius Namatianus also suggests a view of Britons as barbarous (*ferox*): Rutilius Namatianus, *De Reditu Suo* I, 500, ed. and trans. J.W. Duff/A.M. Duff, 808. Sidonius Apollinaris’ pride in the history of his fellow Arvernians is clear at Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmen* 7, 139–159, ed. and trans. Anderson, vol. 1, 128–131, and his resentment at the Gauls’ exclusion from the centre of politics, to the benefit of the Italians, is visible at Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmen* 5, 349–367, ed. and trans. Anderson, vol. 1, 90–93. The non Gallic Ammianus famously criticises Italians with reference to the Gauls at Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* 15.12.3, trans. Rolfe, 196–197.

³¹ Ausonius is an example: J. Matthews 1990, 81–82. See also the case of Sidonius Apollinaris: Harries 1994, 27–35. A classic statement of multi-layered Roman identity is Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* 167–168, ed. Schenkl, 99, about Ausonius’ two homelands: Bordeaux and Rome.

³² In the seventh century, Fredegar identified a Frank as *homo Scarponnensis* (i.e. from the *pagus Scarponensis*, on the Moselle above Metz), Fredegar, *Chronicae* 4, 52, ed. and trans. Wallace Hadrill, 43.

³³ Halsall 2007a, 39–40.

in Cassius Dio's ascriptions of Caracalla's diverse personal defects to his family's origins in different regions.³⁴

It is by no means clear that any of these identities functioned differently in social relations *within the Empire* – that is at a level below a shared Roman political identity – from barbarian confederate or tribal identities or origins: a resource for differentiation, assimilation or other relationships. Classical ethnography played a part of course as can be seen in Ammianus' criticism – or praise – of the inhabitants of different regions.³⁵ That makes it difficult to assume a different treatment at this level of identity, of people from within or without the *limes*. The late Roman army's élite *auxilia palatina* included regiments named after Celts and Batavians as well as after Franks and Saxons.³⁶ That sort of ethnographic taxonomy played on the kinds of bio-geographical pseudo-science that was held to explain the civilised-barbarian dichotomy, so the two aspects bled into one another.³⁷ This further emphasises my point about the contingency and analytical interchangeability of different levels of ethnicity.

Crucial to the development of Roman identities are the changes in the Roman army in the fourth century and its so-called barbarization. The extent to which this was an actual matter of real non-Roman influence can be debated, as in *Barbarian Migrations*, where I suggested the existence of a certain 'barbarian chic' that might usefully be considered as an analogue for the nineteenth-century French Zouaves: French troops who wore a French idea of North African native dress and who adopted a number of other North African cultural practices, all of which gave them a tremendous esprit de corps.³⁸ It nevertheless seems clear that following the division of civil and military services the army began to create a set of new identities that centred on the very antitheses of the civic Roman masculine ideal: animal, ferocious, braggart, barbarian.³⁹ Such would of course form only one level of identity, nested within and as contingent as the others. Nonetheless that represents a crucial development that provided a hugely important resource within the political and social developments of the fifth century.

The key feature of fifth-century politics, especially after Valentinian III's assassination, was faction fighting between groups made up of Romans *and* barbarians. A failure to control the centre, or a defeat by those who did, led factions cut off from traditional legitimation of status to seek other forms of legitimate political authority.

³⁴ See above, footnote 30 for Ausonius' jibes. Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana* 78, 6, 1a, trans. Cary/Foster, vol. 9, 290.

³⁵ Above, footnotes 19 and 23.

³⁶ Halsall 2007a, 106–108.

³⁷ The classic accounts of the geo biological reasons for the Roman barbarian difference are at Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 2, 80, 190, ed. Rackham, vol. 1, 320–321; Vegetius, *Epitoma rei militaris* 1, 2, trans. Milner, 3–4; Vitruvius, *De Architectura* 6, 1, ed. and trans. Granger, vol. 2, 10–21.

³⁸ Halsall 2007a, 109.

³⁹ Halsall 2007a, 101–110.

In this context, the barbarized military model of Romanness was very valuable to an aristocracy used to serving in or working alongside a 'barbarised' army. This surely eased the transition to the state of affairs around the 470s, where a series of regional factions existed, each grouped around a particular army, none of which was able both to gain lasting and secure control of the political centre *and* defeat, and establish legitimate dominance over the others.

In the course of the fifth century, barbarian military leaders had, as Michael Kulikowski has very clearly shown, using insights from postcolonial theory, developed a particular pattern of behaviour with regard to the imperial court.⁴⁰ This involved stressing the stereotypical, threatening role of the barbarian when outside the circles of legitimate authority, as a means of being reintegrated into the latter, when such identities were dropped. Crucially, though, Roman military commanders seem to have picked up this model of behaviour too in the mid- to late fifth century. This, as I have argued, involved the adoption of the quintessential gentile title of *rex* as a basis for an authority that could be dealt with legitimately by Romans.⁴¹

The development of Roman identity, c. 476 – c. 550

So we arrive at the situation that seems to have predominated between about 476 and the middle of the sixth century, when a Roman civil aristocracy and administration served alongside a barbarian army. This situation was importantly different from that which existed 100 years earlier but nevertheless was clearly descended and developed from the latter. It is important to stress that this was not a situation of straightforward binary oppositions but one of nested levels of identity. In the bizarre political situation that existed in the half century between Romulus Augustulus' deposition and the death of Theodoric, when I would argue that people were aware that the Western Roman Empire was no longer functioning but not that it had ended, it is unsurprising that discussions of Roman identity largely took the form of discussions of legal relationships between Roman citizens and barbarian soldiers. This can be seen in the famous texts of Ostrogothic Italy, or in Salic or Burgundian Law.⁴² Otherwise, as with the slightly earlier writings of Sidonius Apollinaris, they concerned the traditional underpinnings of Roman identity: culture, education and so on.⁴³ Yet at the same time the Roman aristocracy's militarisation continued, as is well known. Simultaneously, the Church was adopting classical aspects of Roman civic masculinity and was, in some areas, such as Gaul, becoming a focus of Roman aristocratic

⁴⁰ Kulikowski 2013.

⁴¹ Halsall 2007a, 202 206, 266 267, 281, 408 409.

⁴² Halsall 2007a, 475 476, 485 487, with references.

⁴³ Harries 1994, 243 251; Mathisen 1993.

competition. Here too, though, there was change and an opposition to a very un-Roman competitive asceticism.⁴⁴

It is difficult to see how this situation could fail to cause the renegotiation of Roman identity. As I stated at the beginning, identity is a motion towards, an issue of desire. Any identity depends upon a set of ideal images and commensurate oppositions. In the situation that was emerging in the course of the fifth century the oppositions were neither as pronounced nor as negative. The political advantages of Romanness were lesser, too. That did not mean that there were no attractions. In the strange ‘sleepwalking’ period after 476 the emperor remained the ultimate political reference point, in whom barbarian soldier and Roman civilian, and the legitimization of the forms of authority invested in both, came together.⁴⁵

The situation is perhaps very well illustrated in the *Pactus Legis Salicae*, where *Romani* and *Franci* have seemingly well-defined functions but both have access to the king.⁴⁶ The Franks have legal privilege, which is hugely significant, but the image is of two parallel populations. We should not teleologically assume that this situation was destined to develop along particular lines. The world after 476 contained many possibilities.

One of these possibilities was the re-establishment of unity by military action. In c. 510 there existed a situation wherein two kings, Clovis and Theodoric, having between them established dominance over almost the whole western Empire, faced off against each other. Both were evidently happy to be addressed as *augustus* by Roman subjects, even if neither formally adopted the title.⁴⁷ To contemporaries, this situation may well have seemed simply like the next, perhaps decisive, round in the struggle between the Gallic and Italian factions that had dominated fifth-century western politics. Had such a play-off come about, and been as decisive as many other battles of the period had been,⁴⁸ it is likely that a western Empire would have been re-established, however permanently or impermanently, under Amal or Merovingian rule. Who can guess what might have become of Roman identity in that event? I suspect that something closer to the fourth-century situation may have emerged, although it was unlikely to have represented a re-establishment of or reversion to precisely that state of affairs.

Such a decisive confrontation, of course, never took place. Instead, possibly motivated by the developments around 510, the Constantinopolitan court began to em-

⁴⁴ Cooper/Leyser 2001.

⁴⁵ On the continuity of Roman titles, see A. H. M. Jones 1964, 238–265; Barnwell 1992. On the ‘Romanness’ of ‘barbarian’ rulers, see Halsall 2007a, 488–494.

⁴⁶ E.g. *Pactus legis Salicae* 41, 5; 41, 8, ed. Eckhardt, 156, 157.

⁴⁷ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum*, 2, 38, ed. Krusch/Levison, 88–89, for the acclamation of Clovis as *augustus*, which historians have generally rejected but on no clear grounds. Michael McCormick wisely leaves the issue open: McCormick 1989. On Theodoric’s description as *augustus*, see McCormick 1986, 278–280.

⁴⁸ Such as the battle of Vouillé (507).

phasize its exclusive, Roman legitimacy and in time to attempt to re-impose political unity through its own military actions. What made a crucial difference to these campaigns was the well-known Justinianic ideological offensive. Famously this involved a rewriting of fifth-century history to portray the West as lost to barbarian invasions, which can be seen in works from Marcellinus Comes' *Chronicle*, through at least the early books (though I would say all, to some extent) of Procopius' *Wars*.⁴⁹

The development of Roman identity, c. 550 – c. 625

The impact of the Justinianic Wars, and especially of the fact that they did not result in the West's military domination by the eastern Emperor, cannot be overestimated. After twenty years of brutal destructive warfare waged to make the point, no one could be in any doubt that the areas beyond actual imperial authority were not part of the Empire any more. They remained lost to barbarians; the frontier between imperial Roman inside and outside had formally been redrawn. As far as Roman identity in the West was concerned, this completely changed the game. It did so for *all* sorts of identities, the traditional bases for which had to be redefined. As is well-known, the Old Testament became a new source of models and ideals.⁵⁰ What could be done with Roman identity though?

In this context it is not surprising to see the dramatic decline in Roman identity at the end of the sixth century in Gaul. The parallel societies of *Lex Salica* disappeared. In the sixth century the personnel of the Gallic church was dominated by people with Roman names. Around 600, that changed so that bishops overwhelmingly had Frankish names. The episcopal list of Metz, for instance, reveals only a couple of non-Roman or non-biblical names before about 600. After that the situation is reversed. This is fairly typical for northern Gaul.⁵¹ One might read that change in several ways. The families who provided members of the episcopate changed their naming practices; the people entering the episcopate ceased to adopt Roman names as more appropriate to their status; or the Roman families that had provided the bishops dropped in status. Either way, the significance of this change for Roman status remains and cannot be ignored.

This is also the period when Gregory of Tours was writing his *Histories*. In this context I think it is unsurprising that Roman identity is conspicuous by its absence. As Edward James says, Gregory does not self-identify as *Romanus* but as *Arvernus*.⁵² What might have been seen as the imaginary element of classical Roman identity is

⁴⁹ Croke 1983. The historiographical tradition is most recently represented in the writings of Peter Heather, notably the somewhat ironically subtitled *The Fall of Rome: A New History* (London, 2005).

⁵⁰ Hen 1998.

⁵¹ Halsall 1995b, 14–17, 29; Gauthier 1980.

⁵² James 1998, 66. See also the contribution by Helmut Reimitz in this volume.

displaced into senatorial noble identity and into Christian behaviour.⁵³ Otherwise Roman identity has defaulted to the level of the *civitas* identity as in the case of the embassies mentioned earlier. It is no surprise that *civitas* identifiers are mostly confined to the south.⁵⁴ This identity is no less ethnic than that of Frank. Like all such identities, it could be the object of violence, as with the killing that broke out along the Loire after the death of Chilperic.⁵⁵

Gregory's own rather sneering view of the men of Bourges further illustrates the point.⁵⁶ A comparison of Gregory's story of the foundation of the see of Bourges with that of his home town of Clermont reveals the men of Bourges to have been much more unwilling than the Auvergnats to receive the word of God.⁵⁷ Only the intervention of a distant relative of Gregory's even enables the embryonic church to acquire a place of worship. After their deaths the burial places of the first bishops of both cities are forgotten but whereas the grave of Stremonius was revealed by a vision received by a future bishop of Clermont and his body translated in fairly standard fashion, at Bourges, Ursinus' grave was only revealed after a member of the bishop's staff received a cure (at St. Martin's, Tours, significantly) and even this revelation was disputed by the local bishop. Only the intervention of St. Germanus of Paris and further visions led to a translation.⁵⁸

In contrast to the numerous saintly figures of Tours and Clermont catalogued by Gregory, the Berruyard holy men are fairly nondescript, and manifest a very frequent association with Tours, Clermont or St. Martin. Otherwise they are faintly ridiculous. Witness St. Marianus:⁵⁹ Marianus, a recluse, was found dead under an apple tree and consequently was rumoured to have died by falling out of a tree. 'But it was not known for certain because no one had been an eye-witness.' Whatever the case, it was hardly the most dignified form of death for a holy man, and the locals, perhaps understandably enough from a modern point of view, were not over-impressed, in spite of unspecified healing miracles. One local, rebuked for working on St. Marianus' feast day, angrily replied: 'Do you think that a man who slipped from a tree whilst satisfying his appetite has been included in the company of angels, so that he ought to be venerated as a saint?' Needless to say, his house burnt down. Only after another miracle, where some stolen oxen miraculously wandered home on their own, does Gregory say: 'after these events, the people of Bourges began to honour this confessor of God with more diligent concern.' What better part of the world

⁵³ A classic study is Van Dam 1985.

⁵⁴ Heather 2000.

⁵⁵ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum*, 7, 2, ed. Krusch/Levison, 327.

⁵⁶ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum*, 1, 30–31, ed. Krusch/Levison, 22–24. Gregory's oppositional attitude doubtless relates to the fact that Bourges was the metropolitan see of *Aquitania Prima*, the province in which Gregory's home town of Clermont was located.

⁵⁷ Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria confessorum* 29, ed. Krusch, 316; trans. Van Dam, 24.

⁵⁸ Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria confessorum* 79, ed. Krusch, 346–348; trans. Van Dam, 59–61.

⁵⁹ Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria confessorum* 80, ed. Krusch, 348–349; trans. Van Dam, 61–62.

for a bogus holy man to emerge? Towards the end of the *Histories* a man from Bourges is attacked by a swarm of flies and as a result goes mad. Eventually, after a career which exactly parodies that of a proper holy man, he was killed by the *pueri* of the bishop of Le Puy.⁶⁰ Clearly, identities like these, could operate in the register of the imaginary as well as the symbolic. There is no way, analytically, of distinguishing these identities as somehow less ‘ethnic’ than those associated with the recognised ‘peoples’ of Late Antiquity. Their status as a rung below more ‘gentile’ identities was only contingent upon the nature of fifth- and sixth-century politics and the larger size of western kingdoms at that time. In some ways this was the golden age of *civitas* identity.⁶¹

Gregory is famously tacit about the end of the Roman Empire in Gaul. What is less often remarked upon is the fact that he is at least as reticent about the beginning of the Roman Empire in Gaul.⁶² Roman history, as one might expect, has been displaced in favour of Christian history. The eschatological implications of this are unclear. Obviously, after several centuries of Christian linkage of the Empire with the Sixth Age the end of the Roman Empire should have produced a great deal of concern about the end of the world, and in my view it did. But Gregory’s precise position on this is vague. His most overt statement on the issue can be read in diametrically opposed ways.⁶³ Nonetheless he certainly had concerns, as the Preface to Book 5 of the *Histories* makes very clear.⁶⁴

By around 600, then, it is difficult to see Roman identity in Gaul as a pole of attraction. Much of its component elements had been displaced into other areas. The ideal behaviour associated with legitimate political authority was no longer exclusively associated with Roman education and subjectivization. One has to recall the oppositions and differences inherent in all identities. For Roman identity in Gaul the key opposition involved the legal privilege, tax exemption and military-political avenues for advancement associated with Frankish identity.⁶⁵ Such issues had, I suggest, less important implications for *civitas* identity. For one thing, there was no binary opposition between *Arvernus* and *Francus* any more than there was between *Arvernus* and *Arelatensis* in the embassies mentioned by Gregory. For another, *civitas* identity might coexist with Frankish in a nested way, as perhaps with Bobo and Bodegisel or the *Franci Tornacenses* of Book 10 of the *Histories*.⁶⁶ For a third, in at

60 Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri Historiarum*, 10, 15, ed. Krusch/Levison, 501–505.

61 Lewis 2000. See also Handley 2000; Halsall 2007a, 480–482.

62 Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum*, 1, 18, ed. Krusch/Levison, 16–17, claims that Julius Caesar was the first emperor and mentions the foundation of Lyon but there is no overt statement about the conquest of Gaul.

63 Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum*, 1, *praefatio*, ed. Krusch/Levison, 3–5; De Nie 1987, 57–59.

64 Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum*, 5, *praefatio*, ed. Krusch/Levison, 193–194; Halsall 2007b.

65 Halsall 1995b, 26–31, 258; Halsall 2003, 46–47.

66 Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum*, 10, 27, ed. Krusch/Levison, 519–520.

least the southern parts of Merovingian Gaul, *civitas* identity was part and parcel of political and military activity. Military service was structured differently.⁶⁷

If the components of identity are perpetually renegotiated but always already in existence, then the disadvantages of Roman identity in northern Gaul around 600 would be perceived as natural. In that context it is not surprising that those who could have laid aside this level of identity and that those who could not had sunk to the level of a legally-dependent stratum of society. It was possibly not until the category of the half-free *Romanus* had been absorbed within a general economically class of the dependent, perhaps by the later eighth century or perhaps earlier,⁶⁸ that Roman identity could again emerge as something to be stressed, created or fought for at high levels.

Clearly, the transformations of Romanness in late sixth-century northern Gaul were varied. I have not mentioned the peculiarly Roman population of Trier.⁶⁹ Nor have I mentioned the attempts by Chilperic I to incorporate traditional elements of legitimate Roman rule within the image of Frankish monarchy.⁷⁰ Across the West that diversity would be magnified. Seventh-century Spain for example shows some similarities with the Frankish situation and perhaps a more sustained attempt to adopt a solution similar to Chilperic's.⁷¹ For Lombard Italy and Anglo-Saxon England we simply do not have the relevant data but general similarities might be suggested.

Conclusion

Roman identity had never been an immutable or monolithic identity – like any other identity it never could have been – and it is important that we early medievalists remember that. Roman identity survived the supposed barbarian invasions of the fifth century in the West as perhaps diminished – temporarily inconvenienced – but nonetheless as an important resource in political activity. The mid-sixth-century crisis associated with Justinian's wars put an end to that. However it was responded to, after that, Roman identity could not survive in anything like the old way. In this as in so many other areas it seems correct to say that the post-Justinianic transformations that took place in the West around 600 marked the end of the Roman world.⁷²

⁶⁷ Halsall 2003, 48.

⁶⁸ Halsall 1995b, 59.

⁶⁹ Halsall 2010a, 225–229, 258. See also Jamie Kreiner's paper in this volume.

⁷⁰ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum*, 5, 17; 5, 44; 6, 2; 6, 46, ed. Krusch/Levison, 214–216, 252–254, 266–267, 319–321.

⁷¹ On Isidore of Seville, see J. Wood 2012.

⁷² This is the title of a project I am currently working on, for which I received generous support in the form of a Leverhulme Major Research Fellowship in 2009–12.

Post-script

I want to thank Walter Pohl for his thoughtful reactions to this chapter in the introduction to this volume. Walter offered me the opportunity to respond to those thoughts here but I want to leave the two readings to stand without further comment. It is usually the temptation to attempt to pursue a debate until a consensus is reached (publicly at least!) or – worse – where one side or other ‘wins’. There are, to be sure, points of contact between my reading and Walter’s but, rather than developing those, or insisting more heavily on the issues on which we disagree, or declaring that one area is more significant than the other, I want instead to leave the space between us open for the reader. The aim is to give two alternatives between which a reader’s own interpretations might resonate. This keeps the active element of historical debate open, rather than closing it down, and seems to me to be the ethical option in furthering interpretations of the elements under discussion.

Yitzhak Hen

Compelling and intense: The Christian transformation of Romanness

Christianity, let it be said at the very beginning, is a Roman phenomenon. It emerged in the eastern Mediterranean as part of the religious effervescence that characterised the Roman world, and especially the eastern provinces, during the late Republic and the early Principate.¹ It made its first steps in a world that was utterly Roman; it was influenced by Hellenistic philosophy and numerous Roman traditions;² and it even modelled its structure after the Roman imperial administrative system.³

During the first four centuries of its existence Christianity made a considerable effort to Christianise the Roman Empire, and its achievement was quite remarkable.⁴ From a persecuted minority, Christianity grew out to be the most influential religious faction in Late Antiquity. From a religion of the wretched and the poor, Christianity became the religion of emperors and members of the senatorial elite.⁵ From an underground cult, Christianity's monuments became the most dominant feature both in the urban landscape and in the countryside.⁶ Within less than four centuries, Christianity gained an unrivalled position among the various religions of Rome, and in 391 Emperor Theodosius I (d. 395) issued two edicts against pagan sacrifices and pagan cults that established Christianity's leading position among the religions of the Empire.⁷ At least from that time, if not much earlier, the Roman Empire was perceived as a Christian empire, and consequently Christianity became part and parcel of what may be termed 'late-antique *Romanitas*'. This, of course, did not happen at once. It was a long and complex process, during which Christianity gradually forged its place as a marker of *Romanitas*, and in order to understand how that happened, one must go back in time and explore briefly the role played by religion in the conceptual formation of *Romanitas* in pagan Rome.

An elaborate religion, with its own hierarchy and officials representing a focus of loyalty and commitment, had emerged in Rome at a fairly early stage.⁸ This religion was closely connected to the political institutions of the state, and members of

1 This is not the place to rehearse the burgeoning literature on the rise of Christianity. For some succinct surveys, see MacMullen 1984; Lane Fox 1986; Rousseau 2002; P. Brown 2003.

2 See, for example, Henry 1984; Fredriksen 2000.

3 See, for example, Rapp 2005.

4 See MacMullen 1984; Rousseau 2002; P. Brown 2003; Veyne 2010.

5 P. Brown 1961; Salzman 2002.

6 See the various papers in Lavan/Bowden 2001; Bowden/Lavan/Machado 2004.

7 *CTh* 16, 10, 10–11, ed. Mommsen/Meyer, 899–900. For the context of these laws, see Averil Cameron 1993, 75–76; Alan Cameron 2011, 56–74.

8 A superb introduction to the Roman religious system is Beard/North/Price 1998. On the emergence of Roman religion, see *ibid.*, 1–72.

the political elite were those who controlled human relations with the gods. The senate, more than any other single institution, was the locus of ‘religious power’, and the various priesthoods became part of the senatorial elite’s social identity and sense of *Romanitas*.⁹ In many respects, this was as true at the end of the Republic as it had been two or three centuries earlier. The traditional senatorial priesthoods retained their prestige, and Cicero, who had little or no faith in the established traditions of the Roman religion, was willing, in outward show, to temporise with its practices for purposes of political and social expediency.¹⁰ For Cicero, as for many of his fellow senators, serving as an augur was nothing more than an exercise in asserting his Roman identity and allegiance.¹¹

The notion that the Roman religion, or more precisely the service in various religious *collegia*, was one way in which the Roman elite could express its *Romanitas*, continued well into the later empire.¹² An excellent case in point is the fourth-century grandee, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus (d. 384), who, half a century after his death, was chosen by Macrobius to host the literary gathering of ‘leading members of the Roman nobility and other learned men’ (*nobilitatis procere doctique alii*) in his *Saturnalia*.¹³ A large marble base that was erected in his memory in Rome sometime around 387, probably by his wife and children, relates Praetextatus’ illustrious career:

D(is) M(anibus)
Vettius Agorius Praetextatus,
augur, p[ro]ntifex Vestae,
pontifex Sol[is], quindecimvir,
curialis Herc[ul]is, sacratus
Libero et Eleusi[ni]s, hierophanta,
neocorus, tauroboliatus,
pater patrum; in [re] publica ver[o]
quaestor candidatus,
pr(a)etor urbanus,
corrector Tusciae et Umbriae,
consularis Lusitaniae,
proconsule Achaiae,
praefectus urbi,
legatus a senatu missus V,
praefectus praetorio II Italiae
et Illyrici, consul ordinaries
*designatus.*¹⁴

⁹ Beard/North/Price 1998, 99–108.

¹⁰ Beard/North/Price 1998, especially 125–166.

¹¹ See Beard/North/Price 1998, 114–119 and *passim*.

¹² See Beard/North/Price 1998, 186–196.

¹³ Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1, 1, 1, ed. and trans. Kaster, 10–11. On Praetextatus, see Jones/Martindale/Morris 1971, 722–724; Wytzes 1977, 133–148; Kahlos 2002; Alan Cameron 2011.

¹⁴ *CIL* VI 1779, 397. All translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

(‘To the memory [literally: for the spirits of the dead] of / Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, augur, priest of Vesta, / priest of Sol, member of the collegium of Fifteen men, / priest of Hercules, initiated / into the cult of Liber and the Eleusinian mysteries, hierophant [i.e. initiated to the cult of Hecata], / neocorus [i.e. initiated to the cult of Isis and Sarapis], tauroboliatus [i.e. initiated into the cult of Cybele], / father of fathers [i.e. initiated to the cult of Mithras]; and in the state, / Quaestor, / Urban Praetor, / Corrector of Tuscany and Umbria, / a consular governor of Lusitania, / proconsul of Achaia, / Urban Prefect, / five times legate on behalf of the senate, / Praetorian Prefect of Italy / and Illyria twice, / elected consul.’)

Two major elements are stressed in Praetextatus’ obituary inscription – his religious activity and his public service in various administrative positions. And yet, it is only after Praetextatus’ impressive list of religious affiliations and priestly functions that the inscription turns to his civil and, subsequently, intellectual career.¹⁵ Religion, it appears, was a crucial component in Praetextatus’ notion of Roman identity, and it reflects not only the old state religion of Republican Rome, but also the growing repertoire of mystery cults that swept through the Roman Empire from the second century BC onwards.¹⁶ By the fourth century, these cults were already an integral part of the Roman religious landscape, and in the eyes of many pagan intellectuals, Christianity was only one among these trendy religious cults.¹⁷

But something in the fourth century had changed. The unrivalled progress made by Christianity since its birth in the first century, and especially after it was made *religio licita* by Constantine and Licinius,¹⁸ altered the balance between Christianity and the pagan religions of Rome.¹⁹ All the emperors of the fourth century, apart from Julian the Apostate,²⁰ maintained their support for the Church, and consequently the ever more Christianised Roman aristocracy had to re-define its *Romanitas* in Christian terms.

This shift in emphasis did not pass unchallenged by the conservative members of the pagan Roman elite. Some of them, like Praetextatus, did not fully grasp the change that was coming upon them. Completely indifferent to Christianity’s new standing, he once told Pope Damasus that he would become a Christian if only he could be the bishop of Rome.²¹ All he could think of was increasing his *Romanitas* by adding yet another priesthood to his florid religious profile. Others, however, were well aware of the fact that times had changed, and it was not a change to be taken lightly.

¹⁵ I shall refer to Praetextatus’ intellectual activity later in this paper.

¹⁶ Burkert 1987; Beard/North/Price 1998, 244–312; Bowden 2010.

¹⁷ See Wilken 1984; J. Smith 1990.

¹⁸ The amount of literature on the so called Edict of Milan (313) and its implications is enormous and cannot be listed here. For some discussions, see Anastos 1967 and Anastos 1979; Barnes 1981, 62–77; Drake 2000, 192–198.

¹⁹ See Beard/North/Price 1998, 363–388. See also Fowden 1993; Van Dam 2007.

²⁰ On Julian the Apostate, see Bowerstock 1978; Hunt 1998.

²¹ Jerome, *Contra Iohannem Hierosolymitanum* c. 8, PL 23, col. 361.

As the pagan elite of Rome saw real power slipping from their hands, and as they felt more and more pressured by an increasingly militant, anti-pagan Christianity, they began to emphasise their claim to represent true *Romanitas*, as signified by traditional Roman literary culture and religion.²² Praetextatus did just that, and the obituary composed by his wife and inscribed on the very same marble monument just mentioned, clearly points at Praetextatus' intellectual activity as one of the most distinctive markers of his *Romanitas*:

patriam, senatum coniugemq(ue) inluminas,
probitate mentis moribus studiis simul,
virtutis apicem quis supremum nactus es.
tu namque quidquid lingua utraq(ue) est proditum
cura soforum, porta quis caeli patet,
vel quae periti condidere carmina,
vel quae solutis vocibus sunt edita,
meliora reddis quam legendo sumpseras.²³

(You enlighten the fatherland, the senate, and your wife, / and through your integrity, conduct, as well as learning, / you have reached the highest peak of virtues. / Whatever has been handed down in either language / by wise men, that opens heaven's door, / either songs written in expert lines, / or those that were recited in lower voice, / you improve [and leave them in a better condition] than the ones you took to read'.)

But these qualities, according to Aconia Fabia Paulina, are marginal and she goes on to list the truly important things in Praetextatus' career, that is, his religious affiliations:

*sed ista parva. tu pius movestes sacris
teletis reperta mentis arcano premis
divumque numen multiplex doctus colis,
sociam benigne coniugem nectens sacris
hominum deumque consciam ac fidam tibi.
quid nunc honores aut potestates loquar
hominumque votis adpetita gaudia,
quae tu caduca ac parva semper autumans,
divum sacerdos infulis celsus clues?
tu me, marite, disciplinarum bono
puram ac pudicam sorte mortis eximens
in templa ducis ac famulam divis dicas.*²⁴

(But these are minor things. You are a pious priest, / who keeps in the secrets of his mind what ever has been revealed by sacred rites, / and worship the manifold spirit of the gods on which he has learned, / willingly adds his wife as companion to the sacred rites, / so that she shares what ever you know and believe about men and gods. / What should I say about honours and political

²² See Markus 1990, 27–43; Reynolds/Wilson 1991, 36–43; Alan Cameron 2011.

²³ *CIL* VI 1779, 398.

²⁴ *CIL* VI 1779, 398.

power, / or about the joys people seek, / which you always counted as fading and little, / when, being dressed in priestly clothes, you have been known to be a priest of gods.)

This course of reasoning is also reflected in Symmachus' plea for the restoration of the altar of Victory to the senate house, where it was originally placed by Augustus.²⁵ In his letter to Emperor Valentinian II (dated to 384), which is, perhaps, the most eloquent witness to the Roman pagan elite's desperate reaction, Symmachus wrote:

*Cui enim magis commodat, quod instituta maiorum, quod patriae iura et fata defendimus, quam temporum gloriae? Quae tunc maior est, cum vobis contra morem parentum intellegitis nil licere. Repetimus igitur religionum statum, qui reipublicae diu profuit [...] Quis ita familiaris est barbaris, ut aram Victoriae non requirat! [...] Multa Victoriae debet aeternitas vestra et adhuc plura debebit: aversentur hanc potestatem, quibus nihil profuit; vos amicum triumphis patrocinium nolite deserere. [...] Iam si longa aetas auctoritatem religionibus faciat, servanda est tot saeculis fides et se quendi sunt nobis parentes, qui secuti sunt feliciter suos.*²⁶

('What would benefit more the glory of our times than that we have defended the institutions of our ancestors, the laws and destiny of our fatherland? The glory is greater then, when you understand that nothing which goes against the customs of our ancestors is permitted you. We seek once more therefore the same standing for the cults, which has benefited the republic for so long. Who is so comfortable with the barbarians that he would not desire an altar of Victory? [...] Your Eternity owes much to Victory and will owe still more. Let those who have gained nothing from it turn away from this source of power. Don't you desert the patronage that has been so friendly to triumphs. [...] Now if a long life should give authority to religious practices, then the faith of so many centuries must be preserved, and we must follow our ancestors who with such blessedness followed their own'.)

According to Symmachus, true Romans are those who follow the *mos maiorum* in every aspect of everyday life, including the preservation of the ancient religions of Rome that will, eventually, protect Rome from its enemies. After all, these rites made Rome the greatest city on earth. For Symmachus and his fellow members of the pagan senatorial elite, Romanness had nothing to do with the new basilicas of the Lateran or St. Peter's, or any other Christian monument that had transformed the pagan landscape of the city during the fourth century.²⁷ On the contrary, Rome's prestige depended on its pagan history and tradition. It was the centre and religious heart of a polytheistic empire, and as the guardians of that tradition, Symmachus and his associates claimed real *Romanitas* as their own.

²⁵ On the Altar of Victory affair, see Klein 1971; Wytzes 1977, 98–132; Alan Cameron 2011, 33–51 and *passim*.

²⁶ Symmachus, *Relatio* 3, 2–3 and 8, ed. Seeck, 281–282. I cite the English translation from M. Lafferty 2003, 39, which is better than Barrow 1973, 35–37 and 39–41. The best introduction to Symmachus and his writings is Salzmann 2011, xiii–lxviii. See also Alan Cameron 2011, 353–398, and Wytzes 1977, 98–132 and 265–302 (commentary on *Relatio* 3).

²⁷ On the Christian topography of Rome in the fourth century, see Pietri 1976; Krautheimer 1980; Krautheimer 1983. See also Marazzi 2000.

Needless to say, the leaders of the Christian Church in Italy were not happy with this notion of *Romanitas*, and shortly after Symmachus' letter reached the court of Valentinian II, who resided in Milan at the time, Ambrose, the bishop of Milan, launched a formal and vicious assault on paganism, and on members of the senatorial elite who tried to defend it.²⁸ This is not the place to rehearse the various arguments raised by Ambrose in response to Symmachus' petition. It should suffice to mention here that for Ambrose, as for Symmachus, Rome was indeed the greatest city of the Empire. But, according to Ambrose, its claim to greatness was not its pagan past, but its Christian present.²⁹ Rome's importance did not depend on its glorious pagan past or its political position, but on the fact that it became a Christian centre that was founded by two apostles.³⁰ This new insight gave *Romanitas* a significant Christian twist, and although it was not felt immediately, it gradually became standard throughout the West.

In the fifth century, although stripped of real power, Rome the city, the ancient capital of the Empire, still symbolized *auctoritas* and stood at the centre of the senatorial elite's self-perception. It was, for example, an integral part of Sidonius Apollinaris' *Romanitas*.³¹ He visited Rome many times; he was the *praefectus urbis* in 468/9; and he praised its beauty in his poems and letters.³² In that respect, Sidonius' sense of *Romanitas* was very similar to that of Praetextatus', and the only difference between them is the fact that unlike Praetextatus, who collected religious affiliations and priesthoods, Sidonius Apollinaris ended his life as the bishop of Clermont.³³ Things, it appears, had changed dramatically, yet religious service, albeit in a Christian context, still remained a crucial component of the elite's sense of duty and definition of *Romanitas*.

A century after Sidonius the balance between Rome's political prestige and its Christian disposition had shifted altogether. Although the ancient glory of the city as the capital of the Empire did not fade away, especially not in the writings of illustrious representatives of the provincial senatorial elite, the *auctoritas* of Rome was mostly derived from the papal see. If we examine, for instance, when and where Gregory of Tours mentions Rome in his *Books of History*, the point becomes even clearer.³⁴ Rome is first mentioned when Gregory tells how Peter arrived there.³⁵

²⁸ Wytzes 1977, 29–47; Alan Cameron 2011, 39–51; C. Jones 2014, 71–73.

²⁹ See Ambrose's response to Symmachus, in: Wytzes 1977, 215–261 and 293–318. See also McLynn 1994; Moorhead 1999, 122–128.

³⁰ This argument goes back to Irenaeus of Lyons, *Adversus haereses* 3, 3, 2, ed. and trans. Rousseau/Doutreleau, 33. See also Abramowski 1977; Osborn 2001, 128–129.

³¹ On Sidonius Apollinaris, see Harries 1994; Kitchen 2010.

³² Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistulae* I, 6 and IX, 14, ed. and trans. Anderson, vol. 1, 362–367 and vol. 2, 580–589.

³³ On Sidonius' bishopric, see Harries 1994, 169–221.

³⁴ The amount of literature on Gregory of Tours is enormous. For a general introduction, see I. Wood 1994b; Heinzelmann 2001. See also the various papers in Mitchell/Wood 2002.

³⁵ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum*, 1, 25, ed. Krusch/Levison, 20.

The city is then mentioned as the place where Cornelius was martyred and, according to Gregory, made it famous just as Cyprian did to Carthage.³⁶ In the story of Bishop Briccius' expulsion from Gaul, the papal *curia* in Rome is mentioned as his place of refuge.³⁷ We are also told that a deacon from Tours went to Rome to collect some relics,³⁸ and the longest paragraph on Rome describes the election of Pope Gregory the Great.³⁹ All these passages refer to Rome as a Christian city. Gregory is indifferent to the fact that Rome was once the capital of an empire, and he refers to it incidentally as the residence of the senate.⁴⁰ The conquest of Rome by Alaric and the Goths, to which Augustine devoted much thought and his monumental *De civitate Dei*, is mentioned by Gregory in passing while discussing the sources for the reign of Clovis.⁴¹ It is obvious that although Gregory calls Rome *ipsa urbs urbium et totius mundi caput ingens* ('that city of cities and the mighty head of the whole world'),⁴² his attitude towards Rome was utterly Christian, echoing Ambrose's response to Symmachus.

This Christian takeover is also reflected in the terminology used by Gregory. In his book *On the Glory of the Martyrs*, to give just one example, Gregory writes that the Visigoths *Romanos enim vocitant nostrae homines relegionis* ('refer to the men of our religion as Romans').⁴³ On the other hand, he uses the adjective *barbarus* as a synonym for *paganus*, implying that the relation between *barbarus* and *Romanus* has changed from a cultural to a religious one.⁴⁴ *Romanus* for Gregory denoted religious affiliation, and the contrast between *barbarus* and *Romanus* therefore paralleled the contrast between 'Catholic' and 'Arian' or 'Christian' and 'pagan'. Hence, when Gregory and other members of the Gallo-Roman senatorial elite called themselves 'Roman', they were defining their status – or rather their *Romanitas* – in Christian terms.

However, equating *Christianitas* with *Romanitas* in the post-Roman barbarian world was a double-edged sword. Did *Romanitas* also cover unorthodox forms of Christianity? Or, in other words, was Arianism also a form of *Romanitas*?⁴⁵ Ambrose

36 Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum*, 1, 32, ed. Krusch/Levison, 24–25.

37 Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum*, 2, 1, ed. Krusch/Levison, 37–38.

38 Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum*, 6, 6, ed. Krusch/Levison, 272–276.

39 Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum*, 10, 1, ed. Krusch/Levison, 477–481.

40 Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum*, 1, 24, ed. Krusch/Levison, 19.

41 Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum*, 2, 9, ed. Krusch/Levison, 52–58.

42 Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum*, 5, *praefatio*, ed. Krusch/Levison, 193.

43 Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum* 24, ed. Krusch, 52.

44 See Ewig 1976a, 249–255; Kreiner 2014b, 125–129. On the changing meaning of *barbarus*, see Ohnacker 2003.

45 I use the adjective 'Arian' and the noun 'Arianism' in order to denote the non Nicene Christology that originated with Arius. Using 'homoian', 'homoiousian', or 'heterousian' will only complicate the matter, and one should constantly bear in mind that even these terms are not clear cut and straight forward, and they are also open to various interpretations. For more details, see the various papers in Berndt/Steinacher 2014; Hen (forthcoming).

of Milan, Avitus of Vienne, Gregory of Tours, Fulgentius of Ruspe, or Victor of Vita would have answered this question with a quick and straightforward 'NO!'. *Romanitas* for them represented 'Nicene' Christianity, and anything that deviated from this strict definition was excluded from their vision of *Romanitas* altogether.⁴⁶

Reality, however, was much more complicated than our orthodox-biased sources would have liked us to believe. After all, Arianism, like Christianity itself, was born in a Roman context, and was quite an attractive religious alternative for members of the Roman elite. When Ulfilas embarked on his mission to convert the Goths across the Danube, Arianism was the dominant Christian doctrine in Constantinople,⁴⁷ and although less than half a century later the religious situation was reversed, Arianism did not lose its appeal. It is, then, not to our orthodox sources that we should turn in order to gauge whether Arianism was also perceived as a marker of *Romanitas*, but to our Arian ones. Luckily, enough evidence survives from the early medieval West to demonstrate that Arianism, at least in the eyes of the Arians themselves, was also part of the game.⁴⁸

Theoderic the Great, to give just one example, was a devoted Arian Christian, but he pursued an extremely tolerant religious policy.⁴⁹ This toleration accords extremely well with the Ostrogothic king's views on his duties as a ruler, and on the ways a good ruler should behave.⁵⁰ Theoderic understood from the outset that in order to consolidate his rule over Italy he needed the co-operation of the Roman senatorial elite. He had managed, as the *Anonymus Valesianus* clearly states, to secure the allegiance of both the Roman population (which formed the vast majority of his subjects) and the Ostrogothic invaders, Catholics and Arians alike, and to unite them all under his rule.⁵¹ He cultivated a sense of continuity, not only by relying heavily on local elites, who formed the backbone of the Ostrogothic administration in Italy, but also by his assiduous effort not to cut off Italy's ties with the Roman past.⁵² Theoderic was careful not to offend the emperor in Constantinople by assuming the imperial title, or to do anything that might be interpreted by his contemporaries as a breach of the almost sacred Roman notion of *mos maiorum*.⁵³

It should, therefore, come as no surprise that the Ostrogothic king made an effort to cast himself as a Roman ruler. He maintained himself and his court at Ravenna in imperial splendour;⁵⁴ he wore purple dress in official and public ceremonies;⁵⁵ and

⁴⁶ See, for example, Williams 2002; Heil 2011.

⁴⁷ See Rubin 1981; Heather 1986.

⁴⁸ Hen 2007; Hen (forthcoming).

⁴⁹ On Theoderic and his reign, see Moorhead 1992; Heather 1995; Ausbüttel 2003; Goltz 2008.

⁵⁰ Saitta 1993; Hen (forthcoming).

⁵¹ See *Anonymus Valesianus* 2 12, 59–61, ed. and trans. König, 78–80.

⁵² See Hen 2007, 29–33 and 39–53.

⁵³ See McCormack 1981, 229–235; Moorhead 1992, 39–51.

⁵⁴ Hen 2007, 33–37; Mauskopf Deliyannis 2010.

⁵⁵ Cassiodorus, *Variae* 1, 2, ed. Fridh, 10–11.

he held lavish banquets in Roman style at his palace.⁵⁶ His surviving royal legislation, the so-called *Edictum Theoderici*, demonstrates a clear connection to Roman law in both form and content,⁵⁷ and he minted coins very much like a Roman emperor.⁵⁸ Moreover, the Roman ideology of triumphal rulership continued to flourish under Ostrogothic rule, and in 500 Theoderic paid his sole visit to Rome, in celebration of his *tricennalia*, which took the form of an extravagant imperial *adventus*.⁵⁹ Surprisingly, but not unexpectedly, Theoderic, the Barbarian Arian ruler of Italy, became the most distinguished guardian of Roman tradition.

Tolerant religious policy was part and parcel of the Roman decorum that Theoderic was so eager to adopt.⁶⁰ His model was the Emperor Theodosius I, whose bitter clash with Ambrose of Milan over the rebuilding of the synagogue at Callinicum stood in sharp contrast with the fanatical policy pursued by numerous orthodox bishops and rulers.⁶¹ Theoderic's words to the Jews of Genoa, *religionem imperare non possumus, quia nemo cogitur ut credit invitus* ('I cannot command your faith, for no one is forced to believe against his will'),⁶² which clearly echo Theodosius' position during the heated confrontation with Ambrose, speak for themselves. Not only did Theoderic adopt the *Romanitas* of a glorious emperor, he clearly tainted this *Romanitas* with distinctive Arian colours. In other words, Arianism for Arians functioned as a distinctive indicator of *Romanitas*, just as orthodoxy did among the 'Nicene' Christians of the post-Roman world.

To sum up, although *Romanitas* in the Roman and post-Roman world meant different things to different people, it appears that religion, not necessarily Christianity, was always a crucial component of it. From the late fourth century onwards, however, *Romanitas* was gradually defined in Christian terms, and consequently Christianity ('Nicene' and 'homoian' alike) became a suggestive and rather expressive marker of *Romanitas*. In the sixth and the seventh centuries, when Gregory of Tours and Isidore of Seville were giving their views on the matter, Christianity, or more precisely a Christian perspective, was the ultimate prism through which anything Roman was appreciated and evaluated. It is quite remarkable that Christianity, whose persecution in the arena was done in the name of *Romanitas*, eventually became the most conspicuous marker of *Romanitas* itself.

⁵⁶ Cassiodorus, *Variae* 6, 9, ed. Fridh, 236–238.

⁵⁷ On the *Edictum Theoderici*, see S. Lafferty 2013.

⁵⁸ See MacCormack 1981, 235–237; McCormick 1986, 282–283.

⁵⁹ McCormick 1986, 267–284; Moorhead 1992, 60–65. On the imperial *adventus*, see MacCormack 1981, 17–89.

⁶⁰ Hen 2007, 27–58; Hen (forthcoming). Note that toleration is exactly what Symmachus had pleaded for in his appeal to Valentinian II.

⁶¹ See McLynn 1994, 291–360; Sizgorich 2009, 81–107; Liebeschuetz 2011, 85–96.

⁶² Cassiodorus, *Variae* 2, 27, ed. Fridh, 76.

M. Shane Bjornlie

Romans, barbarians and provincials in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus Marcellinus

Introduction

Whether invoked explicitly or not, *romanitas*, or some concept approximating ‘Romanness’, frequently serves as a baseline for organizing comparisons between Romans and non-Romans in modern scholarship. Although a definition for what precisely embodies *romanitas* is often wanting, it is nonetheless generally assumed that a bolus of characteristics could serve, in most chronological and geographic settings, to differentiate Romans from the myriad others of the Mediterranean, Europe and Near East with whom Romans interacted. In some respects this tendency is only natural, given that ancient authors of the great literary (especially narrative) works upon which modern scholarship depends also seem to assume fundamental distinctions between Romans and non-Romans. It is noteworthy, however, that Roman sources rarely attempt to codify the phantom of *romanitas*. Of course, ancient authors frequently defined Roman in apposition to ‘barbarians’. For example, Livy created a detailed caricature of the Carthaginian (embodied in Hannibal Barca) as the basis of his definition-in-antithesis for the best of Romans (Scipio Africanus).¹ Similarly, it was possible to draw upon examples from the past that epitomized select facets of *romanitas*, but this was always ontologically insecure footing for a comprehensive definition of what it meant to be Roman.² It would seem that authors of any generation of the Empire were keenly aware that cultural and political membership in a community of Romans had changed dramatically during the course of Rome’s transition from city-state to Empire.³ Historical changes to membership in the Roman Empire and the competing interests of any who would claim such membership regularly ensured that a definition for ‘Roman’ in ancient literature would remain anecdotal and largely rhetorical. Again, the relative license with which modern scholarship employs the term *romanitas* to organize a rubric of (assumed) characteristics is noteworthy when compared to Latin sources from the Roman Empire which so rarely have recourse to the same abstraction to describe ‘Romanness’.

An earlier version of this chapter was presented at a conference organized at Oxford University in April, 2015 (Identity, Ethnicity and Nationhood before Modernity: Old Debates and New Perspectives); I would like to thank Michele Salzman for reading and commenting on a revised version.

1 See Rossi 2004, 359–381.

2 For a new study of how Romans approached self definition, Ando 2015.

3 On the shifting definition of ‘Romanness’ and for bibliography on the subject, Pohl 2014, 406–418.

These concerns are particularly applicable in relation to Ammianus Marcellinus, the late-antique historian whose *Res Gestae* supplies such a rich source for exploring the volume theme of Roman identity. Ammianus' history originally comprised more than thirty books, of which the extant eighteen provide a detailed account for the years 353–78, the period to which Ammianus was himself a witness.⁴ Edward Gibbon considered Ammianus his most 'accurate and faithful guide' to the 4th century and this doubtlessly owes in part to Gibbon's appreciation for the extent to which Ammianus preserved the standards of classical historiography.⁵ Educated in Antioch (possibly as a student of the formidable rhetorician Libanius), the narrative techniques evident in the *Res Gestae* demonstrate a sophisticated understanding of historical rhetoric and the long tradition of classical historiography.⁶ Many scholars accept that Ammianus wrote as a self-styled continuator of Tacitus, and indeed Ammianus' manner of balancing affairs at the imperial court (center) with those of the provinces (periphery) bears some resemblance to Tacitus.⁷ Nonetheless, there are marked departures from Tacitus. For example, the late-antique fascination with encyclopedic knowledge manifests in a wide range of digressions concerned with 'scientific' matters.⁸ More germane to the present study, Ammianus included among these digressions a great many ethnographies of diverse peoples and regions in a manner that recalls Herodotus' fascination with the variegated cultural topography of the world encountered by Greeks of the 5th century BC.⁹ Because his narrative shuttles across the eastern and western provinces of the Roman world with seeming panoptic clarity, Ammianus reveals an ethnic and social landscape of enormous complexity.

In a particular sense, the sheer diversity of peoples encountered in the *Res Gestae* may seem surprising: by the 4th century, the former array of distinctions among Roman citizens, Roman allies and non-Roman provincial subjects had all but dissolved. The *Constitutio Antoniniana* of 212 had conferred legal Roman citizenship

⁴ The original structure of the *Res Gestae* has been a matter of debate: Barnes 1998, 20–31, summarizes the traditional view of a 31 book history while arguing for 36 books; Kulikowski 2012, 79–102, suggests that Ammianus originally composed a 30 book history and later added Book 31 as a monograph.

⁵ For example, Gibbon 1776–1788, vol. 3, 65.

⁶ Ammianus' connection to Libanius is not universally accepted; for a reprise of the debate, Barnes 1998, 54–62.

⁷ On the *Res Gestae* as a continuation of Tacitus: Barnes 1998, 20–53; for qualification, Kelly 2009, 348–361.

⁸ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* (trans. Rolfe, hereafter Ammianus Marcellinus), 19.4, plagues; 20.3, eclipses; 21.1.8–12, divination; 21.14.3–5, *daimones*; 25.2.5–8, shooting stars; 25.10.1–3, comets; 26.1.8–14, the calendar; 30.4.3–22, oratory and law; on encyclopedism as a late antique literary habit, Fontaine 1966, 519–538; Hadot 1984; König/Whitmarsh 2007; Bjornlie 2015, 289–303.

⁹ Ammianus Marcellinus 14.4.1–7, the Saracens; 14.8.1–15, eastern provinces; 15.9–12, Gaul; 17.12.2–3, Sarmatians and Quadi; 22.8.1–49, Thrace and the Pontic regions; 22.15–16, Egypt; 23.6.1–87, Persia; 28.5.9–14, Burgundians; 31.2.1–25, Huns; on classical ethnography, Redfield 1985, 97–118; Woolf 2011a.

on all free-born inhabitants of the Empire with only a few exceptions.¹⁰ Of course, it is also true that many people of the Empire continued to self-identify with regional cultural traditions. In Alexandria, for example, it was possible to be a Roman citizen and a Greek-speaking Egyptian; and the extent to which a peasant, for example in Britain or the Balkans, ever self-identified as Roman is doubtful.¹¹ Nevertheless, in the 4th century, more people living outside of Italy could self-identify as Roman, at some level, than any previous period in the history of the Mediterranean.¹² In contrast to this, the criteria by which Ammianus designated people as ‘Roman’ is never explicit, nor has it ever been fully explored in scholarship. In the present contribution, I would like to suggest that how Ammianus defines ‘Roman’, and even ‘barbarian’, has more to do with the relationship of historical actors to the Roman state, than what might be thought of as ethnic identity.¹³ More specifically, it appears that Ammianus associated Roman identity with those agents involved in preserving the integrity of the Roman state as a geographic reality and as a political ideology. In other words, for Ammianus, ‘Roman’ is neither an ethnic label (for example, a *gens* or a *natio*), nor a comprehensive national identity for inhabitants of the Empire (citizenship), nor a kind of cultural identity (*romanitas*, as it is frequently invoked in modern scholarship); rather, as this essay will elaborate, ‘Roman’ for Ammianus was a special kind of status denoted by service in the military.

Empire in the *Res Gestae*

In order to trace Ammianus’ definition for Roman, it will be helpful to note at the outset that Ammianus had a very well-defined geographical and ideological conception for the Empire. Throughout his history, Ammianus refers to the Roman state with familiar epithets such as *res publica*, *res communis*, *res Romana*, *imperium Romanum* or even the more abstract *nomen Romanum*.¹⁴ In addition to formulations that expressed the Roman state as an abstract political concept, Ammianus also employs descriptions such as *Romanus caespes*, ‘Roman soil’, which solidifies the political abstract as a territorial conception for the state.¹⁵ Ammianus also refers to the frontier of the Roman Empire (for example, *collimitia Romana* or *limes Romanus*), which further expresses the idea of the Roman state as a well-defined geographical entity.¹⁶

10 On the impact of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, Ando 2012, 76–99.

11 On the multiple identities of Romans, Humfress 2014, 81–108, and Moatti 2014, 130–152.

12 For example, see Ando 2000; Conant 2012.

13 Gruen 2013, 1–22, similarly finds that ethnicity exercised weak agency in determining social and political affiliations in the ancient Mediterranean.

14 For example, Ammianus Marcellinus 14.1.1, *res communis*; 15.5.4, *res publica*; 16.3.3, *nomen Romanum*; 27.6.12, *imperium Romanum*; 28.3.2, *res Romana*.

15 Ammianus Marcellinus 27.4.6.

16 Ammianus Marcellinus 15.4.1, *collimitia Romana*; 17.13.1, 18.5.3 and 28.5.1, *limes Romanus*.

The spatial conception of the state is also reinforced culturally and ideologically by the barbarian lands that lie beyond, which Ammianus variously refers to as *tractus barbaricus* or simply *barbaricum*.¹⁷ Thus, in Ammianus' political imagination, the frontier appears to separate what is Roman (*res Romana*) from what is not (*barbaricum*), and this relationship is usually described in connection with the capability of the Roman military to maintain that essential separation, either in the form of installations (*praesidia Romana* or *ad castra Romana*), or more abstractly, through Roman military strength (*illa Romana virtus*).¹⁸ Given how Ammianus uses the frontier and the apposition of the Roman military to barbarian territory in order to demarcate the Roman state, it would seem reasonable (in a modern way of thinking) to expect that he would regard all inhabitants of the Roman state as 'Roman'. But, as will become apparent, full admission to the Roman community was everywhere contingent according to Ammianus and, in fact, quite restricted.

The 'Romans' of Rome

Among the many features of the *Res Gestae* that have attracted modern scholarly attention is Ammianus' treatment of the city of Rome.¹⁹ Indeed, some studies have taken the position that Rome was the central organizing element of his work, in as much as the *Res Gestae* is a 'Roman' history. Ammianus certainly reserves lofty language to elevate the city's station in the Empire. Rome is the *urbs aeterna* and the *augustissima omnium sedes*, although such language typically expresses the idea of Rome as the historical (past) font of Empire, rather than its present circumstance in Ammianus' day.²⁰ Indeed, Ammianus' true sentiments concerning Rome have been difficult to isolate, as noted in recent attention to the satirizing elements embedded in his descriptions of the city.²¹ Nevertheless, even in a period of Roman history when the ancient capital had ceased to be the reason for empire, one would expect to find Romans as the inhabitants of Rome. But it is perhaps because Rome maintained, in Ammianus' view, an atavistic claim as the historical and ideological center of the Empire that the *Res Gestae* portrays citizens of the ancient capital in terms that call into question the legitimacy of their 'Romanness'.

17 Ammianus Marcellinus 21.9.1, *tractus barbaricus*; 27.5.1, *barbaricum*; 28.2.5, *locus barbaricus*.

18 Ammianus Marcellinus 14.3.4, *praesidia Romana*; 17.13.22, *ad castra Romana*; 18.8.1, *castella Romana*; 15.4.1, *vetus illa Romana virtus*; 19.4.1, *quod maius pretium operae foret in coercendis verius limite barbaris quam pellendis*.

19 Pack 1953, 181–189; Kohns 1975, 485–491; Matthews 1986, 17–29; Salemme 1987, 353–378; Blockley 1999, 1–15; Kelly 2003, 588–607; Hengst 2007, 159–180; Rohrbacher 2007, 468–473; Ross 2015, 356–373.

20 Ammianus Marcellinus 15.7.1, 16.10.14, 19.10.1, 21.12.24, *urbs aeterna*; 16.10.20, *augustissima omnium sede*.

21 Rees 1999, 141–155; Sogno 2012, 363–385; Ross 2015, 356–373.

Ammianus develops this portrayal in a number of excursuses intended to relieve the reader from following the narrative of events occurring at the imperial court or in the provinces. The reasons for turning to events at Rome rarely have connection to wider affairs in the Empire: indeed, Ammianus even apologizes for the fact that his account of affairs at Rome dwell on ‘nothing except public disturbances, taverns and other similar scandals’.²² The narrative structure of the *Res Gestae* also pointedly contrasts the pettiness of events at Rome to the gravity of matters effecting other parts of the Empire. For example, Ammianus transitions to the sequence of inauspicious urban prefectures after treating Valentinian’s victories against the Alamanni in Gaul (27.3) and then again after describing the suppression of a serious revolt in Britain by the elder Theodosius (28.4). When the commons at Rome riot on account of a grain shortage and threaten the urban prefect with violence (19.10), the reader cannot but compare this behavior to the immediately preceding episode at Amida on the eastern frontier (19.1–9), when Roman soldiers and citizens of Amida endured extreme privation and plague during a Persian siege, while nevertheless remaining loyal to the emperor. Framing events at Rome in this way detaches the city from the affairs of the wider Empire; instead of the politics of the ancient capital reverberating throughout the provinces (as found in the narrative style of Tacitus), Rome in the *Res Gestae* has become trivial and digressive. But more to the point concerning Roman identity, it is important to recognize that Ammianus uses this same digressive approach to treat other ethnic groups of the Empire (Gauls, Thracians, Egyptians, etc.) whom he avoids identifying as Roman. In fact, the two lengthiest descriptions of Rome in the *Res Gestae* (14.6.1–26 and 28.4.1–35) were written precisely as ethnography, the traditional means of treating ethnic ‘others’.

In the first such digression (14.6), Ammianus sketches a brief history of Rome’s passage through distinct stages of life and transitions to an account of the contemporary customs and morals of the people of Rome. The infancy, childhood, adolescence and maturity of the state occur during the centuries of expansion (notably during the Republic) when, according to Ammianus, Rome and her people enjoyed the complete harmony of Virtue and Fortune.²³ Having arrived at old age (*iamque vergens in senium*), the personified Rome entrusted stewardship of the state to emperors, whereupon the *tribus* and *centuriae* became inactive.²⁴ Notably, the silence of the people’s assemblies corresponds with the enervation of both political and military participation. Although Ammianus states that present-day moral turpitude at Rome is the fault of the few (*levitate paucorum incondita*), the litany of public and private excesses which follows embraces the habits of the elite and commons

²² Ammianus Marcellinus 14.6.2, *quam ob rem cum oratio ad ea monstranda deflexerit quae Romae geruntur, nihil praeter seditiones narratur et tabernas et vilitates harum similis alias*; the sentiment is repeated at the end of this section, 14.6.26, *Haec similiaque memorabile nihil vel serius agi Romae permittunt*.

²³ Ammianus Marcellinus 14.6.3–5.

²⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus 14.6.6.

alike.²⁵ By the end of his survey of daily habits, the sins of the few have expanded to become visible wherever the eye may wander (*quocumque oculos flexeris*) and to effect the mass of the urban populace (*plebem innumeram*).²⁶ A crucial feature of this 'Roman ethnography' is the comparison of the moral failings of the contemporary *plebs Romana* to exemplars of Roman citizenship from the Republic. Acilius Glabrio, Cato the Elder, Valerius Publicola, Regulus and Cornelius Scipio each supply examples of the virtues that have since fallen away, demonstrating how far removed the habits of the contemporary *plebs* are from a period when 'Roman' meant being a citizen of the capital. The second 'Roman ethnography' (28.4.1–35) offers a parallel profile of the base habits, 'first of the nobility [...] and then of the commoners', examining their infatuation with courtesans and circus races, banquets and gambling, aversion to the lettered arts, and predatory financial appetites.²⁷

Ammianus thus suggests that Rome has degraded to the extent that the citizens of the city in his day are unrecognizable as true Romans. The famous description (16.10) of the Emperor Constantius' visit to the capital in 357 certainly suggests Rome's disconnect from both the traditions of the Roman Empire and its contemporary realities. Constantius visited Rome for the purpose of celebrating one of the quintessential rituals in the political tradition of the city—a triumph (for his defeat of the usurper Magnentius). And yet as discussions of Ammianus' portrayal of this event have frequently noted, Constantius entered the city as a stranger, awed (*stupebat*) to see such a throng of disparate peoples drawn from all over the world (*sed asylum mundi totius adesse existimabat*), presumably for which reason Constantius is described as stiff with affectation, almost as an effigy of the emperor (*tamquam figmentum hominis*).²⁸ The description suggests an emperor on parade in a foreign city, rather than at the home of Romans. As Ammianus explains, the sight was a novel experience for the populace of Rome, who neither expected nor desired to witness the ancient imperial tradition of a triumph (*haec vel simile quicquam videre nec speranti umquam nec optanti*).²⁹

Although Ammianus describes residents of Rome as the *plebs Romana*, this should probably be understood more in the sense of 'the commons at the city of Rome' as opposed to 'Romans' (*Romani*), as used elsewhere in the *Res Gestae*. His treatment of the urban populace everywhere seems intent on distancing contemporary citizens of Rome from the history and political traditions that had made them 'Romans'. Even their designation as the *plebs* seems to have lost its special association with the political traditions of the Republic. Elsewhere in the *Res Gestae*, Am-

²⁵ Ammianus Marcellinus 14.6.7.

²⁶ Ammianus Marcellinus 14.6.20 and 14.6.26.

²⁷ Ammianus Marcellinus 28.4.6, *Et primo nobilitatis, ut aliquotiens pro locorum copia fecimus, dein plebis digeremus errata, incidentia veloci constringentes excessu.*

²⁸ Ammianus Marcellinus 28.4.5–6, for Constantius' reaction to the populace; 28.4.10, for his physical demeanor during the procession; on Constantius' *adventus*, Kelly 2003, 598–600.

²⁹ Ammianus Marcellinus 16.10.2.

mianus uses *plebs* as a generic referent for a community of people.³⁰ He refers to the urban residents of Constantinople and those of Hadrianople as *plebs* without suggesting degree of ‘Romanness’. Indeed, Ammianus seems to have completely denatured the political meaning of *plebs*, particularly when applying the term to one of the greatest threats to the state, the Goths, whom he calls a *barbaram plebem*.³¹ In sum, it seems clear that Ammianus expected his readers to look beyond the walls of Rome to find *Romani*.

‘Romans’ of the provinces

It may be possible to ascribe the extent to which Ammianus problematizes Roman identity at Rome to the perspective of a fourth-century member of imperial service for whom the ancient capital had simply become irrelevant to governing the Empire. But Ammianus similarly discounts the millions who inhabited the provinces and who had equal claim to the legal status of ‘Roman’. The best example is the treatment of people from the Gallic provinces. As previous scholarship has well noted, Ammianus describes the Gauls with characteristics identical to Gauls from the period of Roman conquest, particularly in terms borrowed from Julius Caesar’s *De bello Gallico*.³² After surveying the earliest, largely mythical accounts of Gallic origins (15.9) and the geography of the Gallic provinces (15.10–11), Ammianus then gives an account of the customs of the Gallic people (*de moribus Gallorum*).³³ It is in describing the habits of contemporary Gauls that Ammianus follows Caesar most closely. Gauls are brutish and bellicose (*avidī iurgiorum et sublatius insolentes*), loud and eager for wine (*voces minaces [...] vini avidum genus*), and the general rowdiness of the men is superseded only by that of their wives (*multo se fortiori et glauca*).³⁴ More tellingly, Ammianus describes the Gallic people anachronistically as permanent allies of the Roman state (*societatiq[ue] nostrae foederibus iunxit aeternis*).³⁵ Although by referring to them as *provinciales* Ammianus acknowledges the Gallic people to be citizens of Roman territory, the *foedus aeternum* nonetheless suggests a status subordinated to proper Romans (*societati nostrae iunxit*).

It is possible that Ammianus’ attribution of characteristics identical with the Gauls from the period of Roman conquest may reflect an attempt to situate Julian’s

³⁰ Ammianus Marcellinus 14.7.1 and 29.1.1, for the *plebs* of the eastern provinces.

³¹ With reference to the Goths, Ammianus Marcellinus 31.4.5, *plebem truculentam*; 31.4.6, *barbaram plebem*.

³² For correspondences between *De bello Gallico* and the treatment of the Gauls in the *Res Gestae*, Woolf 2011b, 255–271.

³³ Ammianus Marcellinus 15.12.1–6.

³⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus 15.12.1–4.

³⁵ Ammianus Marcellinus 15.12.6.

activities in Gaul within a framework of epic narrative.³⁶ It has also been suggested that Ammianus' disconnect from daily life in Roman Gaul, as an eastern observer, inclined him to supplement his account with characteristics from classical ethnography (Caesar and others). However, it is clear from the *Res Gestae* that Ammianus served in Gaul under Julian's commander Ursicinus, in which capacity he had close contact with military units stationed in Gaul, most of which were full of Gauls.³⁷ It may be more accurate to explain Ammianus' anachronistic ethnography of the Gauls as part of a more comprehensive strategy, one visible in his approach to peoples across the Empire and which purposefully emphasized the heterogeneity of provincial identities and fractured any sense of universally shared 'Romanness'. Such a strategy is evident elsewhere in the *Res Gestae*, where Ammianus describes other groups of peoples in the western Empire not as Romans, but as *provinciales* (residents of a province), *cives* (residents of a city) or *tributarii* (people settled with obligations to the state).³⁸ In North Africa, for example, Ammianus never refers to the provincials as *Romani*, but with city-state identities, such as the *Lepcitani* and *Tripolitani*, or more generally as *cives*.³⁹

Ammianus follows the same procedure when mapping the cultural diversity of provinces in the eastern half of the Empire. For groups of people with extensive histories available in the classical tradition, Ammianus provides ethnographies that are correspondingly well-developed and suspiciously lacking in contemporary relevance. For example, the panoptic description of the eastern provinces (14.8.1–15) focuses primarily on major geographic features and cities; but rather than describe the people of each region in contemporary cultural terms, Ammianus instead develops a landscape populated by the sites of famous mythological narratives or from Hellenistic and Republican episodes of history. Hence, Ammianus describes many cities in terms of mythical or Hellenistic founders, or by reference to their conquest or incorporation into Roman administration by famous Romans of the Republic.⁴⁰ Elsewhere, Ammianus similarly describes the inhabitants of the eastern provinces in terms that coordinate local ethnic groups with famous episodes or landmarks in ancient history. For example, his description of the Pontic provinces (22.8) is populated with a bewildering array of Greeks, Scythians and exotic mythical peoples such as

³⁶ Woolf 2011b, 255–271.

³⁷ Ammianus Marcellinus 16.2.8, *et ipse Ursicinus, ad usque expeditionis finem agere praeceptus isdem in locis*; on which Matthews 1989, 81–83.

³⁸ For *provinciales*, Ammianus Marcellinus 17.3.5, in Gaul; 19.11.7, in Pannonia; 20.1.1, in Britain; 28.6.16, for *cives* in North Africa; 28.5.15, for Alamanni settled in Italy as *tributarii*.

³⁹ Ammianus Marcellinus 28.6.5 and 28.6.10, for the *Lepcitani*; 28.6.7 and 28.6.10, for the *Tripolitani*; 28.6.16, citizens of Tripoli as *cives*.

⁴⁰ Ammianus Marcellinus 14.8.3, Taurus and Perseus; 14.8.3, Mopsuestia and the Argonauts; 14.8.4–5, Roman Syria and Seleucus Nicator and Servilius Isauricus; 14.8.10, Armenia and Pompeius Magnus; 14.8.12, Jerusalem and Pompeius Magnus; 14.8.13, Philadelphia and Trajan; 14.8.15, Cyprus and Cato Uticensis.

Amazons.⁴¹ Romans are never mentioned, including the brief discussion of Constantinople, which he describes as an ancient Athenian colony.⁴² During the course of his ethnographic treatment of the Thracian provinces (27.4), Ammianus again draws from the diverse *nationes* and *gentes* as attributed in classical literature (*Homeri perennis auctoritas docet*).⁴³ At length, Ammianus finally supplies a brief history of the subjugation of Thrace and acknowledges that the region had long since come under the rule of Romans (*veterum nostrorum*), but he nowhere refers to contemporary inhabitants of the provinces as *Romani*.⁴⁴ The same tendency is visible in his extensive ethnographic treatment of Egypt (22.15–16), where the *gens Aegyptum* and diverse neighboring peoples (*variae nationes*) are exoticized through the extent of their non-Roman antiquity.⁴⁵

Some ethnic groups of the Roman provinces are subordinated even further. For example, Ammianus treats the Isaurians of Asia Minor (14.2.1–20) as a race of bandits (*latrones*) distinguished by unlawful customs (*usitatum*). The contrast of the Isaurians to the neighboring provincials (*provinciales*) and to the Roman soldiers (*nostrī pedites* and *nostrī milites*) suggests a conception consistent with that of the Roman frontier, albeit well within Roman territory: the soldiers separate an unpacified people (Isaurians) from tributaries to the Roman state (*provinciales*).⁴⁶ Ammianus had to assimilate a wide variety of people into a complicated mental map of the Roman Empire, including many, like the Isaurians, who were not comfortably defined as citizens. Ammianus describes the Maratocupreni of Syria much like the Isaurians, as a regional people presumably differentiated from ‘barbarians’ only by the fact that they originated within the Empire.⁴⁷ The ambiguity of such peoples in a hierarchy of Roman subjects is similarly evident when Ammianus describes the Saracens of the eastern provinces as suitable neither as friends or enemies (*nec amici nobis umquam nec hostes optandi*).⁴⁸ And as previously noted, none of the peo-

⁴¹ For example, Ammianus Marcellinus 22.8.3, Abdera as the home of Protagoras and Democritus; 22.8.4, the Hellespont as the resting place of Hecuba, Achilles and Ajax; 22.8.5, relationship of Chiron to Anaxagoras and Hercules; 22.8.14, Bithynia in relation to Pollux, the harpies and Phineus; 22.8.18–19, Pontus and the Amazons; 22.8.20–22, river Halys and Hercules and the Argonauts; 22.8.23, river Callichorus and Bacchus.

⁴² Ammianus Marcellinus 22.8.7, *et Constantinopolis, vetus Byzantium, Atticorum colonia*.

⁴³ Ammianus Marcellinus 27.4.3.

⁴⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus 27.4.10–11.

⁴⁵ Ammianus Marcellinus 22.15.2, *Aegyptum gentem [...] nationesque variae*.

⁴⁶ Ammianus Marcellinus 14.2.4 and 14.2.6–7, for descriptions of provincials and Roman soldiers in opposition to the Isaurians; 14.2.13, Isauria as a frontier, *commeatus distribui militibus omne latus Isauriae defendentibus assueti*.

⁴⁷ Ammianus Marcellinus 28.2.11, *Maratocupreni grassatores acerrimi vagabantur, vici huius nominis incolae, in Syria prope Apameam positi*, as natives to Roman Syria; 28.2.12, compared to Saxons in their habits, *quam ob causam prae ceteris hostibus Saxones timentur ut repentini*.

⁴⁸ Ammianus Marcellinus 14.4.1; this may reflect the fact that phylarchs of Arab tribesmen settled within the Empire also retained rule over Arab confederacies beyond the frontier, Liebeschuetz 2015, 72–84.

ples of Roman provinces, whether *latrones* or *provinciales*, are acknowledged by Ammianus as *Romani*.

Roman and non-Roman barbarians

Ammianus' treatment of peoples whom he explicitly refers to as barbarians (*barbari*) is extensive and includes a host of peoples whose natal origins, at least within living memory, could be traced to regions beyond the Empire. The Alamanni, Franks, Picts, Saxons, Goths, Sarmatians and Huns are all described as *barbari* in general contexts either as peoples from beyond the Empire or as active adversaries of the Roman state.⁴⁹ Despite the frequency with which readers of the *Res Gestae* find the term *barbari* describing peoples from north of the Roman frontier, Ammianus also applied the term to hostile peoples of North Africa.⁵⁰ Among the Empire's foreign neighbors, only the Persians are never referred to as *barbari*, but instead as *Persae*, or more frequently *hostis* ('the enemy').⁵¹ This seeming discrepancy perhaps has to do with Ammianus' assumptions about the political organization of the Persians and, probably more likely, the constancy of the Persians as enemies of the Roman state. By comparison, although Ammianus seems to regard the many smaller ethnic groups (*barbari*) as essentially foreign to the Roman state, many were also integrated into the cultural, political and ethnic map of Roman subjects to varying degrees in non-adversarial contexts. For example, many *barbari* became dependents of the state (*tributarii*, *dediticii* or *clientes*) when settled in the Empire either voluntarily or through conquest.⁵² Even those barbarians residing beyond the frontier, in *barbaricum*, were not necessarily *hostes*. Several kings of the Alamanni in the *Res Gestae* bear names (Ursicinus, Hortarius and Serapio) which suggest long-term diplomatic relations with the Roman state.⁵³ Indeed, Ammianus notes that Serapio received his name from his father, who had been a political hostage for many years in Gaul (!) where he acquired a taste for Greek learning.⁵⁴ Similarly, Ammianus described the homes of the Alamanni on the 'barbarian' side of the Rhine as having been carefully built after the Roman

⁴⁹ By no means comprehensively, Ammianus Marcellinus 17.1, 18.2, 27.2, Alamanni; 17.2, Franks; 27.7, Picts; 28.5, Saxons; 27.5, 31.5, 31.7, Goths; 17.12, Sarmatians and Quadi; 31.2, Huns.

⁵⁰ Ammianus Marcellinus, 28.6, the Austeriani of North Africa; 29.5, Moors of North Africa;

⁵¹ For example, Ammianus Marcellinus 19.1–9 and 23.6.

⁵² Ammianus Marcellinus 16.11.8, *barbari qui domicilia fixere cis Rhenum*; 17.8.3, *Francos, eos videlicet quos consuetudo Salios appellavit ausos olim in Romano solo apud Toxandriam locum habitacula sibi figere praelicenter*; 17.12.15, *Sarmatae [...] ut semper Romanorum clientes*; 20.8.13, *Laetos quosdam, cis Rhenum editam barbarorum progeniem, vel certe ex dediticiis, qui ad nostra desciscunt*; 28.5.15, *Alamannos [...] per Raetias Theodosius [...] cepit ad Italiam iussu principis misit, ubi fertilibus pagis ac ceptis, iam tributarii circumcolunt Padum*.

⁵³ Ammianus Marcellinus 16.12.1.

⁵⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus 16.12.25, *ideo sic appellatus, quod pater eius diu obsidatus pignore tentus in Galliis, doctusque Graeca quaedam arcana [...]*.

manner (*ritu Romano constructa*), again suggesting the Roman-barbarian dichotomy was not simply a matter of ethnic, cultural or geographic lines.⁵⁵

Far more frequently, a reader of the *Res Gestae* encounters newcomers to the Empire ('barbarians') serving the state as members of the Roman military. Ammianus notes several circumstances in which barbarians were conscripted en masse into military service.⁵⁶ Indeed, Ammianus has Constantius declare in a speech before the whole Roman army (*inspectante omni exercitu*) that the Sarmatians recently received on Roman soil should be subordinate to none but the emperor and Roman generals (*imperator nulli nisi sibi ducibusque Romanis parere praecepit*), indicating that submission to Roman authority was specifically submission to the military command of the Empire.⁵⁷ Individuals with Germanic-sounding names like Bainobaudes and Teutomerus frequently occupy important commands over Roman military units.⁵⁸ Although Ammianus does not disclose the ethnicity of every military commander, there are numerous examples in which he does.⁵⁹ Agilo, Scudilo and Latinus are particularly noteworthy because they were Alamannic commanders serving under the Emperor Julian in the same campaign during which the Roman army contended with Alamanni whom Ammianus called *barbari*.⁶⁰ More importantly, not only are such individuals not referred to as barbarians while serving the Roman state, but Ammianus even compares more noted individuals to Roman heroes of the Republic. The commanders Arintheus, Seniauchus and Bappo, for example, earned the distinction of being compared to the famed Decii (*Deciorum veterum exemplo*) for overturning a body of Alamanni (*barbaram plebem*).⁶¹ Indeed, the same Bainobaudes mentioned above later proves to be more instrumental to the Roman cause (*utilitatem Romanae rei*) than the imperial official who prevented him from opposing the barbarian Laeti (*Laeti barbari*) on account of that official's hostility to Julian.⁶²

⁵⁵ Ammianus Marcellinus 17.1.7.

⁵⁶ Ammianus Marcellinus 14.10.14, Alamanni; 19.11.7, Limigantes; 20.1.2, Herulians; 20.8.1, Scythians; 28.5.4, Saxons; 28.5.9–14, Burgundians; 30.2.7, Scythians.

⁵⁷ Ammianus Marcellinus 17.12.19.

⁵⁸ Ammianus Marcellinus 14.11.13, Bainobaudes as *tribunus scutariorum*; 14.11.21, Mallobaudes as *tribunus armaturarum*; 15.3.10, Teutomerus as *protector domesticus*; 18.6.12, Abdigildus as *tribunus*; Aiadalthes as *tribunus*; Dagalaifus as *praefectus domesticis*; 21.15.4, Theolaius and Aligildus as *comites*; Gomoarius and Agilo in *sacramentum*; 27.1.2, Charietto as *comes per utramque Germaniam*; 27.2.6, Balchobaudes as *tribunus armaturarum*; 31.7.4, Richomer as *comes domesticorum*.

⁵⁹ Ammianus Marcellinus 18.2.2, Hariobaudes as *tribunus*; Vitalianus as *comes*; 27.6.14, Eupraxius as *magister memoriae* and *quaestor*; 27.12.12, Arintheus as *comes*; 29.4.7, Fraomarius as *tribunus*; 15.5, Silvanus as *magister peditum per Gallias*; 15.5.6, Malarichus as *rector gentilium*; 15.5.16, Laniogaisus as *tribunus*.

⁶⁰ Ammianus Marcellinus 14.10.6–8.

⁶¹ Ammianus Marcellinus 15.4.10–12.

⁶² Ammianus Marcellinus 16.11.4–7.

The Frankish infantry commander Silvanus similarly earned distinction for repelling barbarian raids on behalf of the state (*ex re publica discursante barbarosque propellente*).⁶³ Despite their barbarian origins, Franks were a prominent presence in the western armies and Silvanus' own importance may be attributed to the influence that he commanded with Frankish units.⁶⁴ Interestingly, when Silvanus ran afoul of court intrigue and learned of the conspiracy to discredit him, he considered entrusting himself to the Alamanni who were then hostile to the state (*barbaricae se fidei committere*). It was only at the insistence of a Frankish *tribunus* that he instead turned to Roman soldiers, who elevated him as emperor (*sollicitato exercitu ad augustum culmen evectum*).⁶⁵ Even after open rebellion, Ammianus does not consider Silvanus a *barbarus*, presumably because he maintained the support of Roman soldiers. Indeed, Ammianus describes how Silvanus justified his actions by reflecting on the service that he had provided for the state and his father's support of Constantine during a previous civil war.⁶⁶ Ammianus observes similar discretion in the use of the term *barbarus* when discussing the Alamannic king Vodomarius. As an adversary of the Roman state engaged in plundering the Roman province of Raetia (*vastare confines Raetiis tractus*), Ammianus refers to Vodomarius as a ruler of *barbari*.⁶⁷ However, after capitulating and entering service to the Roman state as a commander assigned to protect the eastern frontier, Ammianus describes him as *ex rege Alamannorum* and *dux*, but not as *barbarus*.⁶⁸

In short, although Ammianus displays interest in the ethnic origins of foreigners associated with the Roman state, foreign identity does not always easily equate to a binary opposite for inhabitants of the Empire. Barbarians might be incorporated into Roman territory, extended degrees of diplomatic relations beyond the frontier or even shed their '*barbaritas*' to become 'Roman' through participation in the Roman military. Indeed, it is clear that the people to whom Ammianus refers exclusively as *Romani*, the soldiers of the Empire, were frequently conscripted from Alamanni, Franks, Moors and Goths.⁶⁹ The distinction commonly made in scholarship between Roman soldiers and barbarians serving in the Roman army is a legacy of the modern fascination with the conflict between Romans and barbarians as an explanation for the end of the Roman Empire rather than a precise conceptual distinction for Ammianus. Although in a basic sense the term 'barbarian' differentiated 'foreigner' from Roman,

⁶³ Ammianus Marcellinus 15.5.2 and 15.5.4, Silvanus serving the Roman state by opposing barbarians.

⁶⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus 15.5.11, *Francis quorum ea tempestate in palatio multitudo florebat*.

⁶⁵ Ammianus Marcellinus 15.5.15–17; on this episode, Hunt 1999, 51–63.

⁶⁶ Ammianus Marcellinus 15.5.28, *exsudatos magnos pro re publica labores et crebros*; 15.5.33, *quidem sed pro Constantini partibus in bello civili*.

⁶⁷ Vodomarius as a barbarian king, Ammianus Marcellinus 21.3.1–4 and 21.4.7.

⁶⁸ Vodomarius as a former barbarian serving the Roman state, Ammianus Marcellinus 21.3.3, *ducatum per Phoenicem*; 26.8.2, *ex duce et rege Alamannorum*; 29.1.2, *Vodomarius ex rege Alamannorum*.

⁶⁹ On the conscription of barbarians into the Roman military, Elton 1996, 128–154 and 272–277.

it was not a status that precluded participation in Empire as a Roman and, in fact, such participation tended to efface former associations with barbarian identity. In fact, it is more frequently the case that where Ammianus designates a group of people as *barbari*, he does so not only to denote foreign origins, but to bring into higher relief the hostility of a group toward the Roman state. This may be a semantic procedure of particular importance in contexts where it is necessary to disambiguate hostile peoples (*barbari*) from members of the same ethnic group who may be serving in the Roman military (Franks or Alamanni, for example). This is evident in the way that Ammianus regularly juxtaposes *Romani* (soldiers of the Empire) to *barbari* (foreign enemies) in contexts of military conflict.⁷⁰ Conversely, both because of the semantic procedure Ammianus observes with respect to *barbari* and his own sentiments as an author, 'Roman' comes to mean the binary opposite of barbarian hostility to the state: the Roman was someone, irrespective of ethnicity, acting on behalf of the Roman state under military command.

In a history with cultural and ethnic horizons as wide and complex as the *Res Gestae* there are bound to be inconsistencies to any typology. Although Ammianus refers to soldiers from 'foreign' ethnic groups as Romans (not barbarians) with impressive regularity, there are several exceptions, but which may have criteria that would suggest Ammianus nonetheless maintained an overall consistent world view. For example, when describing an episode during the siege of Amida, Ammianus approvingly refers to a group of 'free-born barbarians' who served the Roman cause as mounted archers (*comitum sagittariorum [...] omnes ingenui barbari armorum viriumque firmitudine inter alios eminentes*).⁷¹ Although Ammianus does not elaborate on their origins or status relative to other member of the Roman military, it would seem safe to assume that he discloses their 'barbarian' identity simply to note the collective foreign origin of all cavalry serving in this particular unit. Two other passages refer to soldiers as *barbari* by virtue of the recentness of their recruitment and it may also be the case that the *comites sagittariorum* at Amida had also been conscripted very recently from barbarian *gentes*.⁷² In a different instance, Ammianus describes as *barbarus* the soldier Nevitta to whom Julian entrusted a number of important military commands.⁷³ It may be important that Ammianus refers to Nevitta's barbarian origins, and indeed his uncultivated cruelty (*inconsummatum et subagrestem et, quod minus erat ferendum, celsa in potestate crudelem*), in relation to his later appointment as consul in 362.⁷⁴ By contrast, Ammianus ignores his bar-

⁷⁰ For example, Ammianus Marcellinus 16.2, 16.12, 24.2, 24.4, 27.2, 28.2, 28.5, 29.5, 31.7

⁷¹ Ammianus Marcellinus 18.9.4.

⁷² Ammianus Marcellinus 20.4.4, *qui relictis laribus transrhenanis, sub hoc venerant pacto [...] voluntarii barbari militares*; 20.8.13, *Laetos quosdam cis Rhenum editam barbarorum progeniem vel certe ex dediticiis*.

⁷³ Ammianus Marcellinus 21.8.1, 21.8.3, 21.10.2, 22.3.1, 24.1.2, 24.4.13, for Nevitta's military roles under Julian.

⁷⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus 21.10.8.

barian origins when describing Nevitta's activities as a military commander: quite the opposite, he is noted for his faithfulness to the emperor as a soldier (*Nevittam fidum*).⁷⁵ Finally, Ammianus mentions a 'savage barbarian' from among the imperial guardsmen (*barbarus asper ex his quos scurras appellant*) whom the Roman commander Trajanus suborned to assassinate the king of Armenia at a banquet.⁷⁶ It seems likely that Ammianus found this particular deed so repugnant (*Hocque figmento nefarie decepta credulitate*) that he could only explain it by allowing the guardsman's barbarian identity to prevail. Indeed, Ammianus emphasizes this point by recalling the moral stature of Fabricius Luscinus, the Roman who not only refused an offer to assassinate Pyrrhus, but informed the enemy king of the attempt.⁷⁷

***Milites nostri* as Romans**

In contrast to this complex and highly differentiated political landscape of *plebs*, *provinciales*, *tributarii* and *barbari*, the military appear with regular and exclusive consistency in the *Res Gestae* as *Romani*. Not surprisingly, Ammianus constructs the identity of soldiers as *Romani* in ideological terms to represent the active unifying force of the Empire. The role played by the military in defining Ammianus' conception of the Empire as a state with protected boundaries has already been mentioned.⁷⁸ They also consistently act *pro re publica*.⁷⁹ Interestingly, when the Alamanni finally surrendered to Julian and submitted themselves to assist the Roman army in repairing the frontier fortifications, Ammianus draws the contrast that the barbarians (from across the frontier) acted on behalf of the state out of fearful obedience, while the Roman soldiers did so out of love for their emperor.⁸⁰ Ammianus further mentions that the *auxilarii* similarly shared the burden out of respect for the emperor, indicating that, in Ammianus' view, the well-being of the emperor conflated with that of the state, and loyalty for an emperor generally equated to acting for the good of the state.⁸¹ The *auxilarii* were typically barbarian recruits, although Ammianus does not make this distinction, instead aligning their behavior to that of the

75 Ammianus Marcellinus 21.10.2.

76 Ammianus Marcellinus 30.1.20.

77 Ammianus Marcellinus 30.1.22.

78 Note Ammianus Marcellinus 20.6.9, the loss of Singara on the Persian frontier is a *dispendio rei Romanae* because of the loss of its defenders (*defensorum*), which consisted of two legions (*legiones*) and local auxiliaries (*indigenae plures auxilio*).

79 For example, concerning the activities of the army, Ammianus Marcellinus 16.10.21, *quicquid pro re publica*; 16.12.39, *pro re publica*; 17.13.26, *Romanae rei fidissimi defensores*.

80 Ammianus Marcellinus 18.2.5, *idque claris indicibus apparet, ea tempestate utilitati publicae metu barbaros oboedisse, rectoris amore Romanos*.

81 Ammianus Marcellinus 18.2.6, *auxilarii milites semper munia spernentes huius modi, ad obsequendi sedulitatem Iuliani blanditiis deflexi*.

Roman *milites* in contrast to the recently defeated *barbari*. Even when rebelling against an emperor, Ammianus is able to describe the consent of the Roman army as corresponding to the well-being of the state, presumably because they had the consent of another (usurping) emperor.⁸²

Indeed, Ammianus describes military service in terms that suggest its ability to transcend previous ethnic and cultural affiliations. For example, one of the defining features of barbarians in the *Res Gestae* is their wavering fidelity to a cause.⁸³ As seen in a speech attributed to Constantius, however, incorporation into the Roman military subdued the natural inclinations of barbarians.⁸⁴ The same is true of soldiers recruited from the Roman provinces: Ammianus may at times indicate the regional origin of Roman soldiers, such as the Gallic units present during the siege of Amida, but these same soldiers are elsewhere semantically and conceptually assimilated into the body of *Romani*.⁸⁵ Indeed, after a speech given by Julian on the eve of the Persian expedition, Ammianus notes that the Gallic troops had been particularly roused (*Maxime omnium id numeri Gallicani fremitu laetiore monstrabant*).⁸⁶ Ammianus studded this same speech (23.5.16–23) with an assemblage of exemplars for Roman patriotism, most of which he drew from historical figures of the Republic.⁸⁷ The notion that Gallic soldiers would respond so favorably to exemplars from the Republic when language from that same period had been used to describe Gallic provincials in alienating terms is noteworthy, again suggesting that the identity of soldiers as *Romani* prevailed over any previous ethnic differences. By contrast, civilian provincials who respect Roman order do not share the Roman name with the military, even when actively opposing barbarian hostility. For example, the account of the Austoriani (a hostile people neighboring the province of Africa) carefully maintains distinctions between the Austoriani as *barbari*, the provincials of Africa who assist the military as *cives*, and the soldiers of the state as *Romani*.⁸⁸ The provincials of Africa were only *cives*, not *Romani*, per their dependency upon soldiers of the Empire. Ammianus portrays the military with decidedly more agency *vis a vis* their loyalty to an emperor as the embodiment of Roman political tradition and their defense of the

82 Ammianus Marcellinus 21.5.3, addresses the army as *Romani* to urge their revolt against Constantius; 21.5.6, that this course of action would correspond with the well being of the state, *cum integritas rerum intentioni nostrae voluntatique respondeat*.

83 Ammianus Marcellinus 18.2.18, *ut sunt fluxioris fidei barbari*.

84 Ammianus Marcellinus 14.10.11–15, for the full speech; 14.10.14, *dein ut auxiliatores pro adversariis adsciscamus [...] tum autem ut incruenti mitigemus ferociae flatus*.

85 Ammianus Marcellinus 19.6.7–12, throughout describes units present during the siege of Amida which had been brought from the western army as *Galli*, although they are also referred to as *nostri*, by which Ammianus means *nostros milites* (for example, 20.11.21, the *legiones* as *triplex acies nostrorum*; 19.6.13, these same *Galli* also described as *Romani*).

86 Ammianus Marcellinus 23.5.5.

87 Ammianus Marcellinus 23.5.16, Lucullus, Pompey, Ventidius; 23.5.19, *ut Curtii Mucique veteres, et clara prosapia Deciorum*; 23.5.20, Roman victories over Carthage, Numantia, Fidenae, Falerii and Veii.

88 Ammianus Marcellinus 28.6.1–30, for the full episode.

Empire's territorial integrity.⁸⁹ The civilian provincials seem to be accorded the status of both tributaries to the state and beneficiaries of the state's protection, but as previously noted, Ammianus does not recognize them as *Romani*. Like the provincials, whom Ammianus identifies in ethnic terms, it is everywhere evident in Ammianus' writing that ethnic diversity was common among the soldiers. But unlike the provincials, service to the state allowed the more universal identity of *Romani* to prevail. By referring to various groups of provincials in what might be thought of as ethnic or regional terms, Ammianus generated a contrast between groups of people with various distinct cultural differences and the unity of the group that he wished to identify as Roman—the military.

Ammianus similarly suggests that the soldiers possessed significant political agency, almost as a kind of body politic, particularly through the elevation of new emperors. The role played by the soldiers in elevating Julian is clearly evident.⁹⁰ More interestingly, however, Ammianus characterizes the soldiers as the legitimating body of Roman citizens, almost as an electoral body equivalent to the Republican *populus Romanus*. He portrays Valentinian's elevation in precisely these terms: Valentinian mounted a tribunal (*tribunal ascendere*), and after the custom of elections (*specie comitiorum*), was chosen by the favorable votes of the soldiers (*voluntate praesentium secundissima*).⁹¹ Although Valentinian would later confer equal imperial dignity upon his son Gratian, according to Ammianus, he acknowledged the necessity of securing the army's approval.⁹² The type of political agency that Ammianus ascribed to the common soldiers contrasts notably with the political disorder and even impotence of the *plebs* of Rome and Constantinople. One need only compare, as Ammianus does, the doomed elevation of Procopius by the *plebs* of Constantinople, an event that Ammianus rhetorically de-legitimizes, despite Procopius' connection to the dynasty of Constantine. Procopius mounted a tribunal (*tribunal escendisset*), as had Valentinian, and after timid hesitation on his part, received the disorderly acclamation of the citizens of Constantinople.⁹³ Again, in contrast to the unanimity of soldiers assembled for the elevation of Valentinian, Ammianus reviews

⁸⁹ For example, in an address given to the soldiers by Julian, Ammianus Marcellinus 20.5.3, *propugnatores mei rei publicae fortes et fidi, qui mecum pro statu provinciarum vitam saepius obiecistis*.

⁹⁰ Ammianus Marcellinus 20.4.10–19, on the role played by the *auxilarii* in proclaiming Julian as Augustus; 20.5.3 and 20.5.6 for Julian's acknowledgment of their support; 20.9.7, Julian's letter to Constantius that his elevation was legitimated by decree of provincials, the soldiers and the state, *ut provincialis et miles, et rei publicae decrevit auctoritas recreatae*.

⁹¹ Ammianus Marcellinus 26.2.2.

⁹² Ammianus Marcellinus 27.6.5, *Et paratis omnibus militeque firmato, ut animis id acciperet promptis, cum Gratianus venisset*; 27.6.12, *habes, mi Gratiane, amictus, ut speravimus omnes, augustos, meo commilitonumque nostrorum arbitrio [...] quod ad Romani imperii pertinet statum*.

⁹³ Ammianus Marcellinus 26.6.18, *pauca tamen interrupta et moribunda voce dicere iam exorsus, quibus stirpis propinquitatem imperatoriae praetendebat [...] deinde tumultuariis succlamationibus plebis, imperator appellatus incondite petit curiam raptim*; 26.6.19, *Mirantur quidam profecto irrisione digna principia incaute coepta et temere, ad ingemiscendas erupisse rei publicae clades*.

the heterogeneity of Procopius' supporters: peddlers of cheap wares, would-be palace attendants and unwilling retired soldiers.⁹⁴ But even the ill-starred Procopius seems to have understood who comprised the real body politic: in a speech addressed to soldiers sent to depose him, Procopius appealed to these soldiers as *Romani* and contrasted their status as such to Valentinian, whom he attempted to subordinate as an ignoble provincial (*Pannonius degener*).⁹⁵ The fact that Procopius' speech actually succeeded in temporarily swaying a number of Valentinian's soldiers may underscore Ammianus' perspective of the contingent fragility of Roman identity.

Not all who served the state earned Roman status according to Ammianus' criteria. The *Res Gestae* do not refer to officials and personnel of the imperial court as *Romani*. Ammianus variously describes the self-serving interests of palace personnel, who continuously plotted against those serving the state more nobly (*concinens in exitium nostrum*).⁹⁶ Ammianus reserves his worst abuse for the court eunuchs, but he also describes palace service in negative terms more collectively.⁹⁷ The *Palatina cohors* of Constantius, for example, perform as though on a stage or in a brothel (*quasi per lustra [...] et scaenam*), further removing personnel of the court from association with service that might be regarded in parallel with military service.⁹⁸ Julian famously dismissed the *palatini* whose predilections had 'infected the state with depraved vices' (*ut rem publicam infecerint cupiditatibus pravis*) precisely because they had lost the military discipline (*disciplinae castrens*) that palace personnel had held in olden times (*ut erant antehac*).⁹⁹ Much as Ammianus discredits the political agency of the *plebs* of Rome, who had lost the olden virtues of the Republic, Ammianus notes how dissimilar the *palatini* were to famed Romans of the Republic such as Quinctius Cincinnatus.¹⁰⁰ By contrast, Ammianus frequently likens soldiers (*Romani*) to the activities of armies and commanders from the Republic. Julian's soldiers crossed the Tigris like Sertorius crossing the Rhone and Theodosius had the firm disciplinary hand of Curio and the strategic acumen of Fabius Maximus.¹⁰¹

⁹⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus 26.7.1, *Igitur cuppediarum vilium mercatores, et qui intra regiam apparebant, aut apparere desierant, quique coetu militarium nexi, ad pacatiora iam vitae discesserant, in in soliti casus ambigua, partim invite, alii volentes [...]*.

⁹⁵ Ammianus Marcellinus 26.7.16.

⁹⁶ Ammianus Marcellinus 18.5.4.

⁹⁷ Ammianus Marcellinus 18.4.5, against palace eunuchs; 14.5, 15.3–4, against the 'rumor mongers' (*aucupes*) of the imperial court.

⁹⁸ Ammianus Marcellinus 18.5.6.

⁹⁹ Ammianus Marcellinus 22.4.1–2 and 22.4.6–8.

¹⁰⁰ Ammianus Marcellinus 22.4.5.

¹⁰¹ Ammianus Marcellinus 24.6.7, Sertorius on the Rhone; 28.3.9, Theodosius compared to Furius Camillus and Papirius Cursor; 29.5.22, same compared to Curio; 29.5.32, same compared to Q. Fabius Maximus.

Conclusion

In closing the *Res Gestae*, Ammianus famously calls himself a ‘former soldier and a Greek’ (*miles quondam et Graecus*) and it may be worthwhile to pause and compare this statement to that of a burial inscription of a Frankish Roman soldier near the Danubian frontier (*ILS* 2814).¹⁰² The inscription simply reads *Francus civis, Romanus miles*, which would translate literally as, ‘A Frankish citizen and Roman soldier.’ Because a *civis* refers specifically to citizen in a Roman urban context, a more appropriate interpretation might read, ‘A Frankish resident of the province and a Roman as a soldier’. However one interprets *civis*, the self-representations of Ammianus and the Frank both map onto a definition of ‘Romans’ as soldiers of the Empire. Ammianus, as a *miles quondam*, or ‘former soldier’, no longer in active service to the state, retires his title as *Romanus* and assumes the comfortable mantle of his regional identity, *Graecus*. Thus, Ammianus held himself accountable to the same type of ethnographic profiling that he applied to other peoples of the Empire. In essence, he counted himself as one of the many peoples of the Roman Empire whose cultural differences were everywhere evident. The fact that Ammianus did not also refer to himself as *Romanus* in apposition to *miles*, as had the Frankish soldier, suggests that he himself may have been aware of a certain fragility to the conception of ‘Roman’. It is also the case that his history makes a fairly clear statement that being a *miles* meant being Roman, and by acknowledging himself as a “former soldier”, he has made a claim to Roman status. But the reality may be that Ammianus was attempting to describe Romans as a stratum of imperial society much as Alexander Demandt has argued, that is, a military caste of blended ethnicities defined by its own importance to the state.¹⁰³ This, of course, would not be an exclusive means of defining ‘Roman’. Senators at Rome, bureaucrats at Constantinople and provincials in North Africa, for example, would each have a different understanding of what it meant to be Roman, which may account for the imprint of such careful rhetorical construction visible in Ammianus’ conception of the military as *Romani*. Despite the centuries of deep Romanization that preceded the late-fourth century, especially in urban settings, Ammianus’ generation was still aware that being Roman was contingent upon, or perhaps even vulnerable to, sometimes overlapping social and political contexts. This may explain Ammianus’ adoration of exempla from the Republic, a period in which, from Ammianus’ perspective, it was easier to identify who was Roman and who was not.¹⁰⁴ Perhaps as a Greek and former soldier, Am-

¹⁰² Ammianus Marcellinus 31.16.9.

¹⁰³ Demandt 1989, 75–86; Demandt 1980, 609–636.

¹⁰⁴ On Ammianus’ use of the Republic, Jenkins 1985; on his use of exempla, more broadly, Kelly 2008, 256–295.

mianus had attempted to locate himself as a peculiar kind of hapless observer writing the history of the Roman Empire, much as Polybius had been.¹⁰⁵

105 On Polybius' perspective of Roman history, Eckstein 1997, 175–198.

Richard Corradini

A stone in the Capitol: Some aspects of *res publica* and *romanitas* in Augustine

The Russian author Andrei Gorchakov travelled through Italy in order to follow the traces of the composer Pavel Sosnovsky, who, because he was desperately homesick, had committed suicide. During his journey that has led him to *lieux de mémoire* of Sosnovsky's past, Gorchakov becomes depressed by the discrepancy between an idealized fiction of Italy and the nostalgic places that he visits, and – similar to his compatriot – he suffers more and more from homesickness. This tale, poetically captured in Andrei Tarkovsky's 1983 film *Nostalghia*, sensitively analyses the indissoluble dichotomies between imagination and reality.

In his monumental book *De civitate dei* Augustine of Hippo follows emphatically the twisted traces of Vergil into a nostalgically poeticized Roman past. The young Augustine had left Carthage and his weeping mother Monnica in order to travel to Rome, just as Aeneas left Troy and the mourning Dido to found the new city.¹ In fact, Augustine has another destination. The aim of his virtual journey to the City of God is the impassioned plea that the nostalgia for Rome has to be substituted by the desire for the eternal empire, that is, for the love of the existential Good. In the Church Father's dramatic cosmos Rome was a place full of dichotomies, as Italy was for Gorchakov. As a vital icon Rome symbolized a complex semantic field that incorporated lots of aspects – political and historical notions of the Roman Empire, antique literature and poetics, grammar and rhetoric, philosophy and erudition, the intellectual centre of the known world. In short the *Urbs* had the potential to be a projection surface for many late antique social groups.² Romanization, the process that was supposed to guarantee social cohesion between different groups, was mainly a code of symbolic means, as Clifford Ando put it.³ The multicultural world in which Augustine lived provided polymorphic concepts of identity that were processually related to each other partly in coincidence and harmony, partly in diversification, contradiction, competition, and opposition.⁴ Thus, he had to confront tensions within his own complex range of identities. To name just a few, he was a cosmopolitan member of Roman society, a philosophically trained heir of Roman elite culture, a rhetorically educated political agent who was prepared by his father for office in the Roman administration, a former Manichean, a member of a Romanized north African-Mediterranean elite family, who spoke *lingua Latina* and *Punica*, and the Catholic bishop of a town in *Africa proconsularis*, who had to

1 Augustine, *Confessionum libri tredecim* 5, 8, ed. Verheijen, 64–65; cf. Fischer/Hatstrup 2004.

2 Marrou 1981; Maier 1955, 11–36; P. Brown 1972; Hagendahl 1967.

3 Ando 2000.

4 Hingley 2005; Broughton 1968; Fredriksen 2006.

care for his African flock and to fight hard against heretics.⁵ Latin, which had ‘the simplicity and uniformity of an ideological language’ provided – at least ideally – cultural transfer as well as social mobility.⁶ Latin, thus, was the necessary and ubiquitous vehicle of Roman imperialism, which tried to infiltrate the discourse of its subjects – an effort that Stephen Greenblatt once called ‘linguistic colonialism’.⁷ In his book on the Donatist Church in North Africa W.H.C. Frend argued that Roman civilization in the African provinces never gained a dominant role and stood much more as a facade,⁸ made visible through ubiquitous, but superficial imperialistic symbols such as the worship of emperors.⁹ Although, or perhaps exactly because of this, Roman culture provoked discourses of dissent and opposition, including the complex politics of the different churches.

Accordingly, Augustine’s *romanitas*, as part of his self-identification, was itself polymorphic, versatile, ambiguous, inconsistent and conflicting. I am far from saying that his view on the Roman Empire and its history is that of an exile, which would open simply binary logics, for example between Romanness and African provinciality. Augustine looked at *romanitas* from a certain angle that resulted from his own complex set of identities. His decentralized perspective was multi-focal and hybrid, and mixed different models of group identification, including Romanness, which acted mainly as a highly elaborated mode of social consensus and communication, and thus as an intellectual vanishing point.¹⁰ Lots of his texts, including *De civitate dei*, do not only thematize Roman history, society, and civilization, but are essentially based on Roman rhetoric, literature and erudition. Moreover, when Augustine argues and polemicizes against Roman polytheism, he necessarily participates in the late antique discourse of cultural multiplexity that is the basic intellectual framework and religious cosmos in which he operated. In his view *romanitas* is the vehicle of this multiplexity.¹¹

In *De civitate dei* Augustine uses *Roma* and *Romani* roughly 500 times. His sermons and epistles provide a similar frequency of use. In spite of this evidence Augustine neither elaborated a coherent and clear-cut political theory of government, nor of the Romans or of *romanitas*. That was not his main concern at all. Instead, Augustine was emphatically interested in the fundamental condition of the Christian community, the *ecclesia* – and that does not only mean the *ecclesia magna*, scattered

5 Cf. the exciting biography of Augustine by O’Donnell 2005; Pollmann 2003; Ando 2000; Frend 1952; Frend 1987; Beaver 1977; Clark 2005, 231–235; Kim 2012, 268–275; Quinn 2003, 28–33. For Augustine’s use of the Punic language see P. Brown 1968; Frend 1942.

6 P. Brown 1968, 90.

7 Greenblatt 1976, 561–564; cf. Todorov 1984, 15–19.

8 Frend 1952, 35–36.

9 Cf. Clover 1982, 670–674.

10 Cf. Bhabha 1994; Bhabha 2012; for an interesting post colonial reading of Augustine see Wilhite 2014; Cooper 2010, 26–27; De Luca 1962; Troup 1995.

11 Hingley 2005.

over the whole world, but also the *ecclesia parva*, Augustine's social environment, his flock in Carthage and Hippo.¹² These people were deeply concerned about Rome after the invasion by Alaric's Goths in 410, which threatened the symbolic center of the world – the event that inspired Augustine's brilliant re-invention of the Roman past and Roman identity.

Not long after the refugees settled on their African estates and began to frequent Carthage, some of them began to wonder aloud whether their new religion might not be to blame for the disaster they had suffered.¹³ There were already murmurs in the air that the new Christian God with ideas about holding worldly empires in low esteem was not an efficient guardian for society. After all, so the argument ran, Rome had been immune from capture for eight hundred years; but now, just two decades after Emperor Theodosius I ordered the formal end of public worship of the pagan gods in 392, the eternal city fell to the barbarians.¹⁴ Would it not be better to worship the old gods who had supported Rome for so many centuries? Many refugees seem to have indulged in nostalgic idealizations of the glorious Roman past, and especially the heroic Republican past. And the Christians among them were worried about the fact that the city of the Apostles was destroyed, and that Christians were plundered, raped and murdered.¹⁵

This was indeed a challenge for the concept of *tempora christiana*, which had only just been invigorated exactly via the combination of Christianity with a late Roman imperial ideology that was essentially based on the fragile success of colonialist power.¹⁶ The many social groups that participated in the colonial discourse of the Roman Empire were caught in a mutually paradoxical logic of differentiation, and at the same time assimilation.¹⁷ Augustine, who was forced to react immediately, had no better option than to defend Christianity through the imaginary and suggestive reconstruction of a Roman past via Roman rhetoric, grammar, dialectic, and historiography – key dispositive elements of Roman self-definition. Immediately after the events he addressed himself to the public in a series of sermons, epistles and books which document the complex reactions to the sentiment that the world had changed. Augustine's view on Roman identity was therefore a situational construct with political implications rather than a well-defined *Geschichtsphilosophie*. His position as a bishop formally pushed him to pull strings in a more and more unstable parallelogram of forces.

¹² Augustine, *Sermo* 267, 1–2, PL 38, cols. 1229–1230.

¹³ P. Brown 1967/2000, chapter 25.

¹⁴ Cf. e.g. Pohl 2013b; Schlange Schöningen 2010, 144–152; Meier/Patzold 2010; Kelly 2012; Ando 2008.

¹⁵ Wischmeyer/Van Oort 2011; Patte/TeSelle 2002; Mulhern 2014; Paschoud 1967; Cherry 1998; Clark 2004.

¹⁶ Cf. Wolfram 1997, 57–58; Pohl 1997; Pohl 2002d; Pohl 2005a; Pohl 2012; Pohl 2013c; Heather 2005.

¹⁷ Greenblatt 1992, 93–101; Bhabha 1994.

In the sermons that the bishop of Hippo presented immediately after the invasion he did not say a single word about Rome. He downplayed the shocking event and preached very generally about God's promise that includes heavenly reward as well as secular punishment. In a sermon from late 410, titled *De excidio urbis Romae*, he argued that the slaughter, torture, and captivity inflicted upon the just have many scriptural precedents. Rome was heavily attacked long before *tempora christiana*. The basic text for the sermon is Abraham's debate with God concerning the fate of Sodom and the arrangement that God would spare the city if only ten just men were found within it (Genesis 18.32). Augustine asks: were there not ten just men at Rome, among so many Christians? But the difference is that Rome was not swallowed up by fire as Sodom was.¹⁸

Evidently his audience was not really consoled by his words. The response Augustine offers roughly one year later in *Sermo* 81 therefore is already much more complex. The monuments of Rome, he preaches, are nothing but *spolia*, monuments, made of stone and wood, vacuous symbols of the Roman past that will be destroyed by man as Troy was, and moreover, will be burned by fire at the end of time.¹⁹ The lofty insulated palaces of the Roman gods were built by man, and were destroyed by man. Augustine produced a very strong argument that reached to the very heart of Roman identity and self-expression:

See, they say, it is in Christian times that Rome perishes. Perhaps Rome is not perishing; perhaps she is only scourged, not utterly destroyed; perhaps she is chastened, not brought to nought. It may be so; Rome will not perish, if the Romans do not perish. And perish they will not if they praise God; perish they will if they blaspheme Him. For what is Rome, but the Romans?²⁰

¹⁸ E.g. Augustine, *De excidio urbis Romae sermo* 2, 2, ed. O'Reilly, 252; Augustine, *Sermones* 81; 105, PL 38, cols. 499–506, 618–625; cf. Augustine, *De civitate dei* 1, 15, 30; 2, 2, 3; 4, 7, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 16–17, 30–31, 35–36, 36–37, 103–104. Cf. P. Brown 1967/2000, chapters 25 and 26; Cannone 1975; Straub 1950; Vessey 1999; Von Campenhausen 1948; Arbesmann 1954; Papadopoulos, 'Concept'.

¹⁹ Augustine, *Sermo* 81, 9, PL 38, col. 505: *Non enim [Roma] de lapidibus et lignis agitur, de excelsis insulis et amplissimis moenibus. Hoc sic erat factum, ut esset aliquando ruiturum. Homo cum aedificaret, posuit lapidem super lapidem; et homo cum destrueret, expulit lapidem a lapide. Homo illud fecit, homo illud destruxit. Iniuria fit Romae, quia dicitur, cadit? Non Romae, sed forte artifici eius. Conditore eius facimus iniuriam, quia dicimus, Roma ruit, quam condidit Romulus?; and ibid.: *Mundus casurus est, quem condidit deus. Sed nec quod fecit homo, ruit, nisi quando voluerit deus; nec quod fecit deus, ruit, nisi quando voluerit deus. Si enim hominis opus non cadit, sine voluntate dei, opus dei quando potest cadere per voluntatem hominis? Tamen et mundum fecit tibi deus casurum; et ideo te condidit moriturum. Ipse homo ornamentum civitatis, ipse homo inhabitator, rector, gubernator civitatis, sic venit ut eat, sic est natus ut moriatur, sic est ingressus ut transeat. Coelum et terra transibunt: quid ergo mirum, si aliquando finis est civitati? Et forte non modo finis est civitati: tamen aliquando finis erit civitati. Sed quare inter sacrificia Christianorum perit Roma?**

²⁰ Augustine, *Sermo* 81, 9, PL 38, col. 505: *Ecce, inquit, christianis temporibus Roma perit. Forte Roma non perit: forte flagellata est, non interempta: forte castigata est, non deleta. Forte Roma non perit, si Romani non pereant. Non enim peribunt, si deum laudabunt: peribunt, si blasphemabunt. Roma enim quid est, nisi Romani? Cf. Donnelly 1973; Chadwick 1986, 100–110.*

Rome does not exist because of an eternal idea of Rome, or because the pagan gods protected it; Rome exists because of the Romans.²¹ This Augustinian argument is splendid, as it undermines the traumatic potential of the future. He recognized that, rather than the past invasion of 410, it were the potential future invasions that threatened Roman society.²² Yet an indispensable precondition remained for one to exist as a Roman, that is, as a civilized human being: the correct *fides dei*. Already in 411 Augustine had preached: ‘Ah! Christians, heavenly shoot, you strangers on the earth, who seek a city in heaven, who long to be associated with the holy Angels; understand that you have come here on this condition only, that you should soon depart.’²³ In Augustine’s view, the civilized world was founded on a fundamental difference between the *civitas dei* and the *civitas terrena*, symbolized by the triangle of Jerusalem, Babylon and Rome.²⁴ Within this tension between earthly citizenship and pilgrimage, between a basic social identity and a persuasive utopia, which is the central topic of *De civitate dei*, Augustine developed his perspective on Romanness. Theologically, Rome was the symbol of the *civitas permixta*, the overlap of the two *civitates* that will be separated only at the end of time.

Thus, Augustine took on a kernel of Roman identity, namely the self-confidence of being a Roman citizen, and radically transformed it. He contrasts the self-evidence of being Roman with the necessity of denying secular identities in order to gain a religious one. In a sermon held in 410, he thematizes the difference between Jerusalem and Rome:

The city which has given us birth according to the flesh still abides, God be thanked. O that it may receive a spiritual birth, and together with us pass over unto eternity! If the city which has given us birth according to the flesh abides not, yet that which has given us birth according to the Spirit abides forever.²⁵

This religious identity, which the bishop emphatically evoked, is not just a spiritual, but also a social one as it refers to the basic decision of every human being to be just

21 Augustine, *De civitate dei* 20, 23, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 741–743; cf. *ibid.* 18, 34; 22, 3, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 628, 808–809; Augustine, *Sermo* 105, 7, 10, PL 38, cols. 622–623: *Non res Romanae perituraque regna. / Videte quia dixi peritura regna. Dixi peritura regna, non tacui. Peritura, veritate non tacuit: semper mansura, adulatione promisit.*; quoting Vergil, *Georgica* 2, 498. Cf. Jerome, *Epistula* 127, 12, ed. Hilberg, 154–155; the excellent study G. Müller 2003, 371–372. Cf. Vergil, *Aeneis* 1, 278–279; Luke 21.33; Kevane 1976, 446–460.

22 Cf. Derrida 2006, 136–137.

23 Augustine, *Sermo* 81, 7, PL 38, cols. 503–504: *Christiane, coeleste germen, peregrini in terra, qui civitatem in coelo quaeritis, qui angelis sanctis sociari desideratis, intelligite vos sic venisse ut discedatis.*

24 Cf. Van Oort 1991; De Bruyn 1989; Dyson 2001; Hollingworth 2010, chapters 2 and 3.

25 Augustine, *Sermo* 105, 7, 9, PL 38, col. 622: *Manet civitas quae nos carnaliter genuit. Deo gratias. Utinam et spiritualiter generetur, et nobiscum transeat ad aeternitatem. Si non manet civitas quae nos carnaliter genuit, manet quae nos spiritualiter genuit.*

or unjust. *Iustitia* is the putty that binds together the citizens of the City of God. Thus, this passage reflects Augustine's identity as a Roman citizen.

In the years after the invasion Augustine established a rhetorical strategy of difference between Christian and Roman history by which antiquity was intensively reanimated: Vergil, Sallust, Livy, Cicero, Varro helped to create this concept of antiquity, — in the *City of God*, initiated in 413, a rich antique world is generated in order to prove that on the one hand Rome as political framework cannot be substituted, but on the other hand will miss its target without Christian ethics.²⁶ In the *City of God*, Augustine condenses these arguments to start a rhetorical counter-attack: the Roman gods whom the pagans wanted to return for the safety of Rome had always been powerless. They were helpless and already defeated before they came to Rome. Was it not Aeneas who saved them from their threatened altars when he fled the burning Troy?²⁷ Not only was Minerva incapable of protecting Troy against the Greeks, but also her statue was taken away from the temple, as Vergil lamented.²⁸ In *Sermo* 81 Augustine had already derided the Roman gods: 'Troy was burnt, and Aeneas took the fugitive gods; rather himself a fugitive he took away these senseless gods. For they could be carried by the fugitive; but they could not flee away themselves.'²⁹

In Augustine's exegetical cosmos Troy typologically prefigured Rome. By reminding the Romans of one of their most efficacious historical narratives he was able to link the Roman past with the Biblical history of the Babylonian exile: Aeneas found-

26 Augustine, *Sermo* 105, 9, 12, PL 38, col. 624: *O si taceat de Roma: quasi ego insultator sim, et non potius Domini deprecator, et vester qualiscumque exhortator. Absit a me, ut insultem. Avertat deus a corde meo, et a dolore conscientiae meae. Ibi multos fratres non habuimus? Non adhuc habemus? Portio peregrinantis Ierusalem civitatis non ibi magna degit? Non ibi temporalia pertulit? Sed aeterna non perdidit.* Cf. Burnell 1992; Bernauer 1970; Boler 1978; Chvala Smith 2007; O'Meara 1963; Pollmann 2012; Shanzer 2012; Burt, 'Reflections', chapter 7.

27 Augustine, *De civitate dei* 3, 2; 3, 3; 3, 8; 3, 11, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 66–67, 70, 72–73. Cf. the meticulous book of Tornau 2006, 231–233.

28 Augustine, *De civitate dei* 1, 2, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 2–3: *Nonne uidit Aeneas Priamum per aras / Sanguine foedantem quos ipse sacrauerat ignes? / Nonne Diomedes et Vlixes / caesis summae custodibus arcis / Corripuere sacram effigiem manibusque cruentis / Virgineas ausi diuae contingere uittas? [...] Neque enim homines a simulacro, sed simulacrum ab hominibus seruabatur.* Cf. Vergil, *Aeneis* 2, 501–502.

29 Augustine, *Sermo* 81, 9, PL 38, col. 505: *Quare inter sacrificia Paganorum arsit mater eius Troia? Dii, in quibus spem suam Romani posuerunt, omnino Romani dii, in quibus spem Pagani Romani posuerunt, ad Romam condendam de Troia incensa migraverunt. Dii Romani ipsi fuerunt primo dii Troiani. Arsit Troia, tulit Aeneas deos fugitivos: imo tulit deos fugiens stolidos. Portari enim a fugiente potuerunt: fugere ipsi non potuerunt. Et cum ipsis diis veniens in Italiam, cum diis falsis condidit Romam.* Cf. Augustine, *De civitate dei* 1, 3, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 4: *Immo uero uictos deos tamquam praesides ac de fensores colere, quid est aliud quam tenere non numina bona, sed nomina mala? Quanto enim sapientius creditur, non Romam ad istam cladem non fuisse uenturam, nisi prius illi perissent, sed illos potius olim fuisse perituros, nisi eos quantum potuisset Roma seruasset!*

ed a *regnum peregrinum atque fugitium*.³⁰ By quoting Vergil's passage on the abandoned temples and altars, Augustine argues that the gods had left Troy and Rome long ago, and the Romans had to protect the idols that the gods left behind:

Thus was Ilium rewarded: not by the Greeks whom she had angered by her own iniquity, but by the Romans who owed their origin to her earlier calamity. For their part, the gods whom the Trojans and the Romans worshipped in common either did nothing to help the Trojans avert this fate, or — which is the truth of the matter — had no power to do so. Did it happen on that occasion also, then, after Troy had recovered from the fire and ruin formerly inflicted by the Greeks, that the gods by whose help the city stood once more departed, 'forsaking shrine and altar'?³¹

But what does this mean? Augustine thereby criticized one of the key principles of pagan Roman religion: the close connection between the gods and their local places of worship, the temples, shrines and altars. Paula Fredriksen summarized this relationship when she explained that the 'gods tended to be emotionally invested in the precincts of their habitation. Humans, in consequence, took care to safeguard the purity, sanctity, sacrifices, and financial security of such holy sites, because, in a simple way, the god was there.'³² Furthermore the Church Father suggested that the success of the Romans was inversely proportional to the power of the gods. Augustine used this Vergilian passage very often to show the difference between the abandoned shrines of a desolate pagan religion and the Christian churches that were crowded by the faithful as well as by refugees.³³ In books 1 to 5 of the *City of God* Augustine tried to offer an inherent perspective on *romanitas*: by telling Roman history, he wanted to demonstrate that the alliance of the Romans with their gods is a *mala fides* that did not help, but damaged and corrupted their society. He deployed sarcasm to argue that the Romans simply took the wrong gods to Rome, who had not

³⁰ Augustine, *De civitate dei* 3, 14, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 75–78.

³¹ Augustine, *De civitate dei* 3, 7, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 69: *Hoc meruit Ilium non a Graecis quos sua inritauerat iniquitate, sed a Romanis quos sua calamitate propagauerat, dis illis communibus ad haec repellenda nihil iuuantibus seu, quod uerum est, nihil ualentibus. Numquid et tunc / Abscessere omnes adytis arisque relictis / Di, quibus illud oppidum steterat post antiquos Graecorum ignes ruinas que reparatum?; cf. ibid. 2, 22, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 55–56: An forte propter huiusmodi ciuium mores Vergilianam illam sententiam, sicut solent, pro defensione deorum suorum opponere audebunt: / Disscessere omnes adytis arisque relictis / Di, quibus imperium hoc steterat?; and ibid.: Primum si ita est, non habent cur querantur de religione Christiana, quod hac offensi eos di sui deseruerint, quoniam qui dem maiores eorum iam pridem moribus suis ab urbis altaribus tam multos ac minutos deos tamquam muscas abegerunt. Sed tamen haec numinum turba ubi erat, cum longe antequam mores corrumpere tur antiqui a Gallis Roma capta et incensa est? An praesentes forte dormiebant? Tunc enim tota urbe in hostium potestatem redacta solus collis Capitolinus remanserat, qui etiam ipse caperetur, nisi saltem anseres dis dormientibus uigilarent.; ibid. 2, 25; 3, 14, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 59–61, 75–78 (English translation by R. W. Dyson); Vergil, *Aeneis* 2, 351–352: *excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis di quibus imperium hoc steterat*; Livius 5, 41–42. Cf. G. Müller 2003, 240.*

³² Fredriksen 2006, 590.

³³ Augustine, *De civitate dei* 1, 4, 6; 3, 14, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 4–6, 75–78.

been able to avert any catastrophe, any invasion or any civil war,³⁴ but moreover they had incited them to fight wars and to destroy cities.³⁵ As a consequence Augustine conceived a rhetorical strategy that Christian Tornau called a ‘negative Theodizee der paganen Götter’.³⁶ The Church Father stated: ‘So, then: when the republic was perishing because of its evil ways, the gods did nothing either to guide or correct its morals so that it might not perish. On the contrary, they lent such impetus to the depravity and corruption of its morals as to ensure its destruction.’³⁷ At the beginning of Roman history the fratricide of Romulus – an antitype of Cain – undermined the integrity of *romanitas*.³⁸ Civil war is characterized as a permanent driving force in Roman history.³⁹ For example, no *rabies exterarum gentium*, no *saevitia barbarorum* was comparable to the cruelty of Sulla.⁴⁰

Augustine’s critique of *romanitas* is focused on the fundamental instability and superficiality of Roman ethical standards. He uses Sallust and Cicero again and again to investigate the original virtues of the *populus Romanus* through the process of history. James J. O’Donnell summarized this brilliantly:

Faced with Rome and the possibility of pluralism, Augustine in the first five books of *City of God* set out to defend the Christian claim of unity. A single divine power, God the father, is the source of all the world of appearances, is the center of the world of the spirit, and is the foundation of all being and goodness. A claim such as this authorizes a human society; for if there is a single

³⁴ Augustine, *De civitate dei* 2, 25, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 61: [...] *cum Christus noster tanta frequentet pro moribus optimis praecepta contra perditos mores; dii uero ipsorum nullis talibus praeceptis egerint aliquid cum suo cultore populo pro illa re publica, ne periret; immo eosdem mores uelut suis exemplis auctoritate noxia corrumpendo egerunt potius, ut periret*. Cf. *ibid.* 2, 23; 3, 11, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 56–58, 72–73; Rosen 1982.

³⁵ E.g. Augustine, *De civitate dei* 1, 3; 1, 6; 1, 29; 1, 32–33; 2, 4; 2, 6; 2, 13; 2, 16; 2, 22; 2, 25; 3, 1; 3, 5, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 3–4, 30–33, 37–38, 38–39, 44–45, 47, 55–56, 59–61, 65–66, 68. Cf. Pollmann 1997, 25–40; G. Müller 2003, 240–243.

³⁶ Tornau 2006, 206.

³⁷ Augustine, *De civitate dei* 2, 23, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 57: *Illam igitur res publica malis moribus cum periret, nihil dii eorum pro dirigendis uel pro corrigendis egerunt moribus, ne periret; immo deprauandis et corrumpendis addiderunt moribus, ut periret*. Cf. the destruction of Troy: *ibid.* 3, 2 and 17, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 66–67, 81–85.

³⁸ Augustine, *De civitate dei* 3, 6, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 68–69: *Aliud adicio, quia, si peccata hominum illis numinibus displicerent, ut offensi Paridis facto desertam Troiam ferro ignibusque donarent, magis eos contra Romanos moueret Romuli frater occisus quam contra Troianos Graecus maritus inlusus; magis irritaret parricidium nascentis quam regnantis adulterium ciuitatis. [...] Si aut perpetravit aut imperavit hoc Romulus, magis ipse fuit Romanorum quam Paris Troianorum caput; cur igitur Troianis iram deorum prouocauit ille alienae coniugis raptor, et eorundem deorum tutelam Romanis inuitauit iste sui fratris extingtor? Si autem illud scelus a facto imperioque Romuli alienum est: quoniam debuit utique uindictari, tota hoc illa ciuitas fecit, quod tota contempsit, et non iam fratrem, sed patrem, quod est peius, occidit*.

³⁹ Augustine, *De civitate dei* 2, 25, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 59–61.

⁴⁰ Augustine, *De civitate dei* 3, 29, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 95; cf. *ibid.* 3, 28, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 94–95.

source of meaning and value in the world, there can then be agreement on moral principles. Only agreement on moral principles can make a society function.⁴¹

Augustine touches upon the nucleus of Roman self-identification, that of being part of an expansive empire, when he argues in book 5 that it is not because of autonomous responsibility that Rome became the ruler of the world, but ‘the true God, in whose power are all the kingdoms of the earth, deigned to help them [i.e. the Romans] in enlarging their empire’.⁴²

In the same chapter of the *City of God*, it becomes clear that Augustine estimates the Romans as an exceptional people exactly because of their expansive power: Quoting Sallust, he states:

[...] ‘they were avid for praise, generous with their wealth, and desired boundless glory and riches with honour’. This glory they loved most ardently. They chose to live for it, and they did not hesitate to die for it. They suppressed all other desires in their boundless desire for this one thing.⁴³

But Augustine argues that the thirst for fame (*gloriae cupido*), was the main engine driving all Roman deeds and ventures, and therefore was the prime reason for the cohesion of Roman society. Whereas in the initial phase of Roman history the desire for glory was closely linked to the welfare of the *res publica*, this virtue soon caused high ambitions for world domination. But, as he argues sarcastically: ‘It was, therefore, this avidity for praise and passion for glory that accomplished so many wondrous things: things which were doubtless praiseworthy and glorious in the estimation of men.’⁴⁴ Augustine not only refutes any idealization of Roman imperialism, but all aspects of universality, determinism or finality of Rome that were shared by pagans as well as by hopeful Christians. According to the Church Father the *libido dominandi* is the fundamental ethical flaw of the Romans, which first became visible after the fall of Carthage and led to an immense decline of *virtutes*. These core moral values and virtues, for example *iustitia*, *probitas*, *honestas*, *ordo* and *felicitas*, were necessary for the existence and success of the state. To prove that, Augustine frequently quotes Cicero’s Scipio and Quintus Ennius, an author of the Roman Republic, too, who mourn the *mores antiqui* and the citizens that long ago had kept Roman society

41 O'Donnell, ‘Augustine. Christianity and Society’; cf. Harding 2008.

42 Augustine, *De civitate dei* 5, 12, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 142: *Quos Romanos mores et quam ob causam deus uerus ad augendum imperium dignatus est.*

43 Augustine, *De civitate dei* 5, 12, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 142–143: “*Laudis auidi, pecuniae liberales erant, gloriam ingentem, diuitias honestas uolebant*”, *hanc ardentissime dilexerunt, propter hanc uiuere uoluerunt, pro hac emori non dubitauerunt; ceteras cupiditates huius unius ingenti cupiditate presserunt.*

44 Augustine, *De civitate dei* 5, 12, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 143: *Ista ergo laudis auiditas et cupido gloriae multa illa miranda fecit, laudabilia scilicet atque gloriosa secundum hominum existimationem.* Cf. De Albrecht 1980, 112–117; Harding 2008, chapter 4.

together. But these *mores* have faded away, so that only the name of the republic remained: *Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque*.⁴⁵ In the first book of *De civitate dei* he already reflected on the problem that arises when a society loses her opponents, the Others:

For when Carthage was destroyed and the great terror of the Roman republic thereby repulsed and extinguished, the prosperous condition of things immediately gave rise to great evils. Concord was corrupted and destroyed by fierce and cruel sedition; and then, by a series of evil causes, came the civil wars, which brought great slaughter, bloodshed, and a frenzy of cruel and greedy proscriptions and robberies. Thus, those Romans who, when life had possessed more in innocence, feared only the evil deeds of their enemies, now, when the innocence of life was lost, suffered more cruelly at the hands of their fellow citizens. Finally, once it had conquered a few of the mightier men, that lust for mastery (*libido dominandi*) which, among the other vices of people, belongs in its purest form to the whole Roman people, overcame other men also, worn out and exhausted as they were by the yoke of servitude.⁴⁶

From Augustine's basic concept of the two competing *civitates*, which are dramatically intermingled during the *saeculum* and will only be separated at the end of times, it becomes obvious that there is no clear distinction between the good and the bad. Even among the Christians, Augustine argues, there are ethically deviant people.⁴⁷ Therefore it seems that Rome meant to Augustine what Carthage was for Cicero's Scipio: a contradictory and menacing monument of admonition that by all means must not be destroyed. A historical balance is thus achieved. Having focused on the *libido dominandi* of the Romans, Augustine's social criticism next addresses the question of the *bellum iustum*, which he characterizes as the main reason for the expansion of the *imperium Romanum* when he asks cynically:

If, then, it was by waging wars that were just, and not impious or unrighteous, that the Romans were able to acquire so great an empire, should they not worship even Foreign Iniquity as a goddess? For we see that Foreign Iniquity has contributed much to the increase in the breadth of the

⁴⁵ Quintus Ennius, *Annalium librorum XVIII fragmenta* 284; Cicero, *De re publica* III. 37. 50, V. 1. 1–2. Cf. Augustine, *De civitate dei* 2, 12; 2, 29; 5, 12; 5, 15, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 43–44, 63–65, 142–146, 149; Outler 1959, 213–220; Johnson 1975, 117–124; Tornau 2006, 204–226, 251–253, and 294–340; Brodka 1998, chapter 11; Harding 2008, chapter 2; O'Daly 2004; Felmy 2001; Harding 2008, chapter 2; Dyson 2005, 50–75.

⁴⁶ Augustine, *De civitate dei* 1, 30, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 31: *Deleta quippe Carthagine magno scilicet terrore Romanae reipublicae depulso et extincto tanta de rebus prosperis orta mala continuo subsequuta sunt, ut corrupta diruptaque concordia prius saevis cruentisque seditionibus, deinde mox malarum conexione causarum bellis etiam civilibus tantae strages ederentur, tantus sanguis effunderetur, tanta cupiditate proscriptionum ac rapinarum ferueret inhumanitas, ut Romani illi, qui uita integriori mala metuebant ab hostibus, perdita integritate uitae crudeliora paterentur a ciuibus; eaque ipsa libido dominandi, quae inter alia uitia generis humani meracior inerat uniuerso populo Romano, posteaquam in paucis potentioribus uicit, obtritatos fatigatosque ceteros etiam iugo seruitutis obpressit*. Cf. *ibid.* 2, 18, 20, 21, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 49–50, 51–55.

⁴⁷ Augustinus, *De civitate dei* 14, 1, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 414.

empire, by making foreigners so unjust that they become peoples against whom just wars may be waged and the empire thereby enlarged.⁴⁸

Augustine denies any imperial ideology that justifies war in order to gain *felicitas* by demonizing and subjecting others. Rather, as he states in book 4, 'human affairs being thus more happy, all kingdoms would have been small, rejoicing in neighbourly concord; and thus there would have been very many kingdoms of nations in the world, as there are very many houses of citizens in a city.'⁴⁹ Augustine thus favours a disintegrative model by suggesting that a political world with small kingdoms would reduce the problem of continuous wars in order to satisfy the expansionist efforts of Roman imperialism, something that was grounded in the Roman Empire's 'immense confidence in its own centrality'.⁵⁰ In this passage Augustine clearly criticizes the Roman colonial system for being a narcissistic mission of subjecting and civilizing the barbarians. In Richard Hingley's view

The ideology behind imperialism can be considered to have tightened the bonds of empire, so, at the same time that it provided justification for acts of imperialism, it also assisted in the imagining, creation and reinvention of the imperial system. The idea of a civilizing mission had an ideological purpose as part of imperial discourse but, at the same time, it helped to bind the Roman elite and powerful members of the provincial population into an arrangement based upon certain basic beliefs about life that lay at the core of Roman identity.⁵¹

According to Rebecca West the process of civilizing other societies was mainly based on the attempt of the Romans to impose a standard of values and virtues above provincial values.⁵² Following Homi Bhabha's definition, according to which the 'objective of colonial discourse is to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction',⁵³ it becomes clear that Augustine wants to substitute this discourse by the Christian projective model of hierarchy based on

48 Augustine, *De civitate dei* 4, 15, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 111: *Si ergo iusta gerendo bella, non inopia, non iniqua, Romani imperium tam magnum acquirere potuerunt, numquid tamquam aliqua dea colenda est eis etiam iniquitas aliena? Multum enim ad istam latitudinem imperii eam cooperatam uidemus, quae faciebat iniuriosos, ut essent cum quibus iusta bella gererentur et augetur imperium.* Cf. Augustine, *Epistula* 138, ed. Goldbacher 3, 139–141; Ligota 1997; Maier 1955, 104–108, 118–125; Battenhouse 1955, 270–274; Troup 1995, 102; Holmes 1989, 114–145.

49 Augustine, *De civitate dei* 4, 15, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 111: *Videant ergo ne forte non pertineat ad uiros bonos gaudere de regni latitudine. Iniquitas enim eorum, cum quibus iusta bella gesta sunt, regnum adiuvit ut cresceret, quod utique paruum esset, si quies et iustitia finitimorum contra se bellum geri nulla prouocaret iniuria ac sic felicioribus rebus humanis omnia regna parua essent concordii uicinitate laetantia et ita essent in mundo regna plurima gentium, ut sunt in urbe domus plurimae ciuium.*

50 Greenblatt 1992, 9.

51 Hingley 2005, 70.

52 West 1933, 24.

53 Bhabha 1983, 198.

God's law. Thereby he subverted a kernel of Roman colonial civilization that tried to disseminate its unilateral discursive propositions of power and dominance.

Superbia, *libido dominandi* and *superstitio* have drastically undermined the virtues of the Romans, so that even they themselves no longer worship the divine Romulus – the Pantheon has become more and more empty in recent times.⁵⁴ And while after 410 even the *populi orientales* lamented the calamities that Rome had to suffer and powerful states in the most remote parts of the earth mourned, the Romans did not visit their temples but the theatres.⁵⁵ And thus, Vergil's lament is brought up to date: the altars of the gods are abandoned in present days. To paraphrase Paul Veyne's book title, in the end Augustine answers the question: 'did the Romans believe in their myths?'⁵⁶

But facing the calamities of 410, a scapegoat is needed, as Augustine argues: 'This is why you do not wish to have the evil that you do lay to your charge, and why you lay the evil that you suffer to the charge of the Christian age.'⁵⁷ In their self-pitying ignorance the Romans overlooked the fact that every rise of a worldly power depends on God's predestination, whom they should worship instead of a stone or statue in the Capitol.⁵⁸ And, whereas the Romans who are praised for their tolerance, have founded their empire on tyranny and cruelty,⁵⁹ barbarians spared their defeated from harm and death in the name of Christ.⁶⁰ Could one imagine a sharper contrast? Step by step, and with a brilliant rhetorical strategy Augustine

54 Augustine, *De civitate dei* 22, 6, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 812: *Tum deinde posteris seruare fuerat necesse quod acceperant a maioribus, ut cum ista superstitione in lacte quodam modo matris ebibita cresceret ciuitas atque ad tam magnum perueniret imperium, ut ex eius fastigio, uelut ex altiore quodam loco, alias quoque gentes, quibus dominaretur, hac sua opinione perfunderet, ut non quidem crederent, sed tamen dicerent deum Romulum, ne ciuitatem, cui seruiabant, de conditore eius offenderent, aliter eum nominando quam Roma, quae id non amore quidem huius erroris, sed tamen amoris errore crediderat.*

55 Augustine, *De civitate dei* 1, 33, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 32–33: *O mentes amentes! quis est hic tantus non error, sed furor, ut exitium uestrum, sicut audiuius, plangentibus orientalibus populis et maximis ciuitatibus in remotissimis terris publicum luctum maeroremque ducentibus uos theatra quaereretis in traretis impleretis et multo insaniore quam fuerant antea faceretis?* Cf. *ibid.* 2, 4, 5, 8–13, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 37–38, 40–45.

56 Veyne 1983.

57 Augustine, *De civitate dei* 1, 33, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 33: *Hinc est quod mala, quae facitis, uobis in putari non uultis, mala uero, quae patimini, Christianis temporibus imputatis.* Cf. Wilks 1967.

58 Augustine, *De civitate dei* 1, 36; 2, 23; 4, 15; 4, 28; 5, 12, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 34, 56–58, 111, 122, 142–146. Augustine, by quoting Vergil, *Aeneis* 1, 278–279, argues in *De civitate dei* 2, 29, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 64: *Nunc iam caelestem arripe, pro qua minimum laborabis, et in ea ueraciter semperque regnabis. Illic enim tibi non Vestalis focus, non lapis Capitolinus, sed deus unus et uerus / nec metas rerum nec tempora ponit, / Imperium sine fine dabit.*

59 Augustine, *De civitate dei* 1, 6, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 5–6: *Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos, / et quod accepta iniuria ignoscere quam persequi malebant: quando tot tantasque urbes, ut late domarentur, expugnatas captasque euerterunt, legatur nobis quae templa excipere solebant, ut ad ea quis quis confugisset liberaretur.* Cf. also Augustinus, *Sermo*, 105. 9. 12, PL 38, col. 624.

60 Augustine, *De civitate dei* 1, 1; 1, 7, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 1–2, 6–7.

deconstructs traditional Roman virtues, so that it is easy for him to substitute the empty *gloria Romanorum* for the *gloria dei*, and accordingly, based on an ethically inspired technique, to re-evaluate Roman political terms as *pax*, *lex*, *iustitia*, or *populus*, *civitas*.⁶¹ This re-evaluation invests the superficiality of *romanitas* with a deeper ethical significance, and thereby dismantles the fiction that the concepts of Roman-ness are easily applied and self-evident, as if they were founded on natural law. This fits with the assumption of Calvin L. Troup that '[...] perhaps the Romans never achieved more than a façade of Latinization in North Africa because they deployed something like a colonialist discourse to subdue it.'⁶²

In Augustine's deconstruction of Roman political self-confidence, *iustitia* was especially important, not just in terms of the Christian idea about *vera iustitia*, guided by *caritas* and the divine *ordo*, and symptomatically linked to the *civitas dei*, but also the Roman ethical notions of justice.⁶³ The Church Father reveals his rhetorical skills when he combines and intermingles his Christian concept in a very sophisticated and eloquent way with the complex Roman-Ciceronian understanding of *iustitia* in order to beat the ideology of the Roman state with its own weapons, and to alienate Cicero's *De re publica* from a pagan elite that based their identity on a nostalgic Roman ideology.⁶⁴ But Augustine goes even further. In books 2 and 19 of *De civitate dei* he denied the Romans the right to legitimately call their state a *res publica*, as it was neither based on *mores* nor on *virī boni*.⁶⁵ Relying on Cicero's definition of a *res publica* as a *res populi*, Augustine argued that Rome actually never had been a state:

For he [Scipio/Cicero] briefly defines a republic as the 'property of a people'. And if this is a true definition, there never was a Roman republic, for the Roman state was never 'the property of a people' which the definition requires a republic. Scipio defined a 'people' as a multitude 'united in fellowship by common agreement as to what is right and by a community of interest'. In the course of the discussion, he explains what he means by 'common agreement as to what is right', showing that a *res publica* cannot be maintained without justice. Where, therefore, there is no true justice there can be no right.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Augustine, *De civitate dei* 19, 21, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 687–689; cf. Hand 1970; Otto 1974; Marshall 1952.

⁶² Troup 1995, 97; cf. Frend 1952.

⁶³ Augustine, *De civitate dei* 19, 13, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 678–680. Cf. Christes 1980, 163–177; Friberg 1944; Fürst 2011, chapter 19.

⁶⁴ Cf. the excellent article by Smolak 1999, 106–134; Horn 2007; Treloar 1988; P. Brown 1967/2000, chapter 25; Dyson 2005, chapter 3.

⁶⁵ Augustine, *De civitate dei* 2, 21, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 54; Augustine, *Epistula* 138, ed. Goldbacher, 3, 135–136.

⁶⁶ Augustine, *De civitate dei* 19, 21, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 687–688: *Breuit̄er enim rempublicam definit̄ esse rem populi. Quae definitio si uera est, numquam fuit Romana respublica, quia numquam fuit res populi, quam definitionem uoluit esse reipublicae. Populum enim esse definiuit coetum multitudinis iuris consensu et utilitatis communione sociatum. Quid autem dicat iuris consensum, disputando explicat, per hoc ostendens geri sine iustitia non posse rem publicam; ubi ergo iustitia uera non est, nec ius potest esse. Cf. ibid. 19, 24, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 696: Quod autem de isto populo et de ista re publica dixi, hoc de Atheniensium uel quorumcumque Graecorum, hoc de Aegyptiorum, hoc de illa priore Babylone*

In order to prove his judgement Augustine projects the Ciceronian and Sallustian concept of the *res publica*, which was related to the Roman political system, onto a holistic notion of Roman statehood. According to Cicero a *res publica* is a commonwealth and requires common interests and an obligatory legal system. Yet the belief in these common interests no longer existed among Roman society. Avarice, egotism, greed, and self-interest characterized the decisions of the political elite, and have replaced the original idea of public welfare, guided by justice. The welfare of the Roman *res publica* originally was based on the *iudicium hominum bene de hominibus opinantium*.⁶⁷ But, as Augustine stoically argues, what could be easier than to deceive the *bene iudicantes*? Moreover, when, according to Cicero, a state is not *iuris consensu sociatus*, a ‘multitude “united in fellowship by common agreement as to what is right”’, whose actions are based on justice, then this assemblage is not a state, but, to quote the Church Father again, a collection, ‘only a multitude of some kind, not worthy of the name of a people.’⁶⁸ Augustine thereby adapts and relativizes the Ciceronian-Aristotelian signification of *consensus* as a term of social cohesion and distributive law, and focuses on the general aspect of justice.⁶⁹

From the perspective of rhetoric, Augustine was of course aware that a mere anti-Roman argumentation was not useful for his historical approach. He therefore opened up the notion of *res publica* by changing the focus on the *res* to the *populus* in order to adjust it not only to the Roman state, but to other political societies. He subtly transformed the Ciceronian definition of the *res publica* by arguing: *populus est coetus multitudinis rationalis rerum quas diligit concordi communione sociatus*, and thereby substituted *iustitia* as the only *raison d’être* of a state with a common interest shared by the members of a society.⁷⁰ This definition allowed Augustine to address all secular states, including the Hebrews, the states of *aliae gentes*, and even the *civitas impiorum*. *Res publica* as *res populi* in Augustine’s view meant neither just the historical epoch of the Roman republic nor the specific form of consti-

Assyriorum, quando in rebus publicis suis imperia uel parua uel magna tenuerunt, et de alia quacumque aliarum gentium intellegar dixisse atque sensisse. Generaliter quippe ciuitas impiorum, cui non imperat deus oboedienti sibi, ut sacrificium non offerat nisi tantummodo sibi, et per hoc in illa et animus corpori ratioque uitiis recte ac fideliter imperet, caret iustitiae ueritate.

⁶⁷ Augustine, *De civitate dei* 5, 12, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 145.

⁶⁸ Augustine, *De civitate dei* 19, 21, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 687–688: *Non enim iura dicenda sunt uel putanda iniqua hominum constituta, cum illud etiam ipsi ius esse dicant, quod de iustitiae fonte manauerit, falsumque esse, quod a quibusdam non recte sentientibus dici solet, id esse ius, quod ei, qui plus potest, utile est. Quocirca ubi non est uera iustitia, iuris consensu sociatus coetus hominum non potest esse et ideo nec populus iuxta illam Scipionis uel Ciceronis definitionem; et si non populus, nec res populi, sed qualiscumque multitudinis, quae populi nomine digna non est.* Cf. Markus 1989, 65–70; Battenhouse 1955, 274–276.

⁶⁹ Cicero, *De re publica* 1, 42. Cf. Smolak 1999, who analyses the semantical connotations of *ius iustitia lex – consensus*.

⁷⁰ Augustine, *De civitate dei* 19, 24, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 695–696; cf. Suerbaum 1961, 178–181, who analyses masterly the different semantic layers of socio political terms, such as *res publica*, *regnum*, *civitas*, *populus*, *gens*, and *imperium*.

tution, but was a *terminus operandi* for all societies during the whole course of history. Cicero's definition of the *res publica*, on the contrary, was not designed to signify all people.⁷¹ Augustine's argument was twofold: it had become clear that a commonwealth could only be called a *res publica* when it was based on *ius* and *iustitia*. But when the bishop of Hippo explained his definition of *iustitia* he contrasted a secular, utilitarian view of justice with a metaphysical interpretation that relied on the *fons iustitiae*. Accordingly he argued:

For that which is done according to right is inevitably a just act, whereas nothing that is done unjustly can be done according to right. But the unjust institutions of men are neither to be called right nor supposed to be such; for even men themselves say that 'right' (*ius*) is that which flows from the fount of justice. As for the definition of justice commonly offered by certain persons who do not understand the matter rightly, that it is 'the interest of the stronger': this is false.⁷²

This shift allows Augustine to embed the worldly *ius* in the *iustitia* originated from and grounded on the eternal God, and to substitute the secular philosophical and jurisprudential term as one of the core elements of Roman social identity, based on the ethical attitudes of Roman society, by a new Christian signification. This interpretation of the *fons iustitiae* opens a theological perspective, and as a result leads to the conclusion that, as a *res publica* is *ea virtus, quae sua cuique distribuit*, no secular state is a *res publica*, as it robs God of what is His – namely the people of the world.⁷³ In this respect the *ius* and *lex* of the Roman state are opposites to the *iustitia* and *lex* of the *populus Hebreorum*. Kurt Smolak emphasized the close connection of Christian *vera iustitia* to the Hebrew-biblical *zedaka* that expressed the Old Covenant.⁷⁴

Despite the fact that the polysemantic fields of *gens*, *populus*, *civitas*, *res publica*, *regnum*, and *imperium* in Augustine's texts are floating and overlapping, they were certainly not used unsystematically. They are used as operative terms that change their contextual significations in the process of argumentation. Besides the multifocal terms *imperium* and *regnum*, *res publica*, for example, is mostly used for different secular socio-political contexts. Only in two chapters was this collective term cautiously adapted to signify the *civitas dei* as a republic where the will of God is the

71 Friberg 1944, 45.

72 Augustine, *De civitate dei* 19, 21, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 687–688: *Ubi ergo iustitia vera non est, nec ius potest esse. Non enim iura dicenda sunt uel putanda iniqua hominum constituta, cum illud etiam ipsi ius esse dicant, quod de iustitiae fonte manauerit, falsumque esse, quod a quibusdam non recte sentientibus dici solet, id esse ius, quod ei, qui plus potest, utile est.*

73 Augustine, *De civitate dei* 19, 21, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 688–689. For the influence of Roman law on Augustine's view of property cf. Dyson 2001; Mulligan, 'Augustine and property'.

74 Cf. Smolak 1999, 114–117.

law (*ubi dei voluntas lex est*) in order to compare it with the rotten Roman republic.⁷⁵ From this passage it becomes clear once again that the City of God is based on very different foundations than the secular societies. It is a vision of an ideal community that in the end can only be realized on the one hand by the moral decision for justice and on the other by divine grace.⁷⁶ Even a Christianized Roman Empire is not, and will never be identical with the *civitas dei*.⁷⁷ Altogether, these aspects allow Augustine to argue that there was fundamental difference between *romanitas* and *christianitas*.

According to Augustine, who re-uses and re-shapes the Vergilian model of the decline of Roman society, the deviant condition of the Romans is already perfectly prefigured by Romulus' homicide, continued by a long chain of civil and fratricidal wars. Therefore, it becomes clear that the Romans never really have experienced the Vergilian *aurea saecula*. There was a dramatic and embarrassing contemporary parallel to the primordial homicide: the hiatus separating East and West Rome that ultimately proved to be one of the reasons for the sack of the capital by Alaric. In these unstable conditions, Alaric was a kind of seismograph, who put his finger on an open wound. In Augustine's view the calamities that society had to face are nothing else but a symptom of the fact that the world has entered its *senectus*, the sixth and last age and thus travels towards the end of time.⁷⁸ For Augustine the barbarian invasion of Rome in 410 was neither a unique, an unprecedented, nor an ineffable event, as Jerome had mourned.⁷⁹ Similar events had happened, and will continue to happen during the remaining sequence of history. Augustine evidently tried to moderate the discourse that arose around the sack of Rome, which tended to encapsulate it within a logic of an inexpressible traumatic menace, or, in the sense of Derrida, as a 'major event', as a kind of expectative object.⁸⁰ Obviously, it was not so much the single event, Alaric's invasion, that unleashed fear amongst contemporaries, but a continuously expected scenario of future invasions that threatened their civilization. The bishop's perspective allowed him to gain time in order to learn more about the incident. Reading the rhetoric of the *City of God*, it is apparent that 410 functioned as a trigger for Augustine. It opened a new semiotic field – a communicative strategy that Bhabha called the 'third space'⁸¹ – which enabled him to debate the social problems with which Roman society was occupied, such as dichotomous tensions between exclusion and inclusion, civilization and chaos, a superior-

75 Augustine, *De civitate dei* 2, 19; 2, 21, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 50–55. For systematic terminological definitions and differentiations see Suerbaum 1961, 170–220. Cf. also Brennecke 1992.

76 Augustine, *De civitate dei* 19, 23, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 690–695.

77 Markus 1989.

78 Augustine, *De civitate dei* 22, 30, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 865–866; cf. *ibid.* 15, 7; 18, 50; 18, 53; 18, 54; 20, 7; 20, 9, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 459–462, 648, 652–656, 708–712, 715–719.

79 Jerome, *Epistula* 127, 12, ed. Hilberg, 154–155.

80 Cf. Derrida 2006, 133–137.

81 Bhabha 1994, chapter 6; Bhabha 2012, 63–70.

ity complex and fears of loss, authority and subordination, conservatism and renovation, Romanness and Christianity within the framework of Christian ethics.

In order to justify the dominant role of Rome, Cicero had legitimized the difference between domination and servitude, insofar as for subjected people, the *servitus* is *pro utilitate eorum*. To demonstrate his argument Cicero used a metaphor: “Why,” it is asked, “does God rule man, the soul the body, and the reason the desires and other vicious parts of the soul?”⁸² Augustine did not contradict Cicero’s basic point, for example, by saying that the difference between free and unfree is unjust. The Church Father takes aim at Cicero’s metaphor when he states that it is exactly the belief in false gods and demons that fundamentally undermines Roman justice.

In *De civitate dei* Augustine stratigraphically deconstructed (pagan) Roman historical identity until it could survive merely as a vehicle of biblical history. In doing so, he put his finger on the effects of social erosion within contemporary Roman society, which included social difference and inequality.⁸³ As Peter Brown wrote: ‘For, outside the educated upper-classes, the struggle between Christianity and paganism was not just a conflict of two religions: it was a conflict of two different cultures, associated with two different types of religion. Paganism, in the Roman world, like the religion of any primitive society, was inextricably embedded in the local language [...].’⁸⁴ By doing so, Augustine proposed a reconstruction of its identity that promised continuity and coherence by the transformation of the Roman *patria* into the *patria caelestis*. In this respect his arguments function rather as a spiritual reactivation of some elements of *romanitas* and Roman virtues than as a denial or dissolution of them. Arguing against an imagined construction of an idealized Roman past that is conceived to be essentially unstable helped Augustine to reduce historical contingency and to provide a mutable, complex present with social cohesion and a visionary Christian stability.⁸⁵ Thus, he emphatically evoked the untainted ideal of *romanitas* by transforming Vergil’s prophecy of the endless empire into a Christian version:

Choose now which you will follow, so that your praise may be not in yourself, but in the true God, in whom there is no error. Once upon a time, the adulation of the peoples was with you, but by the hidden judgment of divine providence the true religion was withheld from your choice. Awake, it is day! [...] Seize now the Heavenly Country (*patria caelestis*), for the sake of which you will toil only a little, and in which you will truly reign eternally. You will find no Vestal flame there, and no stone statue of Jupiter on the Capitol. But you will find the

⁸² Augustine, *De civitate dei* 19, 21, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 687–688: *Cur igitur deus homini, animus imperat corpori, ratio libidini ceterisque uitiosis animi partibus?* Cf. Solmsen 1956; C. Mayer 2010.

⁸³ P. Brown 1992, 154.

⁸⁴ P. Brown 1968, 89–90.

⁸⁵ Cf. to the problem of contingency Luhmann 1977, chapter 3.

one and true God, who 'will set no bounds or duration to your estate, but will grant empire with out end'.⁸⁶

In Augustine's time, Vergil's *Aeneid*, read as a paeon to imperial Rome, was the centre of the literary imagination and the text around which much of this fascination hypnotically revolved. Rome was the centre of the world of fantasy. The literature and culture of antiquity presented a society in which a visible civil institution, the Roman Empire, embodied all the hopes and expectations of reasonable men. Rome was, as everyone knew, eternal, but uncivilized peoples loomed outside the empire – but they were no threat to the magnificence of Rome.⁸⁷ Augustine, as a classically trained *rhetor*, must have been aware that his audience were exposed to such models of Roman identity. After having deconstructed the eternity of the Roman gods and secularized Roman history, Augustine integrated Romanness within Christian providential history, and thereby – in the sense of Henri-Xavier Arquillière – sacralized it.⁸⁸ It is striking, however, that he used a quite old-fashioned, anachronistic pantheon of Roman gods, for which he relied mainly on Varro and Vergil.⁸⁹ He did not include new cults that were successful in the Roman Empire of his own day.⁹⁰ Obviously Augustine the *rhetor* persuaded his radical, anti-conservative side that he had to draw his audience into a good mood. On the other hand, Augustine denied the eschatological importance of the Roman *imperium*. As the secular empires and the *ordo temporum* are directed by the providence of the *Deus verus*, their power is relative and evanescent.⁹¹ In Letter 199 Augustine formulated a perspective that proves the central role of Rome as an integrative social model, though not without connecting it with a slightly anti-Roman sentiment. The *semen Abrahae* was promised not only to the Romans, but to all peoples, even to those, who were not under

⁸⁶ Augustine, *De civitate dei* 2, 29, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 63–64 (quoting Vergil, *Aeneis* 11, 24–25 and 1, 278–279): *Nunc iam elige quid sequare, ut non in te, sed in deo uero sine ullo errore lauderis. Tunc enim tibi gloria popularis adfuit, sed occulto diuinae providentiae iudicio uera religio quam eligeres defuit. Expergiscere, dies est, sicut experrecta es in quibusdam, de quorum uirtute perfecta et pro fide uera etiam passionibus gloriamur, qui usquequaque aduersus potestates inimicissimas confluentes easque fortiter moriendo uincentes sanguine nobis hanc patriam peperere suo. Ad quam patriam te inuitamus et exhortamur, ut eius adiciaris numero ciuium, cuius quodammodo asylum est uera remissio peccatorum. Non audias degeneres tuos Christo Christianisue detrahentes et accusantes uelut tempora mala, cum quaerant tempora, quibus non sit quieta uita, sed potius segura nequitia. Haec tibi numquam nec pro terrena patria placuerunt. Nunc iam caelestem arripe, pro qua minimum laborabis, et in ea ueraciter semperque regnabis. Illic enim tibi non Vestalis focus, non lapis Capitolinus, sed deus unus et uerus / Nec metas rerum nec tempora ponit, / Imperium sine fine dabit.*

⁸⁷ O'Donnell, 'Augustine. Christianity and Society'; cf. Fortin 1980.

⁸⁸ Arquillière 1934.

⁸⁹ Vessey 2014.

⁹⁰ Cf. McLynn 1999.

⁹¹ Augustine, *De civitate dei* 4, 33, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 126–127.

the *dicio* of the Romans.⁹² Taken together, it becomes clear that Augustine did not have a coherent and systematic idea of *romanitas*, but rather a sample of situation-related, apologetic, and therefore partly contradictory lines of argumentation. The years after 410 did not stimulate Augustine to develop a well-defined social theory.

Augustine rejected the principle of *do ut des* and stated that God gives power to *homines boni* as well as to *homines mali*. The *imperium Romanum* was, on the one hand, an integral part of God's providence and, thus, a symbol of the *civitas mixta*; on the other hand, however, it was just one of many historical societies that will vanish. Due to the *virtus* of some Romans the empire should help to correct the heavy mistakes of the people: *ad domanda gravia mala multarum gentium*.⁹³ Augustine did not elaborate on these *gravia mala*, but it seems plausible that he addressed all kinds of political, ethical and religious transgressions. In this context, Augustine's emphatic invitation to the *indoles Romana laudabilis* to convert to Christianity can be interpreted as a demand to guarantee the stability of civilization.⁹⁴

Rome – it was too big to fail!

⁹² Augustine, *Epistula* 199, ed. Goldbacher, 4, 285: *Non enim Romanos sed omnes gentes dominus semini Abrahae media queque iuratione promisit. Ex qua promissione iam factum est, ut nonnullae gentes, quae non tenentur dictione Romana, reciperent euangelium et adiungerentur ecclesiae, quae fructificat et crescit in universo mundo, [...]*.

⁹³ Augustine, *De civitate dei* 5, 13, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 146.

⁹⁴ Augustine, *De civitate dei* 2, 29, ed. Dombart/Kalb, 63–65.

Johannes Koder

Remarks on linguistic Romanness in Byzantium

Preliminary remark

The Greek language has an exact equivalent for the key word *Romanness*, on which this symposium focussed. It is *romiosyne* or (more conservatively) *romaiosyne*, an important facet in the interpretation of post-Byzantine and modern Greek identity; it expresses also nostalgic Greek feelings, especially in popular culture and in poetry. *Romiosyne* is, for example, the title of a cycle of nine poems of Giannis Ritsos, written in 1966, which were set to music by Mikis Theodorakis.¹ For a deeper understanding of the complexity of its meanings for medieval and modern Greek identity I would like to refer here to the exceptionally sensitive essay of Patrick Leigh Fermor, *The Helleno-Romaic Dilemma*.² Though, for our context of *Romanness*, *romiosyne* does not apply, because it appears in written sources only in the nineteenth century.³

Spatial and linguistic dimensions of identity

This paper is in a way a follow up of another, which I read in Zwettl in 1986, on the occasion of Herwig Wolfram's symposium on 'Typen der Ethnogenese'.⁴ Within the manifold aspects of collective identity, two, language and space, are of particular importance, in general and in the special case of Byzantium.⁵

The spatial dimension is one of the most obvious and basic. Concerning this context, historians at the end of the last century invented the research topic 'sites of memory', which at its beginning focussed on real places, though now refers to any phenomenon which directs our attention to a certain aspect of the past.⁶ A prominent Byzantine example, which was seen as a site of memory throughout the Middle Ages, is the (second) church of Saint Sophia in Constantinople, built by the Emperor Justinian I. As early as 562, the church was already called, in the anonymous hymn on its second inauguration, 'a heaven on earth' (οὐρανός τις ἐπίγειος),⁷ and since then

1 Ritsos 1984; Theodorakis, Mikis / Ritsos, Giannis, *Romiosyne*, CD, Athens, c. 1990. See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ritsos> and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mikis_Theodorakis (seen 15.6.2016).

2 Leigh Fermor 1983, 96 125 and 144 147.

3 Babiniotis 2002, 1577; Mantouvalou 1985, 188 190.

4 Koder 1990.

5 See the article by Ioannis Stouraitis in this volume, and Stouraitis 2014.

6 See Nora 1984 1992.

7 Trypanis 1968, 143, stanza 5.5.

praised so also outside the frontiers of Byzantium. In the Kievan Rus', for example, an ambassador, who returned from Constantinople in 987, reported to Grand Prince Vladimir and the *družina* with the following words: 'Then we went on to Greece, and the Greeks led us to the edifices where they worship their God, and we knew not whether we were in heaven or on earth. For on earth there is no such splendor or such beauty, and we are at a loss how to describe it. We know only that God dwells there among men, and their service is fairer than the ceremonies of other nations. For we cannot forget that beauty'.⁸

Yet with respect to Byzantium, the linguistic dimension offers, in my opinion, the still more productive approach: the number and variety of languages that coexisted in Byzantium enables us to ascertain an in depth understanding of the long-term development of its ethnic, cultural and ideological structures. Because of multilingualism, the process of linguistic identification was in Byzantium more complex than in the majority of early medieval nations and politically organized tribes.⁹ Many of these groups kept much of their original ethnic and linguistic homogeneity. The Byzantine state, by contrast, had no 'ethnic' origins in the usual sense; it was from the beginning multilingual and remained so after the loss of the Levant in the seventh century, when Greek became, in contrast to its Roman identity, the dominant language of state, culture and everyday life for all social classes.¹⁰

The populations or tribes in the Byzantine territories spoke not only Greek and Latin, but also – regionally and chronologically differentiated – Albanian, Caucasian Albanian, Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, Georgian, Gothic, Hebrew, Persian, Romance languages (the Wlachs), southern Slavic languages and Syro-Aramaic. Still in the twelfth century John Tzetzes deplores that even the *thiefs* in Constantinople don't speak *one* language and that they are not from *one* tribe, but, for example, Cretans, Turcs, Alans, Rhodians and Chians.¹¹ His statement is also interesting, because he qualifies inhabitants from Byzantine islands as well as the more typical 'barbarians' as foreigners.

The pilgrim Egeria

An early document of Christian multilingualism in the Levant is the pilgrim Egeria's vivid description of the liturgical practice in and near Jerusalem:

⁸ *Povest'vremennikh let*, a. 6495 (987), ed. Kimball, 6. For other examples, see Majeska 1984, 199 236.

⁹ Koder 2003, Koder 2011 und Koder 2012.

¹⁰ Koder 1990; Chrysos 1996, 7–16.

¹¹ John Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, 13, ll. 356–362, ed. Leone, 528: οἱ πόλιν γὰρ τὴν ἄνασσαν γελῶντες / οὐχὶ μιᾶς φωνῆς εἰσι καὶ ἔθνους ἑνὸς μόνου, / μίξεις γλωσσῶν δε περισσῶν, ἄνδρες τῶν πολυκλέπτων, / Κρήτες καὶ Τοῦρκοι, Ἄλανοί, Ῥόδιοι τὲ καὶ Χῖοι, / ἀπλῶς ἔθνους τοῦ σύμπαντος, τῶν ἀπασῶν χωρῶν τε / ἅπαντες οἱ κλεπτίστεροι καὶ κεκιβδηλευμένοι, / χειροτονοῦνται ἅγιοι τῇ πόλει Κωνσταντίνου.

Et quoniam in ea prouincia pars populi et graece et siriste nouit, pars etiam alia per se graece, aliqua etiam pars tantum siriste, itaque quoniam episcopus, licet siriste nouerit, tamen semper graece loquitur et nunquam siriste: itaque ergo stat semper presbyter, qui episcopo graece dicente, siriste interpretatur, ut omnes audiant, quae exponuntur. Lectiones etiam, quaecumque in ecclesia leguntur, quia necesse est graece legi, semper stat, qui siriste interpretatur propter populum, ut semper discant. Sane quicumque hic latini sunt, id est qui nec siriste nec graece nouerunt, ne contristentur, et ipsis exponitur eis, quia sunt alii fratres et sorores graecolatini, qui latine exponunt eis.¹²

Her account is all the more remarkable because it allows the interpretation that, in *Oriens*, Greek was already in the late fourth century the dominant language in the church. Greek represented the Christian *cultural* identity of the educated classes.

But although in the early Byzantine period only a minority of the eastern Roman Empire's population were native Latin speakers, a conscious and active political identification with *romanitas* required until the era of Justinian's reign at least a basic knowledge of Latin.¹³ Latin was the language of the emperor, the army, the law, and the administration. From the sixth century onwards *romanitas* lost its linguistic significance, but remained the supreme political principle. It was plainly propagated by the emperor and the authorities of the state and the church. *Romanitas* formed the basis for the at times changing political homogeneity of the empire and for the Byzantine sense of cultural superiority within the European – or better Euromediterranean – ecumene, though with a growing separation from *latinitas*. Separation began with the simple loss of the knowledge of Latin, and continued with the growing antipathies on both sides, which became more and more evident from the ninth century onwards.

The Emperor Justinian

On the occasion of the publication of his early *novellae* the Emperor Justinian explained why he published them in two languages, in Latin and Greek,¹⁴ though it seems to be evident, that he (and his advisers in legislative matters, above all Tribonianus) would have preferred Latin to Greek. He called Latin 'our from the fathers inherited language', in contrast to 'the language of the Greeks' or 'the common Greek language'.¹⁵ In one case, in his novella 'about the Jews', he permitted them

¹² Egeria, *Itinerarium*, c. 47, 3–4, ed. Maraval, 314–317.

¹³ See Zilliacus 1935; Dagron 1969; Dagron 1994, 220–221; Adams 2003.

¹⁴ Pieler 1978, 409–411 and 425–426; Adamik 2003; W. Kaiser 2012.

¹⁵ Justinian, *Novella* 66, ed. Kroll/Schöll, 342: [...] διότι γενομένων ἡμῖν ἰσοτύπων διατάξεων περὶ τοῦ μέτρου τῆς ἐνοστάσεως τῶν παιδῶν, τῆς μὲν τῇ Ἑλλήνων φωνῇ γεγραμμένης διὰ τὸ τῷ πλήθει κατάλληλον, τῆς δὲ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἥπερ ἐστὶ καὶ κυριωτάτη διὰ τὸ τῆς πολιτείας σχῆμα [...]; Justinian, *Novella* 7, ed. Kroll/Schöll, 52: διόπερ αὐτὴν [scil. τὴν διάταξιν] καὶ προϋθήκαμεν καὶ οὐ τῇ πατρίῳ

to read the Old Testament during Jewish religious ceremonies, but only in Greek or ‘in the language, which we inherited from our ancestors, namely the Italian (*sic*)’.¹⁶ However, Justinian expresses his opinion only in legal texts, which have a limited (re)liability as testimonies for the everyday linguistic realities in Byzantium. The Greek language dominated, and since the seventh century had become, mainly as a consequence of the territorial reduction of Byzantium, the only language that was common in all parts of the empire, be it in the Balkans, where the ‘southern’ Slavs first immigrated in the late sixth century and changed the ethnic and linguistic structure significantly,¹⁷ or in the Levant, where the rise of Islam and the subsequent Arabic conquest of Oriens and Aegyptus in the first half of the seventh century led in the long run to a linguistic dominance of Arabic.¹⁸

The general loss of knowledge in Latin must, of course, not be equated with a total indifference towards the language. A translation division existed at the imperial court¹⁹, and Latin-Greek lexica or dictionaries of Latin foreign loan words were produced, for example the *lexeis tes romaikes dialektou* (13th century).²⁰ Constantine Porphyrogenitus (10th century) made a remarkable statement that to his regret ‘his ancestors turned to Greek and got rid of their fathers’ Roman language’.²¹ This is not a mere nostalgic cliché, because another source, the history of John Scylitzes, confirms, that in the tenth century the ideological significance of the Latin language as an instrument of politics was not forgotten, and the prominent use of Latin words appeared again in order to indicate the ecumenic claim of the Byzantine emperors. After his victory over the prince of the Rus’ Svjatoslav in 971, the emperor John Tzimiskes minted gold coins (*nomismata*) and copper coins (*oboloi*), showing the icon of the Saviour and on the reverse in Latin characters the words ‘Jesus Christ, king of the kings’ – ‘This didn’t happen before’, comments Scylitzes.²²

φωνῇ τὸν νόμον συνεγράψαμεν, ἀλλὰ ταύτη δὴ τῇ κοινῇ τε καὶ ἐλλάδι, ὥστε ἅπασιν αὐτὸν εἶναι γνώριμον διὰ τὸ πρόχειρον τῆς ἐρμηνείας.

16 Justinian, *Novella* 146, ed. Kroll/Schöll, 715: Θεσπίζομεν τοίνυν, ἄδειαν εἶναι τοῖς βουλομένοις Ἑβραίοις κατὰ τὰς συναγωγὰς τὰς αὐτῶν, καθ’ ὃν Ἑβραῖοι ὅλως τόπον εἰσὶ, διὰ τῆς ἑλληνίδος φωνῆς τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους ἀναγινώσκειν τοῖς συνιοῦσιν, ἢ καὶ τῆς πατρίου τυχὸν (τῆς ἰταλικῆς ταύτης φασὲν) ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπλῶς, τοῖς τόποις συµμεταβαλλομένης τῆς γλώττης καὶ τῆς δι’ αὐτῆς ἀναγνώσεως, [...] πλὴν οἱ διὰ τῆς ἑλληνίδος ἀναγινώσκοντες τῇ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα [only the Septuaginta!] χρήσονται παραδόσει τῇ πάντων ἀκριβεστέρα καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας ἐγκεκριμένη διὰ τὸ μάλιστα περὶ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν συµβεβηκός, ὅτι κατὰ δύο διαιρεθέντες καὶ κατὰ διαφόρους ἐρμηνεύσαντες τόπους ὁμῶς μίαν ἅπαντες ἐκδεδώκασιν σύνθεσιν.

17 Gerov 1980; Schramm 1981; Curta 2001.

18 Kaegi 1992; Rubenson 1996; Wasserstein 2003; Heilo 2010; Sarris 2011.

19 Gastgeber 2001; Gastgeber 2005.

20 Gastgeber/Diethart 1998, 153 *Lemmata*.

21 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De thematibus, Prooem*, ed. Pertusi, 60: [...] μάλιστα ἐλληνίζοντες καὶ τὴν πάτριον καὶ ῥωμαϊκὴν γλῶτταν ἀποβαλόντες.

22 John Scylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, *John I Tzimiskes* 19, ll. 78–80, ed. Thurn, 311: [...] τῷ νομίσματι καὶ τῷ ὀβολῷ εἰκόνα ἐγγράφεσθαι τοῦ σωτῆρος, μὴ πρότερον τούτου γινομένου. ἐγράφοντο δὲ καὶ γράμματα Ῥωμαῖστί ἐν θατέρῳ μέρει ὧδε πη διεξίοντα· Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς βασιλεὺς βασιλέων.

The Roman axis

A special case is the wording *romaios axon*. It symbolizes in the writings of Michael Psellos (11th century) the ecumenical claim of Roman emperors.²³ In his *Chronographia* and in other works Psellos describes the accession of Byzantine emperors to the throne or the attempts of usurpers to approach imperial power as follows: 'he was burdened with the Roman axis' (Michael IV Paphlagon) or 'He passed over to the Roman axis' (Romanos Boilas) or 'He ascended to the Roman axis' (Constantine Leichudes) or 'With the crown he ascended to the Roman axis'²⁴ (Isaac I Comnenus) or 'He (the patriarch Michael Keroularios) removed one of the ruling emperors (Michael VI) from the Roman axis, and nearly so another one (Isaac I Comnenus)'.²⁵

These words were also used, four centuries later, by the church historian Nikephoros Kallistou Xanthopoulos, not in a contemporary context, but on the occasion of his narrative about the emperor Augustus' visit to Delphi. Augustus asked the oracle, who will rule over the Roman axis after him; after a period of silence he received Pythias' well-known answer: 'A Hebrew boy, a god who rules among the blessed, bids me leave this house forever and go back to Hades. So in silence go from my altars'.²⁶ This answer was quoted by many early Christian and Byzantine authors. But

23 It occurs perhaps for the first time in another context in the early fifth century in Synesius, *Dion* 16, ll. 12–20, ed. Terzaghi, 274: καίτοι τινές ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἀξιοῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιοῦτου ῥήτορες εἶναι, γραμματεῖς ἀτεχνῶς ὄντες, οἱ δέ, κἂν μάρτυρας ἀναβιβάσωνται, τοῦ πράγματος ἐπὶ τούτοις ὄντος, παρ' ἑαυτοὺς οἰήσονται πεπράχθαι τὴν δίκην· οὕτως εἰσὶ κομψοὶ τε καὶ νεανίαί. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐκ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἀξόνων τὸν νόμον ἀνέγνωμεν, ἵνα καὶ ἀκόντων ἂν ἰσχύη, ἀλλ' ἀνδρός ἐστι φιλοσόφου καὶ παλαιοῦ, πειθῶ τινα δεῖ προσεῖναι, καὶ γενέσθαι νόμον τὸν λόγον.

24 Michael Psellos, *Chronographia* 4, 14, l. 3, ed. Renauld, 1, 60: τὸν Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἐπιτεφόρτισται ἄξονα (Michael Paphlagon); *ibid.*, 6, 140, ll. 10–11, ed. Renauld, 2, 38: εἰς τὸν Ῥωμαϊκὸν μεθιστᾷ ἄξονα (Boilas); *ibid.*, 6, 177, l. 6, ed. Renauld, 2, 58: εἰς τὸν Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἀναβεβηκὸς ἄξονα (Konstantinos Leichudes); *ibid.*, 7, 57, ll. 6–7, ed. Renauld, 2, 118: ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἀνεισι μετὰ τοῦ διαδήματος ἄξονα (Isaak Komnenos).

25 Michael Psellos, *Orationes forenses* 1 (addressed to the synod), ll. 1650–1653, ed. Dennis, 61: καὶ τῶν προεστηκότων αὐτοκρατόρων τὸν μὲν τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ ἀπεβίβασεν ἄξονος, τὸν δέ, εἰ μὴ κύριος ἀντελάβετό μου, μικροῦ δεῖν. Psellos used *axon* also in other contexts, especially in combination with *nomoi* (laws) and *nomikos* (legal). About the patriarch Ioannes Xiphilinos he says, that he climbed the legal axis (ἐκεῖνος γοῦν ἐπειδὴ τοῦ νομικοῦ ἐπεβεβήκει ἄξονος, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐγνώκει τῆς νομικῆς ἐπιστήμης; Michael Psellos, *Ἐπιτάφιοι Λόγοι*, 4, 428, ed. Sathas), and he asks a former student, who became publican (*kapelos*), in an invective: πῶς οὖν τοῦτο μὴ προηρημένος ποιεῖν ἀθρόον τῆς συνήθους ἐκπετηδικῶς καπηλείας ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν νόμων ἐπαναβέβηκας ἄξονα (Michael Psellos, *Oratoria minora* 14, ll. 7–9, ed. Littlewood, 52).

26 Nikephoros Kallistou Xanthopoulos, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 1, 17, 8–17, PG 145, ll. 681–684: Καῖσαρ δὲ Αὐγυστος [...] Πυθῶδε παραγίνεται. Ἐκατόμβην δὲ τῷ δαίμονι θύσας, διεπυθάνετο τίς δὴ μετ' αὐτὸν τοὺς Ῥωμαίκοις ἄξονας διathύνειεν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖθεν οὐ προῆει ἀπόκρισις, καὶ δευτέραν προσήγγε θυσίαν· καὶ αὖθις ἀνῆρετο, ἵνατί τὸ πολὺφθογγον μαντεῖον νῦν ἀναυδον· τὸ δὲ μικρὸν διαλιπὼν ἀνείλεν αὐτῷ· Παῖς Ἑβραῖος κέλεται με Θεὸς μακάρεσσιν ἀνάσσειν, Τόνδε δόμον προλιπεῖν καὶ αἶδος αὖθις ἰκέσθαι. Λοιπὸν ἀπιθὶ ἐκ προδόμων ἡμετέρων; cf. *Anthologia Graeca, Appendix, Oracula*, no. 105, ed. Cougny, 484, and John Malalas, *Chronographia*, 10, 5, ed. Thurn, 176.

the term *romaikos axon* is not originally a part of the oracle itself, Xanthopoulos probably borrowed it from Michael Psellos.

It is crucial to understand the meaning of axon in the sense of 'axis of the celestial sphere' or 'axis of the earth'.²⁷ It is connected with the myth about the titan Atlas, well known also in Byzantium; we find it for example at John Galenos (12th century), who mentioned in his commentary on Hesiod's Theogony that Atlas had to bear the weight of the heavens, standing with his feet on the earth and holding up with his hands and his head the heaven.²⁸ Following Eustathius of Thessalonica (12th century), Atlas supported the axis of the celestial sphere, which was 'driven through the midst of the earth',²⁹ and held earth and heaven together. In this sense, Michael Psellos identifies the eastern Roman emperor with Atlas, in bearing the burden of the axis of the Roman ecumene.³⁰

Romaioi, Romania, Graeci, Rûmî

It is well known that the Byzantines named and defined themselves through all the ten or eleven centuries of the Eastern Empire as *Romaioi*, whereas the term *Romanoi* referred in Greek only to the Romans who settled in Dalmatia in the times of Diocletian and later on.³¹ In the European medieval terminology the Byzantines were named *Graeci*. Originally a linguistic distinction with a pejorative touch ('coward'), the term had since 800 come to express also the refusal to acknowledge the eastern emperor's right to rule over the first Rome and the Western ecumene.

Long before the seventh century, the term *Romaioi* was adopted and adapted into *Rûmî* by the Syrians and Arabs, and later also by the Turkish tribes. Some Arabic scholars and writers made a clear distinction between the Byzantines, the *Rûmî*, and the ancient Greeks, the *Iûnânîûn*: al-Ġahiz (d. 868), a member of the 'House of Wisdom' (*bait al-hikma*) in Bagdad, denied the hellenic tradition, maintaining

²⁷ Liddell/Scott/Jones 1966, 172b; Lampe 1961, 168b.

²⁸ John Galenos, c. 507, ed. Flach, 333: ἐπὶ τῷ ἄξονι προσαγορεύει ὁ λόγος, τὰς μὲν χεῖρας καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔχοντα καὶ διὰ τούτων ἐρείδοντα αὐτόν, τοὺς δὲ πόδας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; similar *ibid.*, 347.

²⁹ Eustathius Thessalonicensis, *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*, ed. Stallbaum, 17, ll. 29–30: Ἄλλοι δὲ Ἄτλαντα τὸν νοητὸν ἄξονα νοοῦσι τὸν διὰ μέσης τῆς γῆς ἐληλαμένον καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βορείου εἰς τὸν νότιον πόλον καθήκοντα.

³⁰ And still Helena Laskaris, the fictitious heiress of the imperial crown of Byzantium, exclaims in Fritz von Herzmanovsky Orlando's mystery play *Die Krone von Byzanz*: 'Auf meinen zarten Schultern lastet die Welt!'

³¹ Ῥωμαῖοι are mentioned several times in Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* cc. 29–36, ed. Moravcsik, 122–165. See the article by Francesco Borri in this volume, and Chrysos 2003, 120–122.

that the ancient *lûnânîûn* had been savants (*‘ulamā’*), whereas the *Rûmî* are only artisans (*ṣunnā’*).³²

The territorial term *Romania* appears in Greek sources in the context of political geography as a name of the Empire since the first century CE,³³ and until the post-Byzantine period. A famous early document for *Romania* as a political and geographic term is a sgraffito on a roof-tile in Sirmium, an anonymous quick prayer. Probably it was written on the occasion of the Avar siege of Sirmium in the year 582. It reads: ‘Oh Lord, help the town and halt the Avar and protect the *Romania* and the scribe. Amen’.³⁴

Another related term, *Romais*, originally an adjective, developed to a noun, which became common, in the sense of the Byzantine Empire as a political entity, mainly in the high-brow literature, in the tenth century.³⁵

Summing up, we may say that in Greek sources the terms *Romaioi* and *Romania* mean exclusively only the Byzantines and the Byzantine Empire. Therefore, if the poem of Digenis Akritas relates that an Arab *amiras* had an excellent command of the *Romaion glotta*, the author means *Greek*.³⁶

One remarkable exception is the adverb *romaisti*, which always refers to the Latin language.³⁷ A good example is found in the biography of Saint Melania, who lived in the early fifth century. According to her biographer, she read *romaisti* aloud so excellently, that all believed that she did not know *hellenisti*, whereas on other occasions, she read *hellenisti* so excellently, that all believed that she did not know *romaisti*.³⁸

Hebrew, Greek, Latin

As I mentioned already, Greek was considered to be superior to Latin since the end of the fourth century at the latest as language of the Christian religion and culture. Striking examples are the commentaries on the inscription, which was fastened to

³² Allouche 1939, 134–135; see Signes Codoñer 2001.

³³ Arrianus, *Fragmenta*, 49a, ed. Roos/Wirth. They identified it with its centre, the first Rome: [...] μητρόπολις ἡ Ῥώμη τῆς Ῥωμανίας ἐστίν, Athanasius, *Historia Arianorum* 35, 2, ed. Opitz.

³⁴ †(Staurogramm) Κ(ύρι)ε βοήτι τῆς πόλεως κὲ ρύξον τὸν Ἄβαριν κὲ πύλαξον τῇ Ῥωμανίαν κὲ τὸν γράψαντα ἀμήν, ed. Noll 1989; see Koder 2018.

³⁵ Genesios, *Basileiai* 3, 3, ed. Lesmüller Werner/Thurn, 37–38; Constantine Stilbes, *Poemata, Carmen de Incendio* ll. 889–891, ed. Diethart/Hörandner, 42; Theodoros Metochites, *Poem* 14, l. 94, ed. and trans. Featherstone, 24. See also G. Page 2008, 40–67.

³⁶ Digenis Akritas, G 1.113–115, ed. Trapp, 84: ὁ ἀμύρας [...] ἀκριβῶς γὰρ ἠπίστατο τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων γλῶτταν; cf. De Boel 2003 and Dagron 1994, 232.

³⁷ Erich Trapp, Vienna, kindly informed me that to his knowledge only in one case the meaning ‘Greek’ for *romaisti* would be possible, though not probable: Andreas Salos, *Bios*, 2, 18 app, ed. Rydén.

³⁸ Melania, *Bios*, c. 26, ed. and trans. Gorce, 180: ἀναγινώσκουσα ῥωμαῖστὶ ἐδόκει πᾶσιν μὴ εἰδέναι ἑλληνιστί, καὶ πάλιν ἀναγινώσκουσα ἑλληνιστὶ ἐνομίζετο ῥωμαῖστὶ μὴ ἐπίστασθαι.

the Holy Cross. It read 'Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews', and according to St. John's Gospel 'This inscription was read by many Jews [...] and it was written in *Hebrew, Latin, and Greek*'.³⁹ But Greek patristic commentators put the holy languages into the 'right' hierarchical order: 1) Hebrew, 2) Greek, 3) Latin. The Patriarch Cyril of Alexandria († 444) explained this order in analogy to the well-known three-stage spiritual system: Latin (*romaisti*) is equated with the lowest level, practice, which is closely connected with bravery, a main virtue amongst the Romans; Greek (*hellenisti*) is related to the universal contemplation of God in the nature, which is a characteristic of the Greeks, who most of all men pursued philosophy; and Hebrew (*hebraisti*) is related to the highest level, the vision of God, which God had entrusted to the Jews from time immemorial.⁴⁰

The roots **hellen* and **graik*

With regard to the terminology for the word family 'Greek', it is known that since the earliest period of Greek literacy⁴¹ it was described by terms with two roots, deriving from **hellen* and **graik*.⁴² Some Byzantine philologists derived the meaning of the **graik*-root (following the late antique tradition) from a hellenic toponym or a personal or tribal name (Γραικοί· οἱ Ἑλληνες, ἀπὸ κώμης τινὸς, ἢ ἀπὸ Γραικοῦ τινος).⁴³

Although the meanings of the adverbs *graikisti* and *hellenisti* in many lexica from the Byzantine period (and also in other texts) are equated, a distinction is made when authors feel the necessity to explain, why classical Greek and contemporary Byzantine colloquial Greek use different words. The lexicon of Pseudo-Zonaras, for example, gives the following translations for ancient Greek *kossos* ('slap'): *romaisti* (Latin) *maxilla*, *graikisti* (colloquial Greek) *rapisma*.⁴⁴

The roots **hellen* and **graik* could also express the very same Greek identity, though from a different socio-linguistic point of view: The imperial ambassador Priskos, waiting at the court of Attila for an audience, is greeted by a passer-by, wearing

39 John 19.19–20: [...] ἦν δὲ γεγραμμένον, Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. τοῦτον οὖν τὸν τίτλον πολλοὶ ἀνέγνωσαν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, [...] καὶ ἦν γεγραμμένον Ἑβραϊστί, Ῥωμαϊστί, Ἑλληνιστί.

40 Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarii in Lucam*, PG 72, 937, ll. 21–35: Νοῶ δὲ διὰ μὲν τοῦ Ῥωμαϊστί τὴν πρακτικὴν, ὡς τῆς Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας κατὰ τὸν Δανιὴλ ὀρισθείσης ἀνδρικωτέρας τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς βασιλειῶν· πρακτικῆς δὲ ἴδιον, εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, ἢ ἀνδρεία. Διὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἑλληνιστί, τὴν φυσικὴν θεωρίαν, ὡς μᾶλλον τοῦ Ἑλλήνων ἔθους, παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους τῇ φυσικῇ σχολάσαντος φιλοσοφία. Διὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἑβραϊστί τὴν θεολογικὴν μυσταγωγίαν, ὡς τοῦ ἔθους τούτου προδήλως ἀνέκαθεν τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τοὺς πατέρας ἀνατεθέντος.

41 Hesiod, *Fragmenta Hesiodica* 4, ed. Merkelbach/West, 5 (8th/7th century BC).

42 See also Koder 2000.

43 Suda, Gamma 447, ed. Adler, 1, 541; see also *Etymologicum magnum*, Kallierges 239 and 241, ed. Gaisford.

44 Ps. Zonaras, *Lexicon*, ed. Tittmann, kappa 1234.

Skythian dress, with ‘chaire’ (‘Welcome!’). He asks him, astonished, how it is that he speaks to him in the *hellenike* language, and the man, laughing, answers that he is *graikos* by origin.⁴⁵

In general, most words from the root **hellen-* express in Byzantium the idiomatic relationship amongst educated classes with what they believed to be ‘Attic’ Greek, and with Byzantine high-brow literature. Since the twelfth century and particularly since the Fourth Crusade the auto-stereotype of being culturally a Hellen and therefore in principle superior to all other nations or tribes, becomes evident.⁴⁶ In the thirteenth century Nicholas Mesarites claims for the *hellenoglossoi*, the speakers of Greek, that they already ‘had essentially the cognition of what is essential’,⁴⁷ and the archbishop of Ohrid, Demetrios Chomatenos, assures us, that a pure (*katharos*) Hellen must be deafened when he is forced to endure the faulty pronunciations of a *heteroglossos* (a ‘speaker of another language’) or a *hemigraikos* (a ‘half-caste Greek’) or a *mixhellen* (a ‘half-breed Hellen’).⁴⁸

On the other hand, the voice of George Metochites in his speech about peace in the church in his time is conciliatory, when he ascertains, paraphrasing Saint Paul’s report on the miracle of Pentecost, that among the apostles harmony ruled – there was not *Italos* nor *Graikos*, not *barbaros* nor *Hellen*, he says (though at the same time he differentiates in this allusion between linguistic and cultural identity).⁴⁹

In general there is no doubt that nearly all written sources in the late Byzantine period stick to their Roman identity. The works of Theodoros II Laskaris (1254–1258), the last emperor in the so-called Nicaean exile, are an exceptional case. He has a deep-rooted aversion to combining Greek cultural with Roman political identity. In a letter to his friend Hagiotheodorites, for example, he expresses his love for classical

45 Priscus Panita, *Fragmenta* 8, ll. 459–477, ed. Bornmann, 46, l. 2–20: [...] προσελθὼν τις, ὃν βάρβαρον ἐκ τῆς Σκυθικῆς ψήθην εἶναι στολῆς, Ἑλληνικῇ ἀσπάζεται με φωνῇ, χαῖρε προσειπὼν, [...] ἐγὼ δὲ ἔφην αἰτίαν πολυπραγμοσύνης εἶναι μοι τὴν Ἑλλήνων φωνήν. τότε δὴ γελάσας ἔλεγε Γραικὸς μὲν εἶναι τὸ γένος [...].

46 Gounaridis 1986.

47 [...] παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς ἑλληνογλώσσοις ἢ τῶν ὄντων ὄντως γνώσις ἐγνώριται, Nicholas Mesarites, *Orationes*, 21.25f, ed. Heisenberg.

48 Demetrios Chomatenos, *Πονήματα διάφορα*, 151, 18, ll. 386–389, ed. Prinzing, 452: καθαρὸς Ἕλλην τὸν ἑτερόγλωσσον, ἡμίγραικος δὲ τις ἢ μιξέλλην, ὡς οὕτως εἰπεῖν, ἐκκωφεθεῖ τὴν ἀκοὴν τῇ παραβόλῃ προενέξει [...] πληττόμενος. For the word ἡμίγραικος Chomatenos’ text is the only evidence in TLG, for μιξέλλην there are a few other texts; Chomatenos probably found it in Eusebius’ *Praeparatio evangelica* 3, 11, 43, ed. Mras/des Places, 1, 142. It is not clear, what makes the difference between both words for Chomatenos; he makes this annoyed digression in the context of an expertise on the legal status of a first and a second marriage, as he comments the unclear and slipshod commentaries of his juridical predecessors.

49 Georgios Metochites, *Historia dogmatica*, 2, 14–17, ed. Cozza Luzi: [...] ἦν ὅτε ταῦτα καὶ τρανῶς ἐπέλαμπε τὰ τῆς ὁμονοίας, καὶ τοῦ μέσου πᾶν τὸ εἰς διχόνοιαν ἀπελήλατο καὶ κατὰ τὸν πνευματορῆτορα μέγαν ἀπόστολον, οὐκ ἦν ἰταλὸς καὶ γραικός, οὐ βάρβαρος καὶ Ἕλλην, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐπίσημον ἄμφοιν ὁ Χριστός. Cf. Colossians 3.11: ὅπου οὐκ ἐνι Ἕλληνας καὶ Ἰουδαίους, περιτομὴ καὶ ἀκροβυστία, βάρβαρος, Σκύθης, δοῦλος, ἐλεύθερος, ἀλλὰ [τὰ] πάντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν Χριστός.

Greek with the following words: ‘I will converse with you in the Hellenic language, which I learned to love more than breathing’.⁵⁰ His Greek identity goes far beyond language and culture, and it has traits of a persecution complex: In case of war, he says, ‘the tribes fight against us and who will help us? [...] only the “helleness” (to *hellenikon*) takes care of itself, because it receives the motivation from its origins’.⁵¹ In a letter to the metropolit of Sardeis Andronikos, he goes so far as to refer to a voyage from the Balkans to his realm in Asia Minor as a return to Hellas,⁵² evidently because western Asia Minor was the heart of Greek rule and culture in his time.

Theodoros Laskaris, however, is an exception, which may be explained by the political situation in the mid-thirteenth century as well as by his difficult personality and character. After 1261, the Palaeologan emperors and the majority of Byzantine intellectuals until 1453 stick to the – so to speak self-evident – ‘double’ identity, they are politically Romans and culturally Hellenes. Still, on 29 May 1453, it is the Romans of Constantinople, who are defeated by the Ottomans, so the historian Doukas states (and he insists that they were even in this last moment actually superior to the Turks).⁵³

In the end we should note that the importance of ‘being Roman’ in the everyday linguistic usage of average Byzantines should not be overestimated: their *romanness* was unreflected and ‘natural’, and they used the term *Romaioi* to mean (being) a

50 Theodoros Laskaris, *Epistulae*, 216, 4–5, ed. Festa, 268: [...] τῇ Ἑλληνίδι διαλέξομαί σοι διαλέκτῳ, ἦν καὶ μάλλον ἡσπασάμην ἢ τὸ ἀναπνεῖν.

51 Theodoros Laskaris, *Epistulae*, 44, 79–85, ed. Festa, 58: [...] τὰ ἔθνη μάχεται καθ’ ἡμῶν, καὶ τίς ὁ βοηθήσων ἡμῖν; [...] μόνον δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν αὐτὸ βοηθεῖ ἑαυτῷ οἰκοθεν λαμβάνον τὰς ἀφορμάς.

52 Theodoros Laskaris, *Epistulae*, 125, 52–54, ed. Festa, 176: Σὺ δὲ πότ’ ἂν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀνέλθῃς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πότ’ ἂν δὲ καὶ τὴν Θράκην διελθὼν τὸν Ἑλλησποντον διαπεράσῃς καὶ τὴν ἔσω Ἀσίαν κατίδῃς. He never mentions *to romaikon* in the context of his own reign. Only when praising his father’s merits on the military defence of the Roman lot (*Romaikon lachos*) he emphasises, that John Doukas Batatzes subjugated those, who had offended *to hellenikon*, and that he had protected the Roman cities (*romaikai poleis*): ὅθεν καὶ μέσον πλήθους ἐθνῶν καταδυναστεύοντων τοῦ Ῥωμαῖ κοῦ λάχους εἰσδύς, καὶ ζήλῳ τῷ ὑπὲρ τοῦ γένους καλλωπιζόμενος ἀληθῶς, καὶ ἀνδρεία καθοπλιζόμενος, οὓς μὲν δόρατι πλήξας τὴν καιρίαν καὶ ἄφυκτον, οὓς δὲ σπάθῃ διαχειρίσάμενος, οὓς δὲ ζωγρήσας μὲν, ἀλλὰ φρουρίους δυσαλώτοις ἐμπερικλείσας, ὁμοῦ πάντων ἐθνῶν κατεκράτησας, καὶ τοὺς πρώην τῷ δόρατι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν οὐτάζοντας στῆθος ποδοκᾶκῃ συνέδησας καὶ ὡς ἀνδράποδα ἔδειξας, καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν πόλεων καὶ φρουρίων οἰκοδομαῖς τῶν θριγγίων τούτων τε καὶ τῶν πυργωμάτων ταπεινοὺς ὑπηρετάς τοὺς πρὶν καρτεροὺς αἰχημητάς ἀπετέλεσας; Theodoros Laskaris, *Encomio*, 193–203, ed. Tartaglia, 54; see Koder 2015.

53 Doukas, *Historia Turco Bizantina*, 39, 24, ed. Grecu, 369, ll. 23–28, 371, l. 1: Ἦσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπικρατέστεροι τῶν Τούρκων, βάλλοντες λίθοις καὶ βέλεσι ἄχρι τρίτης ὥρας τῆς ἡμέρας, ἕως οὗ, ἐλθὼν καὶ καταντήσαν μέρος τῶν σκυλευόντων ἀπὸ πρωΐας ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἰδόντες τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πολεμίζοντας τοὺς ἔξω καὶ φωνήν, ὅση δύναμις, ἀφέντες ἔδραμον ἐπάνω τῶν τειχέων. Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς Τούρκους ἰδόντες ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ φωνὴν ἀφέντες ὀδυνηράν· τὸ οἶμοι, ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους κατέπιπτον· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐκεῖ πλέον ἰσχύς οὔτε δύναμις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις.

member of the Christian Greek Roman Empire and community. To be a *Roman* was normal; it did not express a *conscious* relationship to ancient Rome, but simply a superiority and delimitation from other nations or states – and this continued until the twentieth century. Personally, I remember the quarrel of a fisherman with another on a Greek island in the early seventies, ending with the angry question: ‘So, what are you, a Roman or a Turk (Ρωμιός είσαι ή Τούρκος)?’

Ioannis Stouraitis

Byzantine Romanness: From geopolitical to ethnic conceptions

In a paper focusing on the issue of personal identity, the philosopher Derek Parfit summarized the distinction between the concepts of numerical and qualitative identity as follows:

Two white billiard balls may be qualitatively identical, or exactly similar. But they are not numerically identical, or one and the same ball. If I paint one of these balls red, it will cease to be qualitatively identical with itself as it was; but it will still be one and the same ball. Consider next a claim like, “Since her accident, she is no longer the same person”. That involves both senses of identity. It means that she, one and the same person, is not now the same person. That is not a contradiction. The claim is only that this person’s character has changed. This numerically identical person is now qualitatively different.¹

These two conceptual approaches to sameness seem to me to provide an appropriate point of departure for an introduction to the issue of Romanness in early medieval Byzantium. The loss of the Late Roman Empire’s western parts in the fifth century and the extensive territorial contraction of Justinian I’s restored empire, along with the linguistic Hellenization of the Roman imperial administration, between the late-sixth and late-seventh centuries, meant that the numerically identical political entity Roman Empire, the realm demarcated by the boundaries of enforceable authority of the Roman imperial office, was not the same any more, i.e. became qualitatively different. This difference is conceptualized in modern-day scholarly discourse by the *terminus technicus*: the Byzantine Empire.

In the light of the unbroken continuity of the political overstructure in the medieval East Roman Empire, posing the question about the transformation of Romanness there means that, as opposed to post-Roman Western Europe, one is not looking for the survival of shifting notions of Romanness within a framework of construction of new polities and ethnic identities,² but rather for the qualitative change of the Roman imperial polity and its collective identity discourse. In the comparative context of the current volume, my paper will therefore focus on the question as to the development of the form and content of Byzantine Romanness in an early medieval world (c. 500 – 1000), where the territorial contraction of centralized Roman imperial

This paper was submitted in 2015. Therefore, any new publications on the topic since then could not be taken into account for practical reasons.

¹ Parfit 1995, 13–14.

² Cf. Heather 2005, 432–443.

rule and the subsequent political fragmentation of the larger part of the *orbis romanus* had made ethnic discourse politically important again.

1 A short conceptual excursus

Within the framework of a revived sociological debate over the concepts of *ethnie* and *nation*, which incrementally intensified in the last three decades,³ the scrutiny of the form and content of Byzantine Romanness, as a medieval political entity's collective identity, inevitably needs to take into consideration problems of conceptualization.

The current debate on collective identity is marked by revisionist approaches to the dominant modernist paradigm that defines nations and nation-states as a phenomenon resulting from the watershed of modernity and post-dating the eighteenth century. The more sophisticated modifying arguments of the modernist thesis have come from the so-called ethno-symbolist approach that revisited the role of ethnic ties in the pre-modern world and pleaded for an important contribution of pre-modern ethnic traditions to the configuration of modern national identities. The elaborate version of this approach sees the concept of the *nation* as predating modernity and suggests that, when certain ideal preconditions are met, politically organized pre-modern ethnic groups could be regarded as national communities.⁴

If the central argument of ethno-symbolism mainly refers to a neoperennialist perspective regarding the ethnic cores of modern nations, a recent argument by the political scientist Azar Gat advocated a radical revisionism regarding the modernity of the phenomena *nationhood* and *nation-state*. Based on a paraphrasis of Ernest Gellner's definition of the nation as 'a rough congruence between culture or ethnicity and state', Gat asserted that we should rather acknowledge the existence of 'nations and national states wherever states emerged since the beginning of history'.⁵

The pros and cons of both aforementioned theoretical approaches cannot be dealt with analytically here due to lack of space. Drawing attention to them, however, is important for the Byzantine case, since their rationale seems to correspond, at least in part, with two distinct approaches to Romanness in post-seventh century Byzantium. The distinguished Byzantinist Speros Vryonis, who provided detailed arguments in the past in favour of an essentialist approach to the role of Greek culture in Eastern Roman identity discourse rendering Byzantine Romanness as a bearer of perennial Greek ethnicity,⁶ has recently argued that Anthony D. Smith's ethno-symbolist revision of the modernist paradigm should be celebrated as the new theoretical or-

³ For good overviews of the main positions in this ongoing debate see Ichijo/Uzelac 2005; A. Smith 2009; Malešević 2013.

⁴ A. Smith 2004b, 18–20; A. Smith 2005, 104–107; A. Smith 2009, 23–59.

⁵ Gat 2013, 2–4.

⁶ See Vryonis 1978; Vryonis 1999.

thodoxy.⁷ On the other hand, Azar Gat might have included the case of the East Roman Empire as a historical example in favour of his thesis,⁸ had he been aware of the work of another prolific scholar of Byzantine history, Anthony Kaldellis. The latter has recently argued that post-seventh-century Byzantium was a pre-modern nation-state and Byzantine Romanness a national identity.⁹

In light of these differentiated approaches, I think it is necessary to briefly clarify what I understand under the rubrics *ethnie* and *nation* before embarking on an interpretative presentation of source material regarding the form and content of Roman identity in early medieval Byzantium (c. 6th–10th centuries). In my view, the aforementioned theoretical developments pose two questions: first, whether *ethnicity* and *nationhood* should be conflated or could be seen as overlapping concepts in a medieval context. Second, whether it is analytically fruitful for historical research to loosen the concepts of the empirically studied modern phenomena *nation* and *nation-state* to the extent that these can be applied to whole pre-modern empires, as for instance China and Rome (or, for that matter, the early medieval East Roman Empire).¹⁰

Beginning with the first issue, social anthropology long ago dismissed the primordial character of ethnicity by pointing out that the latter does not consist in the possession of cultural characteristics by the members of a group, but in the recognition of their cultural difference by others through social interaction.¹¹ *Ethnic*, therefore, is how a collectivity is conceived and represented, not the way it comes into being. The crucial point here is that ethnicity refers to processes of negotiated cultural classification depending extensively on practices of external categorization that make chosen cultural markers of the ‘other’ salient and thus socially meaningful.¹² Ethnic categorization – as an omnipresent phenomenon in medieval sources – is closely connected with various objective cultural markers (language, religion, pigmentation etc.) that outsiders chose to highlight in order to categorize people into named ethno-cultural collectivities. The transition from ethnic category to group, i. e. from processes of collective categorization to processes of collective self-classification, is instead closely connected with the subjective elements of ethnicity, such as

7 Vryonis 2011.

8 Gat argues that a Latin Roman nation had been formed in the Western Roman Empire shortly before the empire’s disintegration. This he regards as the result of a combination of developments, such as universal citizenship from 211 on, the gradual linguistic Latinization of the subject populations and their Christianization. For the eastern part, he adopts a different stance, since he considers it to have remained ethnically more heterogeneous. Therefore, he regards a shared Roman identity there as weaker; Gat 2013, 121–122.

9 Kaldellis 2008, 42–119, suggests a *longue durée* process of emergence of a civic nation in the empire, but, finally, concentrates his argument about a full blown Roman nation on the post Justinianic Byzantine Empire.

10 See Gat 2013, 111–131.

11 Barth 1969, 14; Malešević 2004, 2–3.

12 R. Jenkins 2008, 49.

the use of a proper ethnonym, a myth of common ancestry, notional attachment to a historic land of origin as well as reference to common symbols and values.¹³

On the other hand, nationhood, as the predominant form of collective identity in the modern era, refers to identification with and loyalty to the nation as a community which is culturally-territorially circumscribed and politically united, and which is perceived as the principal unit of human solidarity and political legitimacy.¹⁴ No matter whether the image of the national group is officially constructed and propagated in *ethnic* (common descent and historic culture) or in *civic* (egalitarian citizenship) terms.¹⁵ Here lies in my view an important difference that speaks against an understanding of the two concepts as a priori overlapping in a diachronic perspective for the sake of analytical sharpness.

Ethnicity, as a discourse of categorization or self-classification to an, often non-stable and non-coherent, collectivity of common culture, in the pre-modern era refers in principle to an apolitical vision of community.¹⁶ A person's categorization or sense of belonging to a group of common culture needed not principally inform his/her political loyalty, insofar as the latter was not preconditioned by congruence between the cultural and the political unit. Nationhood, instead, is interrelated with the transition of the vision of political sovereignty and loyalty from the centripetal and hierarchical discourse of kingship or empire to the discourse of the horizontal nation as the sovereign, autonomous and politically united community of the people. This transition made common cultural identity a precondition for political loyalty, thus dictating the need for cultural homogenization of all members of the political community on the basis of a dominant ethnic (where this is the case¹⁷) or non-ethnic culture.¹⁸

In this regard, it is important to stress that national identity is intrinsically bound to nationalism not only as a political movement which in the wake of the cumulative bureaucratization of coercion during the early modern era conditioned the emergence of nations and nation-states, but – most importantly – as a dominant operative ideology within modern societies, which determines the continuous self-identification with the nation as the principal unit of political legitimacy, thus ensuring the endurance of national communities as real groups of mass political loyalty.¹⁹

¹³ On social category and social group in relation to ethnicity, see R. Jenkins 2008, 55–58. On the distinction between objective and subjective elements of ethnic identity, see A. Smith 1991, 21–23.

¹⁴ Malešević 2013, 75; cf. Brubaker 2004, 116.

¹⁵ These two basic conceptions of the nation are often not mutually exclusive but rather intertwined, see A. Smith 2004a, 203.

¹⁶ Breuilly 1996, 150–154.

¹⁷ A. Smith 1991, 39; A. Smith 2004b, 19–21; Kaufmann 2004, 2–4.

¹⁸ Wimmer 2008, 990–991.

¹⁹ On nationhood as a dynamic process of self identification which is reproduced quasi on a daily basis through the operative ideology of 'banal' nationalism, see Malešević 2006, 83–108.

In light of this, the configuration of a nation and a nation-state respectively in the medieval era cannot be simply attested on the grounds of a rough congruence between the usually fluctuating limits of enforceable authority of a ruling élite over a certain territory and its population, and this élite's ethnic or cultural discourse. Even if we were to accept the methodologically vulnerable argument that the silence of the illiterate or semi-illiterate masses regarding their own identity should not be taken to reflect a 'big ditch' between their culture and that of the social élite,²⁰ we should also consider that common cultural markers do not by themselves *a priori* configure, and therefore testify to, nationhood as loyalty to the vision of a politically united, autonomous, and culturally homogenous community.²¹

Therefore, before engaging in a debate as to whether the political or ethno-cultural categorization of subject masses in élite discourses also reflects the latter's self-identification or not, we should first focus on the form and content of the projected vision of political community by the élites. This can help us tell the difference between various forms of peoplehood, such as the horizontal and boundary-oriented political community of the nation or a hierarchical and centripetal imperial or regnal political order or, for that matter, a politically non-united ethno-cultural (ethno-linguistic, ethno-religious) collectivity.

2 Roman discourse in early-medieval Byzantium

For a better understanding of the development of the form and content of Romanness in the early medieval East Roman Empire, one needs to look back at the late Roman period wherefrom Byzantine Romanness directly stemmed. In the late empire, Romanness as a collective identity had encompassed regional and ethno-cultural diversity, and supplanted it to a homogenizing political discourse of loyalty/subjectivity to the centralized political rule of the Roman imperial office.²² This political discourse was underpinned by a dominant quasi-uniform Greco-Latin élite culture. As has been pointed out, by the late Roman period the vision of the Roman community had acquired a geopolitical character, insofar as its boundaries were demarcated by the current boundaries of the imperial office's enforceable authority and the empire's indigenous populations were categorized as Roman in an all-inclusive manner, while Romanness was gradually but incrementally bound to a Christian identity dis-

²⁰ A. Smith 2004a, 206–207.

²¹ A 'Spezialforschungsbereich' called Visions of Community, based in Vienna under the direction of Walter Pohl, has been working on these and related questions since 2011. See also the collected volume of the same name, Pohl/Gantner/Payne 2012.

²² Pohl 1998a, 1; on the multiple facets of Roman identity in the empire, see now Pohl 2014, 406–418.

course that transcended the social strata.²³ By the reign of Justinian I, Christian identity was established as the predominant cultural marker of Romanness.

Justinian's Roman-Christian Empire underwent an extensive transformation during the long seventh century. This pertained to the further contraction of imperial authority to the heartlands of the eastern empire, namely the southern Balkans and Anatolia, and the linguistic Hellenization of the Roman power élite, which gave an end to the linguistic divide between this élite and the largely Greek-speaking populations of the empire's contracted territories. These developments inevitably pose some questions regarding a potential change in the form and content of Byzantine Romanness. Was there a shift towards an ethnic vision of the *Rhomaioi* within a mini-empire, which had apparently become culturally more homogenous?

A look at the evidence of Byzantine historiography after the historiographical pause of the so-called 'dark centuries' (early seventh to late eighth centuries) shows that the eradication of the cultural divide between Latin and Greek did not bring about any major change in the form and function of Roman discourse. Byzantine Romanness maintained the main traits of an inclusive regnal discourse of loyalty to the centralized rule of the Roman imperial office of Constantinople. Within this framework, the sources testify to practices of contradistinction of common Roman subjects as well as of members of the élite and emperors according to their classification to, and origin from, one of the various ethno-cultural collectivities in the geopolitical sphere of the empire, such as Armenian, Slavic, Bulgar, Vlach, and others.²⁴

The social function of these discourses of ethno-cultural contradistinction needs to be assessed against any misleading conflation of the concepts of ethnicity and nationhood. Ethno-cultural diversity refers, here, not to diverging political loyalties, especially on the level of well-aculturated members of the social élite whose political identity had an active, participatory character. It reflects rather the potential of people to classify themselves and others into groups that were demarcated through various highlighted cultural markers within a political order, which remained far from being culturally homogenous at the level of subject populations, and whose élite ideology did not seek to conflate political loyalty with a notion of Roman peoplehood by descent and shared historic cultural markers.²⁵

The lack of interest and intention on the side of the power élite of Constantinople to use the apparently enhanced cultural homogeneity (single *lingua franca*, Chalcedonian orthodoxy) in order to construct and project an image of the *Rhomaioi* as an ethnic group after the watershed of the seventh century cannot be approached separately from this élite's political objective to maintain as predominant a certain vision of political community – the vision of a centripetal and hierarchical political

²³ Inglebert 2002, 241–260; on the role of religion in late Roman identity cf. Averil Cameron 1991, 30.

²⁴ Cf. Koder 1990.

²⁵ On the lack of a myth of common ancestry in Byzantine identity discourse, cf. Magdalino 1991, 6.

order, membership to which was primarily determined by loyalty and/or subject status to the centralized rule of the city-state of New Rome and its emperor.

This political objective dictated the ethnically neutral fashion in which the Greek *koine* was now presented as a distinct cultural marker of Byzantine Romanness. Theophanes the Confessor, writing at the beginning of the ninth century, describes in his *Chronographia* the main requirements for someone to become a member of the Byzantine élite, i.e. to become Roman. In his report on the unfulfilled plan of imperial intermarriage between Constantine VI and the daughter of Charlemagne, the author observed that the bride ‘should be taught the letters and the language of the Greeks (*Graikoi*) and should be educated in the customs of the rule of the Romans (*Rhomaioi*)’.²⁶ Greek was now considered as the language of the Romans (*Rhomaion glotta*, *Rhomaion phone*)²⁷, which as a *lingua franca* transcended social strata and regional/ethnic boundaries within the imperial realm.²⁸

However, Theophanes’ mindful distinction between the cultural markers (letters and language) of the Greeks and the political customs of the Romans reflects the dominant ideological disposition among the members of the Byzantine social élite, who did not conceive and propagate this linguistic change in ethnic terms, i.e. as a means of historical identification of the *Rhomaioi* with the ancient Hellenic community. Up to the high Middle Ages, the dominant view of the East Roman community’s past was exclusively determined by the notion of unbroken continuity between Rome and Constantinople as new Rome, which linked medieval East Roman peoplehood to the history of the political culture of the Roman city-state²⁹.

Within this framework, Theophanes’ statement also pinpoints that regnal Romanness, as a shared identity within the imperial realm, was not confined to the *Graikoi*, i.e. the members of the ethno-linguistic collectivity of native Greek-speaking Chalcedonian Christians. This is made evident, if one looks at the rare use of the ethnonym *Graikoi* by Byzantine authors in this period, which was not intended to designate the Eastern Romans in a collective manner (as an alternative to the ethnonym *Rhomaioi*) but to distinguish between different ethno-linguistic groups of Roman subjects.³⁰

A statement in the *Vita* of St Clement of Ochrid, written by the Byzantine bishop of Ochrid Theophylactus in the late-eleventh century, provides a useful insight into

²⁶ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, vol. 1, 455, ll. 24–25: τὸ διδάξαι αὐτὴν τὰ τε τῶν Γραικῶν γράμματα καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν, καὶ παιδεῦσαι αὐτὴν τὰ ἥθη τῆς Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας.

²⁷ Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bekker, 308, 407.

²⁸ On the linguistic identity of the Byzantines see Koder 2012; cf. Dagron 1994.

²⁹ Markopoulos 2006.

³⁰ The ethnonym *Graikoi* as a designation of a part of the eastern Roman masses in Byzantine texts of this period cannot be considered as evidence that these populations identified themselves with the Ancient Hellenes and their historic culture, as has often been postulated, since all socio ideological mechanisms that could produce such a notional link were missing. The meaning of *Graikoi* in a contemporary context rather indicates the changing content of ethnonyms which do not testify to an essential continuity of ethnic identities; cf. Stouraitis 2014, 210–212.

the Byzantine élite's strategies of cultural contradistinction of the emperor's subjects within the normative framework of geopolitical Romanness well into the high Middle Ages. The author distinguishes between the land of the Bulgars (*Boulgaroi*) and the land of the Greeks (*Graikoi*) in his text,³¹ even though during the lifetime of the saint (mid-ninth to early-tenth centuries) the Bulgars had an independent realm and therefore the distinction should refer to the land of the Bulgars with the land of the Romans, according to the normative Byzantine discourse of the time that reasonably followed the boundaries of Roman political authority.

However, the discourse of the *Vita* is obviously influenced by the fact that, when the bishop was writing, the Bulgars had, for half a century (since 1018), already been subjects of the emperor, i.e. members of the imperial polity, so that their lands and geopolitical status were considered equally Roman as those of the Greek-speaking populations. For this reason, the contradistinction of populations was not determined by the vision of two political communities, i.e. Bulgar vs. Roman, but of cultural diversity, i.e. Bulgar vs. Greek, under the overlapping status of regnal Roman-ness.³²

In this respect, it is noteworthy that early-medieval written evidence from the Bulgar realm testifies to a Bulgar preference to the ethnonym *Graikos* (Greek), instead of *Rhomaïos* (Roman), by the designation of the Eastern Romans.³³ The use of the former ethnonym seems to have been predominant among the other Slavic peoples of the Balkans as well, should we consider the textual evidence in their languages that originates, however, from the late Middle Ages. This ethnonymic preference of the Slavic people that contradicts with the Byzantines' self-classification as Romans seems to be related to two facts: First, the Slavs had settled on imperial territory, where the Greek ethno-linguistic collectivity was predominant; and second, the Roman imperial power made consistent effort to subjugate and thus integrate them into centralized Roman rule. Conversely, by the interaction between the Byzantines and the Arabs in the East, where the cultural conditions were different and the political boundaries more clearly drawn, especially after the rise of Islam, the Muslims adopted the Byzantine self-designation and named them as *ar-Rūm* (Romans).³⁴

The predominantly geopolitical character of the Roman vision of community in the post-seventh-century 'Hellenized' East Roman Empire is also reflected in the Byzantine image of Roman territory. The image of Roman lands – conceptualized with terms such as *Romania* (Ῥωμανία) or *Romais* (Ῥωμαϊς) – was bound to the notion of

31 *Vita Clementis Ochridensis*, 68, 1–4, ed. Milev, 134: "Ὅπου γε καὶ πάσῃ τῇ τῶν Βουλγάρων χώρα δένδρεσιν ἀγρίοις κομώσῃ καὶ καρπῶν ἡμέρων ἀπορούσῃ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ καλὸν ἐδωρήσατο, ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Γραικῶν χώρας πᾶν εἶδος ἡμέρων δένδρων μεταγαγὼν καὶ τοῖς ἐγκεντρισμοῖς καθημερώσας τὰ ἄγρια.

32 Cf. a similar discourse of contradistinction between the *Graikoi* and the Slavs in Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* c. 49, ll. 4–9, ed. Moravcsik, trans. Jenkins, 228.

33 Tapkova Zaimova 1984, 453–460.

34 Koder 2012, 7.

the realm of the imperial city-state of Constantinople and therefore remained as fluctuating as the borders of imperial authority in the identity discourse of Byzantine authors. For instance, in the *Vita* of the Forty Martyrs of Amorion, written in the late ninth or early tenth century, the author refers to the radical contraction of the boundaries of Roman rule during the Muslim expansion in the seventh century and later designates the contracted lands currently under Roman authority as *Romania*.³⁵ In the opposite direction, the historiographical work known as Theophanes Continuatus, written around the mid-tenth century, informs us that the conquest of Muslim cities, fortresses and lands in the East by the army leader John Kourkouas during the second quarter of the tenth century doubled the (territorial) size of the *Romania*, i.e. the realm of the Roman emperor's enforceable authority.³⁶ The reconquered lands were of course regarded as ancient possessions of the Roman imperial rule, i.e. as former parts of the *Romania*.

The fluctuating boundaries of regnal Romanness need to be examined in relation to the role of religious, i.e. Christian, identity in providing a common cultural background for Roman subjects beyond the level of the educated élites. In particular, one needs to consider the central role of a common religious identity in facilitating the integration of new, ethno-culturally diverse populations into the Roman body politic as a result of the expansion of imperial authority during the later phase of the early Middle Ages (ninth and tenth centuries). The conclusion of the process of Christianization of the empire's masses by the end of late antiquity had an ample effect on Roman identity discourse.

In post-seventh-century Byzantine historiography, the designation Christian was employed as an equivalent of the designation Roman to collectively classify the emperor's subjects. The *Short History* of Patriarch Nikephoros of Constantinople, written towards the end of the eighth century, begins with the following statement on the reign of emperor Phokas (602–610): 'When he had assumed power the situation of the Christians came to such a pitch of misfortune that it was commonly said that, while the Persians were injuring the Roman realm from without, Phokas was doing worse (damage) within'.³⁷ In a similar manner, the same author as well as Theophanes the Confessor describe in their texts the internal armed conflict over the throne between the emperor Constantine V and his general Artabasdos, which

35 *De XLII Martyribus Amoriensibus narrationes et carmina sacra*, ed. Vasil'evskij/Nikitin, 63, 6 and 75, 35.

36 Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bekker, 426, 24–427, 4.

37 Nikephoros Patriarch of Constantinople, *Short History* 1, ll. 1–6, ed. and trans. Mango, 34: Μετὰ τὴν Μαυρικίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναίρεσιν Φωκάς, ἐπεὶ ταύτην διεργάσατο, τῆς βασιλείου ἀρχῆς ἐπιλαμβάνεται· οὐ δὴ ἄρξαντος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο κακώσεως Χριστιανοῖς ἤλασε τὰ πράγματα ὥς παρὰ πολλοῖς ἄδεσθαι ὅτι Πέρσαι μὲν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐκτὸς κατεπύμαινον, Φωκάς δὲ ἔνδον χεῖρω τούτων ἔπραττε.

upset the Roman realm for three years, as a ‘civil war’ among the Christians (as our sources put it).³⁸

These statements indicated the configuration of an alternative image of East Roman peoplehood in ethno-religious terms due to the predominance of Christian identity within the imperial realm. The function of this image should be measured, however, against the actual potential of Christian discourse to create a culturally exclusive boundary for Romanness within a broader geopolitical sphere, in which the boundaries of Roman and Christian identity did not coincide. Considering that Christian identity was able to transcend regional and ethnic boundaries in an overlapping manner, similarly to Romanness as a regnal identity, its conflation with the latter in the identity discourse of the Constantinopolitan élite was there to maintain and reinforce its inclusive geopolitical character rather than to undermine it in favour of ethnic exclusiveness.

The identity discourse of Theophanes Continuatus provides a characteristic example of the role of common religious identity in facilitating the integration of new populations into the eastern Roman body politic. The author of the text describes the voluntary return to Byzantine rule during the reign of Basil I (867–886) of Slavic tribes in the Balkans that had rebelled against it. According to the report, those Slavs who had maintained the common religion as well as those who had abandoned it requested that they might submit to the benevolent yoke of Roman power again and be counted among the subjects of its shepherd.³⁹ The Byzantine emperor dispatched priests in order to restore the Slavs to their former faith and when they had all partaken of holy baptism and reverted to the status of Roman subjects, his realm was restored in those parts.⁴⁰

The life of St Antony the Younger provides further insights into the significance of common religious identity, as opposed to regional or ethno-cultural background, for the integration of a person into the Byzantine social order, i.e. by the process of becoming Roman. The saint was born outside the Byzantine realm as a native Christian of Palestine in 785, into a family that was well off.⁴¹ This probably enabled him to acquire some education and to be raised bilingual, for he could speak both Greek and Syriac (meaning probably Arabic by this time) according to the evidence of the *Vita*.⁴² In the early years of the ninth century, after the death of his parents, it is reported that he abandoned the Caliphate with a group of other Christians and crossed to the Byzantine realm. Within a short period of time, he managed to become a close associate of the general and governor of the province (*thema*) *Kibyrrhaioton* in south-western Asia Minor. The latter intervened at the emperor in Constantinople and ar-

³⁸ Nikephoros Patriarch of Constantinople, *Short History* 65, ll. 14–17, ed. and trans. Mango, 134–136; cf. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, vol. 1, 418, ll. 7–11.

³⁹ *Vita Basilii Imperatoris*, 54, ll. 1–15, ed. and trans. Ševcenko, 194.

⁴⁰ *Vita Basilii Imperatoris*, 54, ll. 20–27, ed. and trans. Ševcenko, 196.

⁴¹ PmbZ, nr. 534.

⁴² *Βίος και πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Νέου*, 199.

ranged the saint's appointment as a deputy-governor in the same province.⁴³ This development sealed Antonios' membership to the provincial Roman élite.

Both aforementioned cases pinpoint the principle role of religious proto-ideology in the process of integration of persons or groups into the East Roman geopolitical discourse, as the main precondition for them (contrary to notions of Roman ethnic descent or indigenesness) to become Roman subjects or even to enter the Roman upper strata. For Antonios, as a non-native of the empire but as a member of a broader Christian commonwealth that expanded beyond the limits of imperial authority, some level of literacy and knowledge of the Greek language were the main means that facilitated the transition from a status of common Roman subject to becoming Roman in a more participatory political sense by acquiring an important office in the imperial administration. The reported dialogue between the saint and emperor Theophilos (829–842) at the imperial court, in which the former is presented to defend his actions as an imperial officer against the rebel Thomas on behalf of Theophilos' father, Michael II (820–829), reveals the political content of the Romanness of the provincial élite of service as an identity of loyalty to the vision of a centralized imperial order, which was underlined by vested interests in and dependence upon the imperial office.⁴⁴

Within the framework of a centripetal and hierarchical vision of political community, neither ethno-linguistic Greekness nor even Christian orthodoxy (Chalcedonian creed), as constitutive elements of Byzantine élite culture, functioned as criteria of exclusion of persons or groups from acquiring the status and the basic 'rights' of Roman subjects or from becoming members of the Roman élite respectively. The imperial state's limited ability and interest in promoting the cultural or even confessional homogeneity of subject populations in the heartlands of its realm is demonstrated both by its policies of population transfers as well as of territorial expansion between the late seventh and the tenth centuries. The sources testify to a large number of forced transfers of culturally diverse groups, such as the resettlement of large numbers of Slavs from the Balkans to Asia Minor under Justinian II (685–695) and Constantine V (741–775), the movement of large numbers of Armenians and Syrians as well as of populations belonging to the heretic Christian group of the Paulicians from the eastern frontier zone to Thrace in the reigns of Constantine V, Basil I (863–886) and Nikephoros Phokas (963–969).⁴⁵

The people from those diverse ethno-cultural and confessional collectivities not only were considered full members of the producing and tax-paying body of Roman subjects, but also represented a pool of human resources whence the emperor drew

⁴³ *Βίος και πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Νέου*, 194.

⁴⁴ *Βίος και πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Νέου*, 209. A similar discourse of subservience and loyalty to the imperial office of Constantinople is found in the text of the provincial magnate Kekaumenos, cf. Koder 2011, 80–81; Stouraitis 2014, 190; cf. Haldon 2009, 171–182.

⁴⁵ On transfers of various ethno-linguistic and ethno-religious groups within the empire, see Lilie 1976, 227–254; Ditten 1993, 123–305. On Armenians, Muslims and Paulicians, cf. Lilie 2012.

recruits for his armies. Moreover, proper education for anyone that could acquire it (along with conversion for those not adhering to the Chalcedonian doctrine), i.e. full-blown acculturation to élite culture, could open the way into the imperial administration, court or provincial, and the social upper strata. The case of the Paulicians who were able to maintain and even diffuse their heretical beliefs in their new areas of settlement for centuries, while they kept being recruited to the imperial armies despite their heretic views,⁴⁶ is indicative of the potential of the masses of common Roman subjects to maintain various identities underneath the homogenizing Roman discourse of Constantinople and the cultural uniformity of the social élite.

On the other hand, the imperial power's policies of territorial expansion, mainly from the mid-tenth to the early-eleventh centuries, were marked by the traditional Roman practice of integrating regional/ethnic élites into the system of empire and the Roman élite of service in order to consolidate the subject status of the populations of those regions.⁴⁷ For instance, during the later phase of Basil II's war for the subjugation of the Bulgar realm (early-eleventh century), the emperor offered Roman titles and offices, i.e. a position in the hierarchical system of empire, to gain the loyalty of a number of local warlords who changed sides.⁴⁸ This practice was facilitated by the common religious identity. After the end of the war and the subjugation of the whole Bulgar realm to the authority of Constantinople, their Roman titles and offices made these Bulgar magnates full members of the provincial élite, whose loyalty to the vision of a politically united community under the imperial rule of New Rome was empire-wide determined by dependence upon and vested interests in the imperial office of Constantinople.

Similar practices are testified throughout the period of the ninth and tenth centuries with Armenian magnates that entered Byzantine service and became full members of the Byzantine élite. The case of the Armenian lord Senacherim (Yovhannēs s. Senek'erim) during the reign of Basil II represents a typical example. In 1021/22, the emperor annexed his lands (Vaspourakan), honoured him with the title of Roman patrician and made him general of Cappadocia in Anatolia, where he resettled with his family and retinue.⁴⁹ The Miaphysite confession of these Armenians points to the flexibility that characterized both sides in the matter of orthodox religious identity, when it came to questions of political loyalty.

⁴⁶ Anna Komnena, *Alexias* IV, 4, 3, ed. Reinsch/Kambylis, 126–127; cf. Lilie 2012, 313–314.

⁴⁷ On such practices in the East during the expansionary policies of the tenth century, see Holmes 2001, 45–50.

⁴⁸ See John Scylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, Basil II, ed. Thurn, 342–343, 344, 346, 353, 357–358, 359.

⁴⁹ PmbZ, nr. 27008.

3 Terminological aspects of the early-medieval East Roman community

An insightful aspect of the development of Roman identity discourse in Byzantium is provided by the terminology of Byzantine historiography regarding the early-medieval East Roman community. The terms used by Byzantine authors to conceptualize human collectivities were *genos* and *ethnos* (meaning race/kin/tribe/origin and people/company/class respectively). Both terms could be employed to denote different kinds of human or even non-human groupings that were distinguished according to certain common characteristics. The combination of *genos* or *ethnos* with an ethnonym, however, was a standardized form to conceptualize a people. In this regard, it is important to point out that both terms were used interchangeably by Byzantine authors to designate communities of common kinship and shared cultural markers, with or without centralized political organization, but also larger collectivities that were subdivided into various ethnies (e.g. *Latinon genos*).

If we turn, now, to the conceptualization of the Byzantine, i.e. Roman, community in the historiography of the period after the cultural and territorial transformation of the seventh century, it is noteworthy that Byzantine authors of both chronicles and histories avoided the designation of the eastern Romans as *genos* or *ethnos*. In the historiographical texts of the late eighth, ninth and tenth centuries, the term *Rhomaion ethnos* is fully absent in a contemporary sense,⁵⁰ whereas the term *Rhomaion genos* is testified only once in the history of Theophanes Continuatus (mid-tenth century). Instead, the predominant mode of contradistinction referred to the juxtaposition of the realm of Roman rule (*Rhomaion arche*, *Rhomaion basileia*) or, in the least cases, the Roman imperial polity (*Rhomaion politeia*)⁵¹ with a foreign *ethnos* or *genos*. This predominant terminological stance in early-medieval Byzantine historiography seems to be interrelated with the official vision of the Roman community as a political entity that was demarcated by the boundaries of imperial authority in elite imagery. A closer look at the content of the term *Rhomaion genos* in the single case that this is used in the discourse of Theophanes Continuatus is indicative.

The report concerns a statement of emperor Theophilus (829–842) that the *Rhomaion genos* was honoured and admired by all peoples (*ethne*) due to its superior knowledge.⁵² In a similar context in another part of the text, the author refers to those things that made the *Rhomaion basileia* (Roman rule) admirable and caused

⁵⁰ There is only one reference to *Rhomaion ethnos* in the ninth century chronicle of George Monachos that refers to the pagan Romans of the time of Christ; cf. George Monachos, *Chronicon*, ed. de Boor, vol. 1, 318, l. 16.

⁵¹ On the political territorial aspect of the term *politeia*, see Magdalino 2013, 39; cf. Sode 1994, 160–161.

⁵² Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bekker, 190, ll. 18–21.

the awe of foreign people.⁵³ The semantically overlapping use of the terms *Rhomaion genos* and *Rhomaion basileia* in similar contexts in the text indicates that the employment of the former term was hardly intended to downgrade the Roman community to the image of community of common kinship equally to the barbarian peoples (*ethne*) outside the boundaries of the imperial polity. It rather seems to be referring to the politically and culturally superior ruling *genos* of Constantinople – New Rome, whose authority circumscribed the boundaries of the Roman community as the boundaries between civility and barbarity. This is further supported by the author's reference to emperor Romanos II as the ruler of peoples (*ethne*) in the text.⁵⁴ This reference reflects a common topos of Byzantine political ideology that was a product of the Byzantine approach to the Roman community's historical past. According to this, the imperial rule of Rome had united the various peoples (*ethne*) of the Oecumene under its pacifying and civilizing political yoke.⁵⁵

It is in this ideological context that one needs to evaluate the absence of a full-blown image of east Roman ethnicity from early-medieval Byzantine historiography. In Byzantine discourse, the ethnic content of the terms *genos* or *ethnos* when it came to the conceptualization of foreign peoples (e.g. *ethnos Armenion*) is demonstrated by the complementary notion of someone being a member of the community by descent (e.g. *Armenios to genos*). Conversely, the early-medieval vision of Roman peoplehood was not underlined by the notion of Romanness by descent (*Rhomaioi to genos*). A notorious example provides the story of Emperor Basil I, the founder of the longest imperial dynasty in Byzantium. Even though he was a native of the empire from the region of Thrace, the histories of this period, including his biography (*Vita Basilii*) which was a part of the historiographical corpus of Theophanes Continuatus and was written by order (if not by the hand) of his grandson Emperor Constantine VII, present him as Armenian by origin.⁵⁶

Apart from the fictitious story about this emperor's noble descent from the regnal family of the Arsacids, Basil's family origin probably went back to the large number of Armenians that had been transferred by Constantine V (741–775) from the eastern frontier to Thrace⁵⁷. This means that Basil belonged to the third generation of Armenians and therefore he should be considered as fully integrated into the local culture of Byzantine Thrace.⁵⁸ His extraordinary course of social ascent from a simple Roman subject of Armenian background to a member of the Constantinopolitan élite,⁵⁹ and finally to emperor of the Romans provides an insight into the various strategies of

⁵³ Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bekker, 95, l.8, ll. 19–96.

⁵⁴ Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bekker, 473, l. 4.

⁵⁵ Cf. George Monachos, *Chronicon*, ed. de Boor, vol. 1, 296, ll. 8–16; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Narratio de imagine Edessena* 4, ed. von Dobschütz; Id., *De thematibus*, ed. Pertusi, I, 8–21.

⁵⁶ *Vita Basilii Imperatoris* 2, ll. 1–3, ed. and trans. Ševcenko, 10.

⁵⁷ Lilie 1976, 248–249; Ditten 1993, 184–186.

⁵⁸ Cf. Lilie 2012, 306–307.

⁵⁹ Cf. Beck 1965, 6–12.

identification and contradistinction of people within a social order, in which the élite vision of Roman peoplehood, i. e. of a Roman political community marginalized issues of indigenouness and ethnic descent.

The author of his *Vita* reports that Basil, as an already fully integrated member of the imperial court, had strong bonds of friendship with the patrician Constantine due to their common Armenian origin.⁶⁰ This discourse of ethno-cultural ties as a part of the social identity of two well-aculturated members of the Constantinopolitan élite was by no means intended to dispute their Roman identity, i. e. their principal self-identification as Romans and their loyalty to the political culture of New Rome, the degree of which was primarily conditioned by a person's position in the hierarchical Roman social order and assimilation to the Roman hegemonic discourse. Nonetheless, their classification as members of a demarcated ethno-cultural collectivity within the Roman body politic is rather indicative of a social reality of cultural diversity among the masses of common Roman subjects.

The ideological disposition of the early-medieval Byzantine élite that did not seek to bind Romanness as a political discourse to an exclusive image of Roman peoplehood based on common descent and shared historic cultural markers provides a useful point of departure to interpret the use of terminology about the eastern Romans in this period that bears strong ethnic connotations. In the beginning of the reign of emperor Michael II (820–829), the sources report on the rebellion of the sub-general of the division (*thema*) *Anatolikon* Thomas and, in a typical fashion, designate the three-year war between him and the emperor as an *emphylios polemos* (internal armed conflict).⁶¹ This was due to the fact that his rebellion was aimed at the imperial throne, which he claimed as a Roman officer relying on the loyalty of Roman units next to allied foreign forces. Considering that the literary meaning of the term *emphylios* is 'within the same race', whereas the term *phylon* (race) was often used as a synonym of the term *ethnos* by Byzantine authors,⁶² it is noteworthy that the author highlights Thomas' Slavic origin, even though he was a native of the empire from Asia Minor.⁶³

This choice of identity discourse is most telling about the Byzantine use of the term *emphylios* as well as of other terms that bore connotations of common kinship, such as *homophylos* (of the same race) or *homoethnes* (of the same people), when these terms were employed to refer to Roman subjects. Despite an apparent higher degree of cultural homogeneity in the post-seventh-century empire's heartlands due to the predominance of the Christian religion and the Greek language, the Byzan-

60 *Vita Basilii Imperatoris* 12, ll. 24–27, ed. and trans. Ševcenko, 48; Genesius, *Basileiai*, ed. Lesmüller/Werner/Thurn, 4, l. 24; John Scylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, Basil I, ed. Thurn, 115

61 Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bekker, 49, ll. 20–21.

62 Cf. Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnika*, ed. Meineke, 675, ll. 1–2. The word *emphylios* originates from the word *phylon*, which meant the same as the word *ethnos*: *phylon* is the *ethnos*, which stems from *phyle* (tribe/race) or of which *phyle* originates. Combined become *emphylos* and *emphylios*.

63 Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bekker, 50, ll. 19–21.

tine notion of *emphylios polemos* (internal armed conflict) was not informed by the image of a people of common ethnic origin. Instead, it was used to conceptualize the participants' regnal status as Roman subjects and their identity of loyalty to the political culture of Constantinople's centralized imperial rule, which was underlined by a common religious background.

It is against this dominant vision of regnal Romanness that the deprecatory characterization of Thomas as a barbarian in the text of Theophanes Continuatus needs to be measured.⁶⁴ Thomas' barbarian identity cannot be considered to refer to geopolitical foreignness, for he was a Roman officer born and raised in the empire that claimed the throne as Roman. Moreover, it cannot be attributed to a generic stance of Constantinopolitan historiography towards Roman subjects of Slavic origin as racially or culturally inferior, for in the same text we find references to the Slavic origin of Roman officials at the imperial court that have no similar deprecatory character.⁶⁵ Therefore, the rebel's denunciatory characterization as a barbarian in historiographical hindsight seems rather to have resulted from his humble social origin, as the son of ignoble Slavic parents, in relation to his relevant lack of full acculturation to the dominant culture of the Roman élite.⁶⁶ As opposed to the previous case of Basil I who, even though of humble social origin as well, had managed to become a full member of the Constantinopolitan élite before usurping the throne, Thomas had worked his way up into the hierarchy of the Byzantine social order through a career in the army – the main means for illiterate or semi-illiterate persons of lower social status to claim a share of the Roman discourse of power. The stance of Constantinopolitan historiography towards him provides an insight into the exclusive function of élite culture within a homogenizing political discourse. Moreover, it points to the differentiated potential for, and degree of, acculturation of the members of the empire's various ethno-linguistic and/or ethno-religious collectivities to the dominant Constantinopolitan culture.

For the emergence of a full-blown image of eastern Roman ethnicity in Byzantine historiography, one needs to wait until the late-eleventh century. John Scylitzes, writing probably in the late 1170s, is the first Byzantine historiographer to make use of the notion of a person being Roman by birth (*Rhomaïos to genos*) for a native of the empire's heartland.⁶⁷ This discourse reappears then in the historiographical

⁶⁴ Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bekker, 53, ll. 1–2.

⁶⁵ Cf. the neutral reference to the Slavic origin of Damianos, a patrician and *parakoimomenos* (chamberlain) of Emperor Michael III; Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bekker, 234, ll. 7–9.

⁶⁶ Cf. the semi barbarian status attributed by Constantinopolitan authors to Emperor Phocas (602–610), who usurped the throne as a humble centurion; Theophylact Simocatta, *Historiae* 8, 10, 4, ed. de Boor/Wirth, 303.

⁶⁷ The reference concerns a Byzantine monk named Methodios that was hired by the Bulgar ruler Boris as a painter; John Scylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, Michael III, 7 ll. 71–75, ed. Thurn, 91: 'ἀπλήστως ἔχων οὗτος πρὸς τὰ κυνηγέσια, καὶ βουλόμενος τούτοις ἐντροφᾶν μὴ μόνον ὅτε πρὸς θήραν ἐξίοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτε σχολάζοι, διὰ ζωγραφίας ἐντροφᾶν τοῖς τοιούτοις, οἶκον δημιουργήσας νέον Με

works of John Kinnamos and Niketas Choniates in the late twelfth century,⁶⁸ where it is combined with a digressing image regarding the boundaries of the Roman community. As opposed to the normative view of the historiography of the previous centuries, which was determined by the fluctuating boundaries of imperial authority of New Rome, now the eastern Romans were also envisaged in different and more exclusive terms as a group of common kinship and shared cultural markers, whose members needed not be subjects of the *politeia*, i. e. of the Constantinopolitan emperor's realm.⁶⁹ This is indicated by the designation as Roman in Constantinopolitan historiography of indigenous Greek-speaking Christian populations in the territories of Asia Minor that were outside the radically contracted Roman realm of the emperor of Constantinople.⁷⁰

However, the gradually emerging ethnic vision of eastern Romanness stood in contradiction with regnal Romanness as an inclusive political discourse of loyalty to the centralized rule of the imperial city-state of New Rome and its emperor.⁷¹ The definitive disintegration of the centralized imperial rule of Constantinople in 1204 sealed the consolidation of an image of a politically fragmented Roman ethnic group.⁷² This development was complemented by a process of renegotiation of the élite's view of the eastern Roman community's past. The multiplying statements of educated élite members that linked the *Rhomaioi* to the Ancient Greeks as bearers of their historic culture, which culminated in the temporary salience of a myth of Hellenic descent in the court of the so-called successor-state of Nicaea in the mid-thirteenth century, bear witness to the configuration of a hybrid version of Roman ethnic identity in late Byzantium.⁷³

θόδιόν τινα μοναχὸν Ῥωμαῖον τὸ γένος, ζωγράφον τὴν τέχνην, ἐκέλευσεν ἱστορίας πληρῶσαι τὸ οἶκμα'.

68 See three references in John Kinnamos, *Epitome*, ed. Meineke, 56, 251 and one reference in Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. van Dieten, 37, 190.

69 In the previous centuries, Byzantine historiography used Roman discourse to designate people outside the limits of the empire mainly for prisoners of war (usually Roman soldiers), but not for indigenous populations of territories that represented former parts of the Roman realm. The main identity link between those populations and the empire was provided by the common Christian religion.

70 John Kinnamos, *Epitome*, ed. Meineke, 22, 63, 296; cf. also a similar reference in Anna Komnena, *Alexias* XI, 8, 2, ed. Reinsch/Kambylis, 346.

71 Stouraitis 2014, 215–216.

72 G. Page 2008.

73 Koder 2003, 310–313; Angelov 2005, 299–303; Stouraitis 2014, 212–222.

Rosamond McKitterick

‘Romanness’ and Rome in the early Middle Ages

With all the work in recent years on identity and identity formation it has become customary to explore identity in terms of processes of identification made by individuals, social groups or large heterogeneous communities. This has entailed the analysis of perceptions of difference on the part of specific social, political, and religious communities.¹ Identity matters at the interface between the individual and society, where social roles, cultural language and political integration all need to be defined. As the preface to the *Texts and Identities* volume stated nearly ten years ago:

Texts not only reflect ethnic, social, [religious] and cultural identities; they contribute to the creation of “strategies of distinction”. They give meaning to social practice and are often intended to inspire, guide, change or prevent action directly or indirectly. The written texts that are transmitted to us are therefore traces of social practice and of its changes, not only in a merely descriptive way, but also as part of a cultural effort to shape the present by means of restructuring the past.²

Identity, although ostensibly easily defined at a basic level as a sense of self, or self-definition, becomes visible to historians because in practice it is often expressed, received and promoted collectively. Yet that very collective or social element makes identity far more difficult to pin down, and cannot necessarily be retrieved from a specific piece, or even a single category, of evidence.

Historians of the early medieval period, therefore, have focused on particular texts and their contexts, and demonstrated that the texts were created in order actively to articulate as well as to form identity.³ Such texts could also shape memory and an understanding of a shared past in ways that impinged on the sense of identity, as well as the ways that identity was expressed, within a group.⁴ Thus representations of that shared past are keys to the self-identification of both individuals and groups.⁵ Yet perceptions of identity and texts that contributed to self-identification could change over time. Consequently, changes in texts in the course of transmission have the potential to yield traces of alterations in cultural or political contexts. Texts of all kinds, therefore, but especially historical narratives, cannot be regarded as passive reflections of identity but constitute both an active means of creating and shaping identity and vehicles for the plurality of voices of the past. Such texts are an

1 Pohl 1998a; Pohl/Reimitz 1998; Corradini/Diesenberger/Reimitz 2003; Miles 1999.

2 De Jong/McKitterick/Pohl/Wood 2005, 12.

3 Pohl 2001; Reimitz 2015a; Gantner/McKitterick/Meeder 2015.

4 See McKitterick 2004, 2006, 2015a.

5 Pohl/Heydemann 2013a and 2013b.

integral part of the past realities we all attempt to reconstruct, but they offer a plurality of interpretations too, not least those written after an event and as a record or representation of the memory of it. The differences between such versions of the past are just as interesting and important, in terms of contemporary perceptions at the time of any text's production, as the reality of the past on which they disagree. Further, versions of the past were undoubtedly constructed to achieve particular aims,⁶ and these aims too need to be identified, as well as the means of achieving them.

All these general points and caveats can, and should, be applied to our understanding of 'Romanness' and the ways it may be mirrored in historical narratives. Yet the question of what the 'Romans' or 'according to the Roman way of doing things' meant to people at the same or different times can obviously be answered in a variety of ways. One obvious reason for this is the great diversity of the Latin language described, among others, by Isidore of Seville, for words, as vehicles of particular expressions of self-identity have their own literary and historical contexts in terms of linguistic usage.⁷ Another is that in the course of the fourth century being 'Roman' also acquired the extra element of being Christian.⁸

Many of these different manifestations of 'Romanness' are considered in this volume. My own proposition in this paper is that Roman identity in the early Middle Ages may well have had a residue of ethnic understanding in it, but that it was transformed in the early Middle Ages into a composite identity in which religious, civic, and historical elements are equally important. A further proposition is that one crucial text that helped to create this understanding both within and beyond Rome was the *Liber Pontificalis*.⁹ That text itself provides us with the key to how such a transformation was effected within the city. The *Liber Pontificalis* functioned as one of a number of complementary texts that defined, expressed and broadcast Romanness within and beyond Rome.¹⁰ It also built substantially and deliberately on the clear presentation, from Livy onwards, of religion as a major element of Roman identity.¹¹

In this paper, therefore, I shall focus not simply on the importance of the *Liber Pontificalis* in relation to Roman identity, but on one particular topic within that text, namely the liturgy, and how Roman ritual and Roman liturgical texts were represented as intrinsic elements of Roman identity by the *Liber Pontificalis* authors. This is a different topic from the social function of the liturgy within Rome in the early Middle Ages, insofar as this can be reconstructed in anything resembling a reliable chrono-

⁶ McKitterick 2004, 3.

⁷ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* IX, 6, ed. Lindsay; Henderson 2007, and compare Walter Pohl in this volume.

⁸ Pohl/Heydemann 2013b; Engen 1997.

⁹ *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne (hereafter LP I and II).

¹⁰ McKitterick 2015 and forthcoming. See also Gantner 2015.

¹¹ Livy, *Ab urbe condita* V.52.2, 174–175, and see Conybeare 1999; McKitterick 2006, 56. See also Yitzhak Hen in this volume.

logical sequence of development.¹² With respect to the development of the liturgy, musicologists as well as historians and liturgical scholars have contributed important studies, not least on the stationary liturgy of Rome.¹³ The *Liber Pontificalis*' representation of the liturgy, furthermore, needs to be seen in the context of the extant evidence for the production and dissemination of liturgical texts both within and out from Rome.

Liturgy in the *Liber Pontificalis*

To appreciate the way references function within the *Liber Pontificalis*, it is necessary briefly to set out some basic details as well as remaining uncertainties concerning the compilation of this remarkable text. The *Liber Pontificalis* is the substantial and hugely influential history of the popes from St Peter to the end of the ninth century in the form of serial biography, that is, a succession of accounts of the deeds of each pope from St Peter, the first bishop of Rome to Pope Stephen V, the 112th bishop. This Petrine chronology is an innovation, and is consolidated in each life with a note of each pope's name, origin and father, and the secular rulers of the time (emperors, kings or consuls), the length of the pope's reign in years, months and days, and at the end a record of the length of time before the next bishop in the succession took his place. Indeed, the entire structure of each biography is highly formulaic, though the length can vary greatly. Depending on the availability of relevant information and the particular author's selection of detail, there is an account of the pope's career before his elevation, his election, his political actions, innovations, endowments and building activity, death, burial, and the number of ordinations he performed of bishops, priests and deacons.

As is well known, the *Liber Pontificalis* was put together in stages, most probably by writers within the papal administration.¹⁴ The consensus in accordance with Geertman's work is that the first section from St Peter to Pope Silverius was produced c. 535, though Mommsen was inclined to see the *Liber Pontificalis* as first produced in the seventh century.¹⁵ An extension narrating the lives of the popes from Vigilius to Honorius was added between 625 and 638, or possibly in relation to the Lateran Council of 649, and Life 73 of Severinus contains what are judged to be eye-witness accounts. The biographies thereafter were continued, possibly sometimes in small batches, until the early eighth century,¹⁶ and thereafter on a life-by-life basis up to the end of the ninth century. They were composed by a variety of contemporary au-

¹² Jeffery 2013; Romano 2014.

¹³ See LP I, trans. Davis, *The book of Pontiffs* 1, xxv xxvii and Baldovin 1987; McKinnon 2000; Dyer 1993, 2007, 2008; Rankin 2010; C. Page 2010; Maloy 2010.

¹⁴ LP, ed. Duchesne; *LP I*, ed. Mommsen; Geertman 1975, 2003; Bougard 2009; Gantner 2013b.

¹⁵ Geertman 2009; McKittrick 2009, 2011.

¹⁶ McKittrick 2016.

thors, soon after the subject's death and sometimes even while they were still alive. In the eighth-century section, for example, each of Lives 91–94 had a different author: but a single author appears to have been responsible for Lives 95, 96 and 97 chapters 1–44, that is, Paul I, Stephen III and Hadrian I. Yet another author completed the life of Hadrian to 795. To add to the complexity, no fewer than three different recensions have been identified of Life 94 (Stephen II), the original compiled in Rome; a Frankish recension also probably compiled in Rome with many interpolations and improvements of the grammar and style; and a Lombard recension in which the hostility to the Lombards was markedly toned down.¹⁷ The coverage for the ninth-century is progressively intermittent and very inconsistent, especially between 817–891. Again a number of authors have been posited, including an alleged intervention by Anastasius Bibliothecarius¹⁸ and a reworking of the Life of Nicholas I by John the Deacon (author of the *Vita Gregorii Magni*). There are no Lives extant for the period from 870–886, and the fragment for Stephen V (886–891) only covers his first year in office. The manuscript distribution reflects extensive transmission of the text up to Life 94 in Italy and Francia, but increasingly few manuscripts of the later lives, so that only six manuscripts contain the Life of Leo III (life 98), only five include Lives 101, 102 and 103, four preserve Lives 102, 105, 107–8, and only three witness to Lives 106 and 112.

It is self-evident that a number of different authorial, as well as different papal, perspectives on the history of the popes and of Rome may have been incorporated into the *Liber Pontificalis* during the three hundred years of its production and composition. Despite this sequence of authors, enormous efforts were clearly made to give the *Liber Pontificalis* a unity of structure and topics covered as well as narrative consistency. Whoever was assigned the duty appears to have attempted to follow the template of the existing text.¹⁹ As well as changes in emphasis there were efforts both to build on and enhance themes voiced in the first section.

As I have argued elsewhere, the *Liber Pontificalis* offers a distinctively Christian presentation of the Roman past designed to change its audience's understanding of Roman history. This is especially the case with the pioneering first section covering the first six hundred years of papal history. The *Liber Pontificalis* reshaped the history of Rome both by setting it within a new chronological framework from the time of St Peter, and by appropriating the original Roman historiographical genre of serial imperial biography. The most influential models for the sixth-century compilers and authors were not the *passiones* of martyrs, or even the Bible,²⁰ but rather the serial biographies of Roman emperors, not least those by Suetonius, Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, and the *Historia augusta*. The *Liber Pontificalis*, in short, is Christian

¹⁷ Gantner 2013b, 2014a.

¹⁸ Arnaldi 1963a.

¹⁹ Noble 1985b; Bougard 2009; Gantner 2013b.

²⁰ Deliyannis 1997.

and Christianised Roman history, and constructs the popes as the rulers of Rome, replacing the emperors.²¹

The way in which the *Liber Pontificalis* constructs a history of the liturgy is a fundamental element of the narrative. The secular imperial biographies referred to above had afforded space to the emperor's devotion to religious matters. The *Liber Pontificalis* not only Christianises the religious matters themselves but actually creates a history of the Christian liturgy which is effectively orchestrated by the pope himself. This construction of the liturgy has four strands: the liturgical cycle; the content of the liturgy, especially the mass; the accompanying ritual or *ordines*; and the creation of a clerical hierarchy responsible for the celebration of the liturgy and observance of the liturgical calendar. Some of the provisions concern the organization of the liturgy and clergy in Rome, whereas others are of more universal application. Although the veracity of the attribution of particular developments to very early bishops of Rome, and indeed the entire chronology of development created by the authors, is very suspect, the regulation of the liturgy emerges as an essential aspect of the pope's role. The introduction of the Lenten period of fasting before Easter, the celebration of a night mass on the Lord's birthday, and the singing of the Gloria before the offering of the Eucharist in the mass, for example, are all credited to Pope Telesphorus c. 130.²² Pope Victor was allegedly emulating Pope Eleutherius in saying Easter should be on a Sunday,²³ and to Pope Celestine (422–432) is allocated the issuing of a decree that 'before the sacrifice the 150 Psalms of David should be performed antiphonally by everyone; this used not to be done, but only St Paul's Epistle and the holy Gospel were recited'.²⁴ Instances of local provision of the liturgy are the action of Simplicius who 'fixed the weekly turns at St Peter's, St Paul's and St Lawrence's so that priests should remain there for penitents and for baptism – from region 3 at St Lawrence's, region 1 at St Paul's, regions 6–7 at St Peter's',²⁵ or John III, who instituted that 'every Sunday at the martyr's cemeteries the offering, the vessels, and the lighting should be serviced from the Lateran'.²⁶ There is a clear understanding of the historical re-enactment of liturgical performance. Of Innocent I, for exam-

²¹ McKitterick 2009, 2011.

²² LP I, Telesphorus (Life 9), ed. Duchesne, 129.

²³ LP I, Victor (Life 15), ed. Duchesne, 137.

²⁴ LP I, Celestine (Life 45), ed. Duchesne, 230: *ut psalmi David CL ante sacrificium psalli antephana tim ex omnibus, quod ante non fiebat, nisi tantum epistula beati Pauli recitabatur et sanctum Evangelium*; trans. Davis, *The book of Pontiffs* 1, 35.

²⁵ LP I, Simplicius (Life 49), ed. Duchesne, 249: *Hic constituit ad sanctum Petrum apostolum et ad sanctum Paulum apostolum et ad sanctum Laurentium martyrem ebdomadas ut presbyteri manerent, propter penitentes et baptismum: regio III ad sanctum Laurentium, regio prima ad sanctum Paulum, regio VI vel septima ad sanctum Petrum*; trans. Davis, *The book of Pontiffs* 1, 40.

²⁶ LP I, John III (Life 63), ed. Duchesne, 305: *Hic instituit ut oblationem et amula vel luminaria in easdem cymiteria per omnes dominicas de Lateranis ministraretur*; trans. Davis, *The book of Pontiffs* 1, 58.

ple, is said that he decreed a fast on Saturdays, since 'it was during a Saturday that the Lord had lain in the tomb and the disciples fasted'.²⁷

It is striking, despite the overall importance of including papal contributions to liturgical development, how sparingly such comments are made in the two earlier sections of the *Liber Pontificalis*, that is, the portion composed in the sixth century and the seventh-century continuations. They could be said to acquire greater significance in consequence, for topics such as the decision to celebrate Easter on a Sunday, the creation of Lent, and the Christmas Day mass are basic elements of the liturgical cycle, and the inauguration of 29th June as the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul by Pope Cornelius is an essential part of the city's Christian identity.²⁸ In the first section of the *Liber Pontificalis* only ten out of the first sixty-one popes made contributions to the liturgical year, seven add to the contents of the liturgy and nine determine *ordines* of one kind or another. It is to Symmachus that the introduction of the singing of the Gloria on every Sunday and martyr's feast day is attributed, whereas, as mentioned above, the Life of Telesphorus seems to indicate that hitherto it had only been sung on Christmas night.²⁹ Almost no popes between the mid sixth and the late seventh century have much recorded concerning the liturgy at all. Those that do, such as John III, Gregory I, Honorius and Sergius I, make very specific provision for liturgical commemoration in Rome itself in relation to St Peter and the enhancement of the devotion to the Cross. Sergius I's finding of a fragment of the True Cross in St Peter's basilica prompts the observation that 'this is kissed and worshipped by all Christian people on the day of the Exaltation of the Cross in the basilica of the Saviour called Constantinian' (i.e. the Lateran).³⁰ It was Sergius too who is credited with the introduction of the singing of the *Agnus Dei* into the mass.³¹

It is from the eighth century onwards that there is a marked increase in the records of papal contributions to the provision of liturgical feasts, the inauguration of masses and vigils, the endowment of new oratories and monasteries charged with the celebration of the masses.³² Many of these are of course related to the development of the martyrs' shrines within the city which is so well-documented a feature of the religious life of Rome.³³ Some of the new developments are orchestrated as emulation of the practice in St Peter's basilica, such as Gregory III's monastery at S. Cri-

27 LP I, Innocent I (Life 42), ed. Duchesne, 222: *Hic constituit sabbatum ieiunium celebrari, quia sabbato Dominus in sepulchro positus est et discipuli ieiunaverunt*; trans. Davis, *The book of Pontiffs* 1, 32.

28 LP I, Cornelius (Life 22), ed. Duchesne, 150.

29 LP I, Symmachus (Life 53), ed. Duchesne, 263.

30 LP I, Sergius (Life 86, c. 10), ed. Duchesne, 374: *die Exaltationis sanctae Crucis in basilicam Salvatoris quae appellatur Constantiniana osculatur ac adoratur*; trans. Davis, *The book of Pontiffs* 1, 83, and see Ó Carragáin 2013, 185–187.

31 LP I, Sergius (Life 86, c. 14), ed. Duchesne, 376, and see Romano 2014, 71–73.

32 Costambeys/Leyser 2007.

33 Thacker 2007.

sogono 'to perform God's praises, as arranged for daytime and night time, just like the offices at St Peter's'.³⁴

The maintenance of a sense of historical continuity and commemoration is implicit in all this substantial provision, but it is articulated most concisely in the Life of Stephen III in the statement that 'this blessed prelate Stephen was one who maintained church tradition, so he renewed the ancient ritual of the church for the various grades of clergy. He laid down that every Sunday the seven cardinal bishops [that is the sees of Ostia, Porto, Silva Candida (S. Rufina), Albano, Veltri, Galbi and Palestrina (or Mentana?)] in their weekly turns, who are on duty in the Saviour's church should celebrate the ceremonies of Mass on St Peter's altar and recite 'Glory be to God on high'.³⁵ Similarly in Leo III's pontificate it is stated that 'according to ancient tradition the litany had been announced in advance by a notary of the holy Roman church at the church of Christ's martyr St George on his feastday, and all the men and women devoutly crowded to the church of Christ's martyr St Laurence in Lucina to join in at the gathering announced to take place there'.³⁶ Ninth-century records of papal innovations in the liturgy are comparatively meagre, with only Leo III ordering litanies for three days before Ascension day and Leo IV instituting the octave day of God's blessed mother's assumption which had never before been kept at Rome.³⁷

On the other hand, the pope's religious observance and liturgical commemoration become important ways in which the pope's functions are displayed and which act as scene settings for some of the pope's processions and movements within the city, as well as his meetings with secular rulers. The Life of Hadrian notes how Charlemagne was welcomed with shouts of acclamation and praise and 'the whole clergy and all God's servants the monks chanted praise to God and His Excellency, loudly acclaiming: Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord'.³⁸ Similarly, in Sergius II's reign (844–847), when Louis II was only a mile or so away from the

34 LP I, Gregory III (Life 92, c. 9), ed. Duchesne, 418: *ad persolvendas Deo laudes in eundem titulum, diurnis atque nocturnis temporibus ordinatum, secundum instar officiorum ecclesie beati Petri apostoli*; trans. Davis, *The book of Pontiffs* 2, 24. For the wider context of Gregory III's innovations see Mordek 1988 and Scholz 2006, 36–45, esp. 40.

35 LP I, Stephen III (Life 96, c. 27), ed. Duchesne, 478: *Erat enim hisdem praefatus beatissimus praesul ecclesiae traditionis observator; unde et pristinum ecclesiae in diversis clericatus honoribus renovavit ritum. Hic statuit ut omni dominico die a septem episcopis cardinalibus ebdomadariis, qui in ecclesia Salvatoris observant, missarum solemniam super altare beati Petri celebraretur et 'Gloria in excelsis Deo' ediceretur*; trans. Davis, *The book of Pontiffs* 2, 102.

36 LP II, Leo III (Life 98, c. 11), ed. Duchesne, 4: *et sicut olitanam traditionem a notario sanctae Romanae ecclesiae in ecclesia beati Georgii Christi martyris in eius natale ipsa letania praedicata fuisset, omnes tam viri quamque femine devota mente catervatim in ecclesia beati Christi martyris Laurenti quae appellatur Lucine, ubi et collecta praedicata inherat occurrerent*; trans. Davis, *The book of Pontiffs* 2, 184.

37 LP II, Leo III (Life 98, c. 43), ed. Duchesne, 12 and LP II, Leo IV, (Life 105, c. 26), ed. Duchesne, 112.

38 LP I, Hadrian (Life 97, c. 38), ed. Duchesne, 497: *laudem Deo et eius excellentiae decantates uni versus clerus et cuncti religiosi Dei famuli, extensa voce adclamantes: 'Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini' et cetera*; trans. Davis, *The book of Pontiffs* 2, 139.

city of Rome, 'he sent all the *scholae* of the militia, along with the *patroni*, all chanting praises worthy of the noble king, and with the other most learned Greeks of the militia, chanting the imperial praises; with these sweet sounds of praise they gloriously welcomed the king'.³⁹

The use of liturgy to mark a particular occasion, celebrate a political victory of significance, or bring about a beneficial reversal of fortune is something one only finds in the *Liber Pontificalis* from the seventh century onwards and again, very much more frequently, in the eighth- and ninth-century Lives. Pelagius attempted by liturgical means of a procession with hymns and spiritual chants 'to satisfy the entire populace and *plebs* that he had caused [his predecessor] Vigilius no harm'.⁴⁰ Of Eugenius I it was said that the people and clergy would not even let him finish celebrate mass in the basilica [of Santa Maria Maggiore] 'until he had promised them that he would permanently reject the synodic letter sent by Patriarch Peter of Constantinople'.⁴¹ Of Adeodatus' reign it was observed that it was 'only because the Lord was placated by the Litanies which took place every day that men were able to thresh the grain and store it in the granaries'.⁴² The Life of Agatho recorded that John Bishop of Porto celebrated a mass in Latin on Sunday the Octave of Easter in the church of Santa Sophia in Constantinople ' [...] and with one heart and voice they made their acclamations in praise for the victories of the pious emperors, this too in Latin'.⁴³ Stephen II is said to have laid down 'for the province's safety and that of all Christians [...] that all earlier negligence should be set aside and every Saturday a litany should take place'.⁴⁴ Perhaps the most famous account of the liturgy being invoked, however, is the elaborate blessing of the new extension of the walls of the city built by Pope Leo IV. The *Liber Pontificalis* account invokes both the clerical hierarchy and their litanies, chanting and prayers as essential buttresses of the physical fabric of the new walls 'that this city might both be preserved for ever by Christ's aid and endure safe and unshaken from every incursion of its enemies by the guard-

³⁹ LP II, Sergius II (Life 104, c. 9), ed. Duchesne, 88: *universas militiae scolae una cum patronis dixerit, dignas nobilissimo regi laudes omnes canentes, aliosque militiae edoctissimos Grecos, imperatorias laudes decantantes, cum dulcisonis earundem laudum vocibus, ipsum regem glorifice susceperunt*; trans. Davis, *The book of Pontiffs* 3, 78.

⁴⁰ LP I, Pelagius (Life 62, c. 2), ed. Duchesne, 303: *et sic satisfecit cuncto populo et plebi quia nullum malum peregrisset contra Vigilius*; trans. Davis, *The book of Pontiffs* 1, 58.

⁴¹ LP I, Eugenius I (Life 77, c. 2), ed. Duchesne, 341: *nisi promississet his ipse pontifex minime eam aliquando suscipere*; trans. Davis, *The book of Pontiffs* 1, 69.

⁴² Adeodatus (Life 79, c. 5), ed. Duchesne, 347: *Et nisi per letanias quas cotidie fiebant Dominus est propitiatus ut potuissent homines triturare vel in horreis frumenta recondere*; trans. Davis, *The book of Pontiffs* 1, 71.

⁴³ LP I, Agatho (Life 81, c. 15), ed. Duchesne, 354: *et omnes unanimiter in laudes et victoriis piissimum imperatorem idem latine vocibus adclarent*; trans. Davis, *The book of Pontiffs* 1, 75.

⁴⁴ LP I, Stephen II (Life 94, c. 13), ed. Duchesne, 443: *Hic beatissimus vir pro salute provinciae et omnium christianorum omni sabbatorum die letaniam, omni postposito neglectu, fieri statuit*; trans. Davis, *The book of Pontiffs* 2, 58.

ianship of all the saints and angels. [...] [at St Peter's] he honourably sang a mass for the safety of the people' (that is, the introit *Salus populi*).⁴⁵

References to music are the rarest of all in the *Liber Pontificalis*, but they are significant for all that. Combined with the similar concentration of entries about other aspects of the liturgy from the late seventh century onwards, and especially in the eighth-century lives, however, this suggests that the incorporation of the liturgy as a facet of papal activity was especially developed by the papal historians of this period onwards. Most references to music are integral parts of the liturgical records I have already discussed, with the conduct of processions being accompanied by 'hymns and spiritual chants' (*cum ymnis et canticis spiritalibus*)⁴⁶, and the chanting of the psalms. The music clearly enhances prayer and supplication and in Hadrian's case is invoked as a form of perpetual commemoration as well. Thus the Life of Paul I specified that he had established a monastery for monks to chant in the Greek manner,⁴⁷ and the second author of the Life of Pope Hadrian stated that the pope had restored the monastery of SS Andrew and Bartholomew and specified that the monks should celebrate the office in two choirs: 'in this way they should diligently chant their psalms of pious praise, re-echoing with chants in hymn-singing and God-pleasing choirs, and render glorious melody to the Lord in this venerable pontiff's name, composing his memorial in song for ever'.⁴⁸ Again the references in the sixth century are particularly thin, apart from the singing of the *Sanctus* ascribed to Xystus I,⁴⁹ the Gloria credited to Telesphorus and Symmachus as already mentioned, and the singing of 150 psalms day and night decreed by Damasus.⁵⁰ As noted above, the *Liber Pontificalis* claims that Celestine added the requirement that they be performed antiphonally.⁵¹ Hardly any popes are praised for their singing: Leo II, Benedict II, Sergius I, possibly Gregory III, Leo III, Paschal I and Sergius II are the only ones so distinguished, mostly in passing references to their training and

⁴⁵ LP II, Leo IV (Life 105, cc. 73–74), ed. Duchesne, 124–125: *ut sepe dicta civitas et Christi conservaretur in aevum auxilio et sanctorum omnium angelorumque praesidio ab universo inimicorum secunda et inperterrita perduraret incursu. [...] ad ecclesiam beati Petri apostoli [...] missa pro salute populi [...] honorifice decantavit*; trans. Davis, *The book of Pontiffs* 3, 142, 143 and note 115.

⁴⁶ LP II, Leo IV (Life 105, c. 72), ed. Duchesne, 124; trans. Davis, *The book of Pontiffs* 3, 141.

⁴⁷ LP I, Paul (Life 95, c. 5), ed. Duchesne, 465.

⁴⁸ LP I, Hadrian (Life 97, c. 68), ed. Duchesne, p. 506: *quatenus piis laudibus naviterque psallentes, hymniferis choris Deique letis resonent cantibus, reddentes Domino glorificos melos pro sepius memorati venerandi pontificis nomen, scilicet in saecula memorialem eius pangentes carminibus*; trans. Davis, *The book of Pontiffs* 2, 157.

⁴⁹ LP I, Xystus I (Life 8), ed. Duchesne, 128.

⁵⁰ LP I, Damasus (Life 39, c. 6), ed. Duchesne, 213.

⁵¹ Above, n. 24.

none of these is before the late seventh century.⁵² The *scola cantorum* is also mentioned only in the Life of Sergius II and Stephen V.⁵³

That liturgy and its performance have become a distinctive mark of papal virtue is also well expressed in the life of Stephen V (885–91), though it should be noted that this Life survives in its earliest extant version in an eleventh-century manuscript from Farfa. Stephen V was described as celebrating the ceremonies of mass night and day and devoting himself to prayer. The Life notes that ‘he never ceased the chanting of the psalms except when he wanted to fulfil the need of the people that called to him, in order to raise up the crushed and help the afflicted’.⁵⁴

Similarly, all the Lives in the *Liber Pontificalis* record the creation of the institutional structure and personnel of the Roman church. There is the formulaic record of how many bishops, priest and deacons were ordained by each bishop of Rome, from Peter onwards, and how these became subject to regular orchestration during the liturgical year. The steady regularisation of ordinations is apparent from the following summary, though the most regular occasion was the Ember days in December.

Papal ordinations in the *Liber Pontificalis*

cf. Ember Days: 3 days Wednesday, Friday and Saturday after each of 13 Dec. (St Lucy), Ash Wednesday, Whitsun/Pentecost and Holy Cross day (14th Sept)

December: Popes 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 52, 54, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 69, 71, [72 ‘December’ a later interpolation], 74, 75, 76, 79, 92, 95, 96, 99, 106.

Ordinations, but no season specified: Popes 2, 55, 67: Sabinian ‘filled the church with clergy’; 68, 70, 73, 77, 78, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 90.

No ordinations recorded: Popes 3, 22, 31, 57, 59, 101, 102, 108 [109 111 no lives!], 112.

Ordinations in December and February: Popes 49 (Simplicius, 468–483), 51 (Gelasius), 53 (Symmachus).

Ordinations in February and March: Pope 56 (Felix IV, 526–530).

Ordinations in Lent (=February) and September: Pope 66 (Gregory I, 590–604).

Ordination on 27th June: Pope 82 (Leo II, 682–683).

⁵² LP I, Leo II (Life 82, c. 1); Benedict II (Life 83, c. 1); Sergius (Life 86, c. 1); Gregory III (Life 92, c. 1), ed. Duchesne, 359, 363, 371, 415. LP II, Leo III (Life 98, c. 1); Paschal (Life 100, c. 1); Sergius II (Life 104, c. 2), ed. Duchesne, 1, 52, 86.

⁵³ LP II, Sergius II (Life 104, c. 2) and Stephen V (Life 112, c. 17), ed. Duchesne, 86, 195, from three manuscripts in the E group (1, 2 and 6) dated to the eleventh, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries respectively; trans. Davis, *The book of Pontiffs* 3, 75 and 306; C. Page 2010, 243–260.

⁵⁴ LP II, Stephen V (Life 112, c. 8), ed. Duchesne, 192: *et numquam psalmodiis cessabat nisi cum utilitatem populi ad se reclamantis perficere cupiebat, ut oppressos sublevaret et afflictis subveniret*; trans. Davis, *The book of Pontiffs* 3, 301.

Ordinations in March: Popes 86 (Sergius I, 687–701), [93 Zacharias, 741–751, interpolation only in MS families B and D], 97 (Hadrian I, 772–795), 98 (Leo III, 795–815), [104 Sergius II, later recension], 107 (Nicholas I, 658–670).

Ordinations in September and June: Pope 91 (Gregory II, 715–731).

Ordinations in December and March: Popes 100 (Pascal I, 817–824), 105 (Leo IV).

Ordinations in March, September and December: Pope 103 (Gregory IV, 828–844).

The *Liber Pontificalis* also documents the organization of the church within the city of Rome, and the process of election of the bishop of Rome himself. These references begin with St Peter. Thus Peter ordained two bishops, Linus and Cletus, to be present in Rome to provide the entire sacerdotal ministry for the people and for visitors; while Peter himself was free to pray and preach, and to teach the people.⁵⁵ Peter, moreover, is credited with ordaining seven deacons, so that the creation of the seven deacons of Rome is given the greatest possible antiquity, though their function is further defined in the Life of Evaristus who divides *tituli* among the priests and ordained seven deacons whose function was given as 'to watch over the bishop when reciting [mass] and safeguard the expression of the truth'.⁵⁶

Clement is credited with organizing the seven regions with notaries, faithful to the church so that each of them 'in his own region could concern himself with careful and diligent investigation into the acts of the martyrs'.⁵⁷ Further, to reinforce the succession of the bishop of Rome from Peter and Christ, Clement is recorded as acting on St Peter's instructions when 'he undertook the pontificate for governing the church, as the cathedra had been handed down and entrusted to him by the Lord Jesus Christ; you will find in the letter written to James how the church was entrusted to him by Peter'.⁵⁸

Such attention to the creation of the ecclesiastical hierarchy is a regularly recurring topic addressed in the Lives. The grades themselves are credited to Pope Gaius at the beginning of the fourth century, and their refinement to Pope Silvester.⁵⁹

55 LP I, Peter (Life 1), ed. Duchesne, 118.

56 LP I, Evaristus (Life 6), ed. Duchesne, 126: *qui custodirent episcopum praedicantem, propter stilum veritatis*; trans. Davis, *The book of Pontiffs* 1, 3.

57 LP I, Clement (Life 4), ed. Duchesne, 123: *qui gestas martyrum sollicitè et curiose, unusquisque per regionem suam, diligenter perquireret*; trans. Davis, *The book of Pontiffs* 1, 3.

58 LP I, Clement (Life 4), ed. Duchesne, 123: *Hic ex praecepto beati Petri suscepit ecclesiae pontificatum gubernandi, sicut ei fuerat a domino Jesu Christo cathedra tradita vel commissa; tamen in epistola quae ad Jacobum scripta est, qualiter ei a beato Petro commissa est ecclesia repperies*; trans. Davis, *The book of Pontiffs* 1, 3.

59 LP I, Gaius (Life 29) and Silvester (Life 34, c. 8), ed. Duchesne, 161, 171–172.

Roman liturgy and identity: The power of texts

It is clear that a particular representation of the history of the liturgy can be found in the pages of the *Liber Pontificalis*. Certainly too the references to liturgy can be seen as part of the narrative strategy of the authors, for they actually intervene in the narrative and provide a ritualised form of comment on actions as well as a reinforcement of them. The Roman historians emerge in the *Liber Pontificalis* as no less creative than their Frankish confrères north of the Alps in this respect. One might compare the Frankish annalists' orchestration of Charlemagne's sacred itinerary. These historians charted Charlemagne's visits to particular saints' burial places to honour their cults, but the annalists also used the liturgy and the ruler's public displays of piety to highlight political occasions and royal demonstrations of royal power.⁶⁰

It is no surprise to find resemblance between Frankish and Roman historians, particularly from the second half of the eighth century, given the efficient circulation of copies of the various redactions of the *Liber Pontificalis* referred to above within the Frankish kingdoms in the early ninth century. The Franks for their part undoubtedly registered and demonstrate their absorption of the presentation of the liturgy and music in the *Liber Pontificalis*. Indeed, they augmented it, as some telling Frankish additions interpolated into both the full texts of, for example, the Lives of St Peter and of Hadrian II, and preserved in various Frankish abridgements extant in eleventh century manuscripts clearly reflect, though further work needs to be done on these and their significance.⁶¹

These empirical findings on the basis of the *Liber Pontificalis* and the Frankish annals may throw light on the wider issue of liturgy's place in medieval historical writing more generally, both in terms of the representation of time, and the way liturgical memory might have enhanced historical imagination. There is of course the wider issue of the essentially historical reenactment within the liturgy itself, but that is not my concern here.

In conclusion, I suggest that references to the liturgy in the *Liber Pontificalis* are more than a narrative strategy. They are an essential means of reshaping Romanness and a sense of identity within the city in a new way, in which the geography of the city, its religious ritual and its rulers are all connected with the cyclical and public religious observance of the citizens. But as I indicated at the outset of my paper, the *Liber Pontificalis*' understanding of history was clearly one that embraced the liturgy as more than a multi-purpose reflector of papal activity and symbol of his control of a major aspect of the Christian church and its religious devotion in both Rome and in Latin Europe as a whole. The popes most often are represented as performing their role as popes in a liturgical setting. Liturgy in the *Liber Pontificalis* increasingly serves as an

⁶⁰ McKitterick 2008, 321–326.

⁶¹ Davis, *The book of Pontiffs* 1, 2 and *The book of Pontiffs* 2, 293–294.

historical anchor as well as an essential reminder and memory of the continuity of the papal institution and the Petrine succession in the *Liber Pontificalis*, especially in the eighth and ninth-century sections. In this sense the pope in the *Liber Pontificalis*' historical representation is at the junction of cyclical liturgical time, which he himself orchestrates, and of linear historical time in which he is an active player. This imposition of Romanness through the liturgy is then complemented by the provision of liturgical texts and *ordines*.⁶² It cannot be stressed enough that the concentration of liturgical emphases in the *Liber Pontificalis* neatly coincides with the creation within Rome of the essential sacramentaries whose production is attested by the Frankish manuscripts extant as well as the issuing of the earliest *ordines*, though a discussion of the full significance of that coincidence must be left for another occasion. Undoubtedly Frankish liturgical composers contributed to the texts we have, but the understanding of the connection with and debt to Rome is also clearly communicated.⁶³ Similarly the Lectionary, based on the patterns of reading for the stationary churches in Rome, established at the end of the seventh century, reached the Frankish kingdoms by the early eighth century and through Gottschalk's thorough presentation of the liturgical cycle created a virtual Rome within the Frankish kingdoms.⁶⁴ The commemorative pattern of liturgical time that is so distinctive a feature of the early Christian church became through the mass, lectionary readings, and *ordines* inextricably associated with Roman liturgical practice, and was thereby a major aspect of Roman identity within the city itself. But because Roman liturgy extended far beyond the Alps and across the Mediterranean, North and Irish seas, many newly converted peoples participated in this very distinctive kind of Romanness, for which the *Liber Pontificalis* similarly widely disseminated, provided both historical context and rationale.

⁶² *Ordines*, ed. Andrieu; see also Vogel 1986.

⁶³ Hen 1995, 2001; *Missale Gothicum*, ed. Rose.

⁶⁴ McKitterick 2013b, 2015b.

Paolo Delogu

The post-imperial Romanness of the Romans

An inquiry concerning the collective identity of the citizens of Rome in the early Middle Ages can conveniently start from the eighth century. Before this date, the post-imperial city had been turned into a peripheral town of the Byzantine Empire, whose importance mainly lay in the fact that it was the see of the pope, one of the patriarchs of the Christian Empire. The populace of Rome was no longer a special body for the imperial administration, nor had it any political participation save its immediate contact with the popes.¹

Things began to change in the first years of the eighth century. When Philippicus Bardanes seized the power in Constantinople, the Roman people refused to receive into the city the insignia of an emperor considered to be a heretic. In the next decades the Romans defended the popes against violence caused by their opposition to the religious and fiscal policies of the empire. But only when the temporal power of the popes was established, the population of Rome assumed a constitutional identity which accompanied and supported the papal sovereignty. When the popes received from Pippin, the Frankish king, political control of the Byzantine provinces in central Italy, including Rome, immediately they endeavoured to create a legal subject which had to become the political body of the new state. In the minds of popes such as Stephen II, Paul I or Hadrian I, the sovereign rights belonged directly to St. Peter, who delegated them to the pope, his vicar; but it was also necessary to have a people who should be not only the flock of the saint, but also act as the institutional support of the new political and administrative organization and as a fundamental part of its state structure. The popes were too deeply rooted in the tradition of imperial Roman law to imagine that a worldly government, such as the one they were going to create, could be founded exclusively on religious and sacramental relationships.

‘The Romans’ were therefore the body politic of the papal state. The term, which previously was used to refer to all the inhabitants of the Byzantine provinces of Italy, came in the second half of the eighth century to refer mainly, if not only, to the citizens of Rome. They were linked to the figure of the pope not only by their shared residence in Rome and their direct involvement in the events of the city, but also by the fact that they were the pope’s electors, together with the clergy of Rome. So they had both a religious and a juridical relationship with the pope. The concept of a *res publica Romanorum*, associated with, but distinct from, the apostolic church, was imme-

Helen Patterson and Paul Roberts have generously helped me with the English translation of this text. To both of them my grateful thanks.

¹ On the history of Rome, 7th 9th centuries: Llewellyn 1973; Noble 1984; Delogu 2001; Dagron 1998; Herbers 1999; Cosentino 2008.

diately established by the popes with Pippin's first donations, to emphasize the state nature of the new order in Rome. In brief it became a *respublica Romana*, where the pope was the lord, but the Romans, as the citizens of Rome, had a share in the public rights connected to the sovereignty over the city and its territory, although not over the entire papal dominions.²

The new political capacity that the Romans acquired in that context was the basis for a new assertion of their identity. In fact, no direct sources inform us about how the Romans represented themselves and their collective personality. Our sources come from foreign observers, and are in general hostile. The Romans are described as proud as they were helpless; additional traits are unrest, avidity and deceit. The bad reputation of the Romans lasted throughout the Middle Ages, and there is a literature about this.³ Dante Alighieri, for instance, in his list of the Italian dialects says that the Romans spoke the most horrendous of all: 'this should come as no surprise, for they also stand out among all Italians for the ugliness of their manners and their outward appearance.'⁴

The bad reputation of the citizens of Rome was at least in part due to their position vis-à-vis the papacy and the empire, the two universal powers of the medieval political cosmos. Both had strong connections with the city of Rome, but their importance extended far beyond it. Consequently, outside of Rome the Romans were considered intruders in the affairs which concerned the universal policies of both the papacy and the empire. They were accused of interfering with, or profiting from, questions that largely exceeded their competence, above all when they tried to take an independent position towards the papacy and/or the empire, something which happened repeatedly during the Middle Ages. St. Bernard of Clairvaux, for instance, described the Romans in no uncertain terms as

an uncouth and churlish people, who cannot be ordered unless they are forced; the greatest experts in doing evil, incapable of doing good. Obnoxious to the earth and to the heavens because they have used violence to both: impious towards God, totally without respect for sacred things; quarrelsome even between themselves, intolerant of their neighbours, inhumane to foreigners. They like no one and are liked by nobody and while they try to be feared by everyone, in reality they should fear everyone.⁵

But this judgment was dictated by the saint's feelings of bitter irritation towards the Romans, who had established a communal regime in the city and kept the popes

² *Respublica Romanorum*; *respublica Romana*: Noble 1984; partly different Delogu 2000b, Delogu 2015.

³ Noble 2013a.

⁴ Dante Alighieri, *De vulgari eloquentia* 1, 11, 2, ed. and trans. Botterill.

⁵ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione* 4, cc. 2–4, PL 182, cols. 773–774.

away from Rome. Shortly before, in an attempt to convince the Romans to submit, Bernard had addressed them as *populus sublimis et illustris* and *populus gloriosus*.⁶

The situation of the Romans was paradoxical also in their relations with the empire and this had first come about when the empire was revived in the west. The Romans had played an essential role when they acclaimed Charlemagne *imperator Romanorum*. According to the imperial Byzantine practice, popular acclamation formally constituted the emperor, and the acclamation of the Romans, more than the papal coronation, was the fundamental act that made Charlemagne an emperor. On this occasion the Romans had acted as though they could dispose of the imperial dignity, replacing the people of Byzantium with the pretext that the empire was then held abusively by a woman. But this presumption of the Romans collided with the fact that Rome had long ceased to be the seat of the universal empire. Charlemagne immediately distinguished between *imperium Romanum* and *imperium Romanorum*, increasingly suppressing the ethnic element in his imperial title.⁷ His successors even tried to bring the Romans under imperial authority, forcing them to swear loyalty. But this claim was at odds with the fact that the Romans were the body politic of the papal state and the co-holder of its public rights. Despite highs and lows in the balance of power, the Romans always considered themselves more as partners than as subjects of the emperor, and sought to define their relationship through treatises which emphasized their legal status.⁸ An expression both legal and symbolic of this relationship is the fact that the Carolingian emperors could only enter the city of Rome with papal authorization and in the pope's company. Their residence was near St. Peter's, outside the city's walls, a fact that demonstrates that their interference with Rome was limited to their religious dealings with the papacy, but did not give them any direct sovereignty over the city and its inhabitants. The pope, not the emperor, was the only sovereign to whom the Romans owed allegiance, and he was a sovereign who strongly defended his subjects' dignity and rights.⁹ Nonetheless, the Romans also acted towards the popes as a corporate body with its own rights.

The political behaviour of the Romans is in itself an expression of their self-consciousness. On the other hand, it does not say anything about the narratives through which the Romans represented their identity. A lack of sources, however, makes it difficult to investigate these aspects: the *Liber Pontificalis*, though extraordinarily rich in information, contains the papal perspective, which probably differed, at least in part, from that of the Romans. Nonetheless there are other sources, of various nature, which illustrate the many aspects that made the city of Rome almost unique in the panorama of western towns of the eighth and ninth centuries. One may assume that the perception of these aspects and their specificity was a sound

6 Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistola* 243, PL 182, col. 438. On the Roman revolution of 1143: Maire Vigueur 2001.

7 Classen 1951 and Classen 1985 are still fundamental on the subject.

8 Delogu 2015, 221–224.

9 Schieffer 2000; Schieffer 2002.

basis on which an original civic consciousness could be built. Therefore what follows is an overview of the special conditions that may have fed the shaping of a collective identity of the Romans. How exactly these feelings were conceptualized and narrated is unfortunately impossible to grasp, and can only be imagined.

It does not seem that the imperial past of the city weighed much on the self-representation of the post-imperial Romans. That past was tainted by the persecution of the martyrs, whose memory was fundamental for the religious identity of the city; it also raised worrying parallels between Rome's ancient greatness and the limitations of the present. The two themes were very much present in the voices raised against the Romans already in the eighth century.¹⁰ Given the lack of information we cannot say to what extent these charges were received in the citizens' minds: the legends of the martyrs were kept alive in the city and so too was the memory of the bad pagan emperors.¹¹ Moreover, learned people knew that the ancient Roman Empire had come to an end with the Barbarian invasions.¹² For these reasons a claim to continuity with, or revival of, the imperial past was not helpful for the actual definition of the Romans and in fact it was never evoked for that purpose.

Also the practical approach to the enormous monumental remains in the city was anything but reverential. Well-educated visitors to Rome took note of the enormous monumental complexes of the imperial period. They recorded them on their itineraries and also transcribed religious and secular inscriptions.¹³ But the Romans dismantled these ancient monuments and made use of their ruins to build new dwellings and new monuments which met the present needs of urban society.¹⁴

Much more important as positive factor of identity was the Byzantine tradition still alive in the city. The very structure of the Roman population under papal control had its origins in the Byzantine period. The *Liber Pontificalis* gives a detailed insight into the city's society around the year 800. There were three main orders: the clergy, the nobility and the people, plus a fourth made up of the foreigners resident in the city. Each order included various conditions. Within the clergy, the *proceres clericorum*, the upper level of the papal administration, were distinguished from the ordi-

10 For instance: *Lex Salica, recensio Pippina, Prolog*, ed. Eckhardt, 6–8: [...] *Gens [Francorum] que fortis dum esset robore valida. Romanorum iugum durissimum de suis cervicibus excusserunt pugnando, atque post agnitionem baptismi sanctorum martyrum corpora, quem Romani igne cremaverunt [...] vel bestes lacerando proiecerunt, Franci [reperta] super eos aurum et lapides preciosos ornaverunt; Versus Romae* (late 9th century), ed. Traube, 555–556: [...] *in te nobilium rectorum nemo remansit/[...]/ transit imperium, mansitque superbia tecum/ cultus avaritiae te nimirum superat/[...]/ truncasti vivos crudeli vulnere sanctos/ vendere nunc horum mortua membra soles/[...]*; *Invectiva in Romam pro Formoso papa* (end of 9th century), PL 129, col. 830: [...] *Ubi ergo, o Roma, tanta tua nobilitas et antiqua tam invicta potestas?*. See also Hofmann 2002.

11 Thacker 2000.

12 Bede, *Chronica*, a. 493, ed. Mommsen, 304–305; Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, 15, 10; 16, 1; 17, 1, ed. Crivellucci, 215, 225, 239; Freculf of Lisieux, *Chronicon*, II, 5, c. 17, ed. Allen, 707.

13 For instance: *Itinerarium Einsidlense*, ed. Del Lungo (end of 8th century).

14 Santangeli Valenzani 2015b.

nary clergy; the monastic congregations and the female religious organizations (*diacônissae*) had their special identities. The nobility was flanked by a *militia* organized in *scholae*, that is, in corporate bodies, each with its own distinct official identity; the foreigners resident in Rome were also organized in *scholae*. The politically active *populus* was distinguished from the more generic *vulgus* and the economic conditions of the people ranged from the fairly well off to the very poor in need of material help.¹⁵

The Byzantine roots of this complex structure can be seen especially in the case of the nobility, which is better documented in the sources.¹⁶ During the seventh century, the empire had set up a local government presided over by a duke, and had promoted the establishment of a body of *iudices* and *primates* that administered the city, alongside the already complex machinery of the Roman church. A permanent army was also created then, which rapidly became a social order (the *militia Romani exercitus*), distinct from the civil section of the urban population, although heavily involved in the city's politics. The formation of the papal state favoured the transformation of the Byzantine ruling class, still flexible and linked to the imperial offices, into a consolidated urban nobility, whose families claimed participation in military and civil offices as a hereditary right, entered the highest levels of the clergy and had considerable influence even on the election of the popes. The new nobility preserved many traits of their Byzantine origin. They continued to bear titles, such as *duces*, *consules*, *magistri militum*, whose origins lay in the Byzantine state. Perhaps during the eighth and ninth centuries these titles were transformed into qualifications of rank, whilst functions already linked to those titles were appointed to new institutional figures.¹⁷ Furthermore, the onomastic heritage preserved traditions which dated back to Late Antiquity or to the Byzantine period; purely Greek names were common.¹⁸

From the mid-eighth century the new Roman nobility as a whole represented itself as the 'senate' of the city of Rome.¹⁹ Yet this reference did not involve any claim either to be a continuation or revival of the ancient institution. It was essentially the re-affirmation of a long standing civic tradition: the nobility of Rome had to be considered the *senatus* of the city, because this was assumed to be the local tradition. The concept had no institutional relationship either to the ancient or the new empire. If anything, it positioned itself in relation to the new *respublica Romanorum* of the

15 *Liber Pontificalis* I, ed. Duchesne (henceforward LP), Hadrianus, 497; LP II, Leo III, 6. At the end of the ninth century the *Invectiva in urbem Romam*, PL 129, col. 827, still distinguished *principes*, *falanges* et *satrapae tui*, *vulgus* et *scholae tuae*.

16 On Roman nobility in the early Middle Ages: T. Brown 1984; Marazzi 2001; Wickham 2006.

17 Such as the *superista* and the *praefectus*.

18 Personal names: T. Brown 1984, *Prosopographical Index*, 250–281; Cosentino 1996–2000 (both till 804); Di Carpegna Falconieri 1994, 603–610, for the tenth century. No similar census is available for the ninth century.

19 Arnaldi 1997a.

papacy.²⁰ Byzantium, where the senate was still functioning in the eighth and ninth centuries, perhaps offered a remote parallel, though mainly for ceremonial purposes.

Instead, the colony of Greeks settled at the important site of Ripa, where the boats coming up the Tiber from Ostia and Portus landed, was a living connection with the Byzantine world.²¹ The fact that this community was settled inside the city walls suggests that their presence dates back to a period in which the 'Greeks' were not considered foreigners in Rome, given that they too were subjects of the empire. Until the mid-eighth century the ecclesiastical organization of Rome had been characterized by a strong presence of Greek or eastern clergy. Their importance is demonstrated by the series of eleven 'Greek' popes who reigned from 678 to 752.²² The last of them, Zacharias, translated the Dialogues of Gregory the Great into Greek in the 740s, which suggests that many Greeks then living in Rome were not able to understand Latin.²³ At the end of the eighth century the Greek community constituted a *schola*. They had their own church and must have maintained lively relations with the lands still under Byzantine control, not only in Greece, but also in southern Italy and Sicily. Near their settlement, on the Celian Hill, the Palatine and the Aventine, a number of monastic congregations observing Greek religious customs were also established.²⁴

During the ninth century 'Greek' ecclesiastics continued to arrive in Rome and stay there, for shorter or longer terms.²⁵ Other people of less distinguished status also arrived from the east and from Sicily.²⁶ On the other hand, the papacy had strong interests in maintaining religious and political relationships with the Byzantine

20 *Senatus* appears for the first time in 757, in a letter addressed to Pippin by *omnis senatus atquae universa populi generalitas a Deo servatae Romanae urbis* (Codex Carolinus 13, ed. Gundlach, 509). In all probability the letter was written in the Lateran offices at Pope Paul I's time. Afterwards *senatus* is occasionally used in the *Liber Pontificalis*. It can also be found in non Roman sources as, for instance, the *Annales Fuldenses*, a. 875, ed. Rau, 98.

21 Burgarella 2002. Archaeological evidence on the *Ripa Graeca*: Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 194–200.

22 On the 'Greek' popes, see Ekonomou 2009.

23 Knowledge of Greek in eighth and ninth century Rome: Sansterre 1983, 67–76; Noble 1985a, 56–62; Cavallo 1988.

24 Sansterre 1983.

25 Einhard, *Translatio sanctorum Marcellini et Petri*, 1, 5, ed. Waitz, 242, remembered in 827 a Greek monk [...] *qui ante biennium de Constantinopoli Romam venerat, atque ibi [...] cum quattuor discipulis suis hospitium habebat*; Pope Nicholas I's letter to the Byzantine emperor Michael, J.E. 2796, a. 865, *Epistola* 88, ed. Perels, 478, speaks of *innumeros homines Romam [...] adventantes* from the eastern provinces of the empire; LP II, Hadrianus II, 176–177: in 867 *quidam Grecorum et aliarum gentium servorum Dei per id tempus Romae morantium* organize a sort of strike against the newly elected pope Hadrian II. On the Greek presence in Rome during the ninth century, see also Sansterre 1988. Note that pope Benedict III (855–858) sponsored a new lectionary written both in Latin and Greek: Supino Martini 1978, 60.

26 Greek informers of Leo III: letter of Leo III to Charlemagne, J.E. 2527, a. 813, *Epistola* 8, ed. Hampe, 99.

church and empire, which caused further opportunities for diplomatic and ecclesiastical contacts. Knowledge of Byzantium and of Byzantine customs, therefore, was not only preserved, but continuously renewed.

The ways in which the social structure was represented were also Byzantine in their origins. Each group – *nobilitas*, *scholae*, monastic congregations – showed their own identity with material symbols, standards and processional crosses, which were displayed at ceremonial occasions.²⁷ This was common in Byzantium, where dignitaries, the clergy and the people took part in grand ceremonies with their insignia, and was also the case in other Italian cities with Byzantine traditions such as Naples or Ravenna.²⁸

The Byzantine connection gave the Romans the means to counterbalance the Frankish influences that reached the city through the papal ties with the Carolingians. Other colonies of foreigners coming from the barbarian west settled in Rome after the establishment of the papal government, but they were not allowed to live within the city, like the Greeks, but had their quarters outside the walls, near St. Peter's.²⁹ Nonetheless they were considered members of the Roman population; they were organized in *scholae* and took part in the city's life, not only for the assistance of their country-fellows coming to Rome as pilgrims and visitors.³⁰ Perhaps in the ninth century there were also Jews living in Rome. At least, Jewish merchants came to Rome, carrying *pulcherrima mercimonia*, which they sold in the vicinity of St. Peter's, although the popes seem to have avoided direct contact with them.³¹

Foreigners, attracted from every part of the Christian world by the religious appeal of the city as well as by the growing importance of the papacy, may have given the Romans the living perception of the city's relevance as a hub of international circulation.

27 *Signa et banda* in the reception of the exarch in Rome: LP I, Sergius, 372. *Signa et banda* in the *adventus* of later sovereigns: LP I, Hadrianus, 496; LP II, Leo III, 6; LP II, Sergius II, 88. Still in 897 the Romans met king Arnulf *cum vexillis et crucibus* (*Annales Fuldenses*, a. 897, ed. Rau, 164). However the alleged existence of a *vexillum Romanae urbis* – a banner representing the whole city of Rome – is dubious. It is mentioned only once by the *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 796, ed. Rau, 64, in a strongly ideological context, and could be a misinterpretation of the symbolic meaning of the object.

28 Naples: letter of Hadrian I, J.E. 2463, a. 788, *Codex Carolinus* 83, ed. Gundlach, 618: *Neapolitani vero cum magno obsequio cum signis et imaginibus eos* [the Byzantine ambassadors] *suscipientes, Neapolim ingressi sunt pariter*. Ravenna: Andreas Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, 71, ed. Waitz, 327: *Tunc surgente aurora ierunt unanimes omnes quasi vir unus, et aperientes portas civitatis, cum crucibus et signis et bandis et laudibus introduxerunt eum* [archbishop Maximianus] *honorifice infra hanc civitatem Ravennae*. Knowledge of the Byzantine rituals available in Rome: LP I, Constantinus, 390; LP II, Hadrianus II, 180.

29 *Scholae peregrinorum*: Birch 1998; Hubert 2002; Noble 2013b. First mention of *nationes* as elements of the Roman population in LP I, Paulus I, 465.

30 *Scholae peregrinorum* took part in public ceremonies: LP II, Leo III, 6. In 846 their people were sent by the Romans against the Saracens: LP II, Sergius II, XLVI, 100.

31 John the Deacon, *Vita Gregorii* 4, c. 50, PL 75, col. 207. *Ibid.* 4, c. 86, PL 75, col. 233: reference to a *medicus Sarracenus* working in Rome at Leo IV's time.

Another important factor of identity would have been the city itself and its urban way of life. It is well known that between the mid-eighth and the mid-ninth centuries the city underwent substantial renovation, which was chiefly promoted by the popes.³² New monumental buildings were not particularly numerous: they amount to a few churches that were rebuilt after the demolition of old structures. But the popes also promoted the restoration of the great basilicas, of abandoned monasteries and cemeteries as well as of collapsed aqueducts; they consolidated the city walls, and enriched the furnishings of many churches with sculptures, paintings, mosaics, silverware and textiles. Less known is the fact that lay people also participated in the monumentalization of the city, although with more limited resources; they built family churches, sometimes transforming ancient buildings for that purpose; they also founded and supported charitable centres for the poor and the pilgrims.³³ The civic value of these initiatives was celebrated by inscriptions, which were attached to the buildings. Monumental script was still an important means of communication and social prestige: it retained the memory not only of new constructions, but also of other devotional deeds, done by the popes as well as by lay patrons. Funerary epitaphs were still in use, and they could convey long and complex texts. The ideological value of the inscriptions probably exceeded the actual literacy of the majority of the population; nonetheless they were a typical mark of Rome's urban culture.³⁴ The building enterprises transformed both the material and the ideal landscape of the city. The architecture and decoration of ancient churches were observed with close attention;³⁵ they still were a fundamental point of comparison for the new monuments. But the models were freely copied: they were adapted to new standards of taste and prestige, taking on decorative themes and iconographic patterns circulating in the Mediterranean as well as in Byzantium.³⁶

Additionally, the quality of everyday life was high in Rome, and contacts with the Byzantine world were important for these aspects too. The archaeological excavations in the *Crypta Balbi* have shown that products and fashions from various provinces of the empire continued to reach Rome throughout the entire seventh century: wines, spices and other refined goods, together with luxury objects, gems, pearls, manufactured goods and precious textiles. Luxury and prestige objects of the

³² Krautheimer 1980; Delogu 1988; Noble 2000; Paroli 2004; Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani 2004; Bauer 2004; Goodson 2010.

³³ Lay ecclesiastical foundations in the eighth and ninth centuries: S. Maria in *Gradellis* or *de secundo dicerio*: Huelsen 1926, 336–338; also Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 195–196; S. Maria *dominae Rosae*: Manacorda 2001, 55–56. In general Coates Stephens 1997. More details for the Byzantine period: Coates Stephens 2006; for a later period Santangeli Valenzani 2011. Foundation and patronage of *diaconiae*: Hermes 1996; Dey 2008.

³⁴ Supino Martini 1978, 77–91; De Rubeis 2001; Cardin 2008.

³⁵ LP I, Hadrianus, 508: *camera vero beati Petri apostolorum principis in omnibus destructam atque dirutam exemplo olitano sculptens diversis coloribus noviter fecit*. Keen examination of ancient paintings documented in John the Deacon, *Vita Gregorii* 4, c. 83–84, PL 75, cols. 229–231.

³⁶ Iconography: Andaloro/Romano 2002; sculpture: Paroli 2001.

same kind were also produced in Rome, in large workshops probably under the control of the state. The consumers would have been lay as well as ecclesiastic.³⁷ After the end of Byzantine rule, the flow of goods did not cease, although the volume and the nature of the imports changed. Precious objects, above all textiles, continued to arrive in Rome, probably carried by the same 'Greek' adventurers who also roamed along the Lazio coast in search of slaves, to the great worry of the popes.³⁸

Luxury textiles are best attested, because the popes of the eighth and ninth centuries procured enormous quantities of silk, linen and purple cloth to endow the churches of Rome with curtains and towels.³⁹ Their liberality was accurately recorded in the *Liber Pontificalis*, with details which suggest that the textiles came not only from Byzantium, but also from the Islamic Near East. Precious and exotic fabrics were employed both for the decoration of churches and for clothing the clergy and the nobility. On special occasions the popes gave fabrics as gifts to the members of the nobility, as well as to ambassadors visiting Rome, and even to the Carolingian sovereigns.⁴⁰ Although the use of imported textiles was clearly reserved for the highest levels of the population, their exhibition created a social taste and contributed to the splendour of the urban landscape. Probably they were also imitated in local workshops, which employed less precious fabrics, but produced cloth of comparable quality, which were also used for church decoration. Textiles destined for special recipients were embroidered with gold and silver threads, and it seems that this craft too was practised in Rome.

The *Liber Pontificalis* also reports that, alongside precious cloths, the popes endowed the churches with enormous quantities of sacred images, panels, altars, gates, and above all lamps and lamp stands of every shape and size, made in silver and in gold.⁴¹ We have almost no material evidence for this production, because it was easily taken away and melted down, but we can reasonably suppose that many models also came from the east, commissioned by the popes or donated by devout pilgrims and by the Byzantine emperors themselves.⁴² Nevertheless the quantity and frequency of the donations suggest that a large part of them were made in Rome, by specialized workshops which received the precious metals from the popes themselves. On the other hand, the *Liber Pontificalis* frequently mentions *gabatae saxiscae*: if the adjective means 'Saxon', then these silver vessels could be the product of silversmiths

³⁷ Ricci 2001; Sagui 1998; Sagui 2002.

³⁸ Hunters of slaves: Letter of Hadrian I to Charlemagne, J.E. 2426, a. 776, *Codex Carolinus* 59, ed. Gundlach, 584.

³⁹ Delogu 1998; Martiniani Reber 1999; Brubaker/Haldon 2001, 82–89; Miller 2014.

⁴⁰ LP II, Leo IV, 125: [the pope] [...] *cunctos nobiles Rome multiplicibus donis, non tantum in auro ar gentove, sed et in sericis palleis honoravit et ditavit* [...]. Gifts to Carolingian princes: Dolcini 1992.

⁴¹ Delogu 1988.

⁴² Gifts from Byzantine emperors: LP II, Benedictus III, 147–148; LP II, Nicholas, 154. In the first case they were brought to Rome by a monk, Lazarus, *picturae artis nimie eruditum*.

settled in the *schola Saxonum* near St. Peter's.⁴³ In this case western and northern craft traditions were active in Rome alongside those of the east.⁴⁴

It is reasonable to suppose that gold and silver production was not reserved for ecclesiastical establishments, but also satisfied the demands of the wider population. Recent archaeological research has shown that in the eighth and ninth centuries the great state workshops of the Byzantine era were replaced by smaller, but more numerous workshops set up in the most densely populated quarters of the city.⁴⁵ They produced utilitarian and decorative objects of iron, bronze and glass, which demonstrate a widespread desire for quality and refinement in everyday life. The influence of Byzantine products and customs could also have affected this production. We know at least that in the eighth century glazed pottery of a new type began to be produced in Rome. These new ceramic types adopted technological innovations which were common in Byzantine or Sicilian areas. In Rome they were elaborated and in the ninth century became the most popular kind of high quality tablewares.⁴⁶

Private dwellings also developed new forms, different from both the popular *insulae* and the patrician *domus* of ancient Rome.⁴⁷ Now single family residences were preferred. The ninth-century houses recently brought to light in the Forum of Nerva were probably owned by people of high status. Built in stone and brick recovered from abandoned ancient buildings, with two storeys and front porticoes, they are the culmination of an evolution which has parallels in other former Byzantine territories of Italy and would have required a considerable investment of materials and manpower. More modest buildings, in earth, wood and mixed materials, must have been present in other quarters of the city. However the aspiration of comfort was an important element of the urban culture, as the ludicrous story of a religious woman, removed from the monastery and maintained at home by a priest, suggests. The woman complained continuously because the house did not have a private toilet and a stove, so that her friend decided to demolish a nearby fountain to recover

⁴³ *Gabatae saxiscaae* are frequently mentioned among the papal donations to the Roman churches. In LP II, Gregorius IV, 74: *gabatas [...] angelorum opera constructas, angelorum* is probably an error for *Anglorum*. Saxon handiwork could also have been the *gabatum Saxiscam habentem in modum leones cum diversas historias serpentorum et in medio stantem pineam et IIII leoncellos modicos* mentioned in LP II, Gregorius IV, 79, because of the snakes, which are typical of northern decorative styles. Were this the case, it remains impossible to ascertain whether the object was imported to or made in Rome.

⁴⁴ Also LP II, Nicholas, 161: [...] *quidam de gente Anglorum* gave the oratory of St. Gregory in St. Peter a silver *tabula* which they had brought from their country.

⁴⁵ The project *Forma Urbis digitale di Roma medievale* under the direction of Alessandra Molinari, Lucrezia Spera, Sandro Carocci and Nicoletta Giannini has collected much archaeological information on these workshops. Important results were presented in the conference *L'archeologia della produzione a Roma. Secoli V–XV* (Roma, 27–29 marzo 2014). The proceedings of the conference are now published in Molinari/Santangeli Valenzani/Spera 2016.

⁴⁶ Romei 2004.

⁴⁷ Santangeli Valenzani 2000; Santangeli Valenzani 2004; Santangeli Valenzani 2008.

wood and tiles with which he built the long sought annexes. Unfortunately, he suffered a prodigious penalty for this. The fountain was the property of Gregory the Great's monastery; the saint himself miraculously appeared during the night and harshly whipped the destroyer, leaving painful marks that remained when the day began.⁴⁸ However, it seems that the private toilet was in fact common, at least in dwellings of a certain social status.⁴⁹

To sum up, all the extant information concerning everyday life in Rome depicts an elevated model of social customs and habits. Probably not every Roman citizen could live according to this model, above all for economic reasons, but everyone could have the idea of living in a special city. Comparisons are only possible with other Italian cities that had a Byzantine past (namely Ravenna and Naples, given that our knowledge of the Sicilian cities is still inadequate), but Rome was on a much greater scale, in terms of its population numbers, its wealth and its connection with the international circulation of people, ideas and goods.

The Romans could appreciate their peculiarities also by direct comparison with people belonging to different cultures. Obviously this was easier for the high clergy and the nobility, who had more contacts with the external world, as well as a greater interest to underline cultural diversity. Members of the clergy and of the Roman nobility were sent as ambassadors to the Frankish kings as well as to the Byzantine emperors; they took part in the great assemblies that were held in Rome when the Frankish sovereigns came to the city with their retinue of nobles and ecclesiastics and sometimes with their armies. On those occasions being side by side with the Frankish nobility, the Romans could experience the different ways in which rank and prestige could be expressed.

Hairstyles and clothing were the most apparent signs of diversity, and they continued to differ throughout the Carolingian era.⁵⁰ Charlemagne himself, on some particularly solemn occasions, was invited by the popes to renounce the Frankish costume and to dress according to the Roman fashion, so as to legitimize his role in Rome.⁵¹ Weapons and military equipment must have been another point of comparison. The archaeology is still unable to identify the details of Roman military equipment in the ninth century. But we know that the Roman nobility presented themselves at least in part as a military class, which moved on horseback like the Franks.⁵² The popes themselves rode across the city when they did not have to

⁴⁸ John the Deacon, *Vita Gregorii* 4, c. 97, PL 75, cols. 239–240.

⁴⁹ Other miracles of St. Gregory happened in the toilets of private dwellings: John the Deacon, *Vita Gregorii* 4, cc. 95–96, PL 75, col. 238.

⁵⁰ Hairstyle: LP I, Hadrianus, 495–496. Cloths: Alcuin, *Epistola* 184, ed. Dümmler, 309, l. 9: *cappam Romano more consutam*; *Annales Bertiniani*, a. 876, ed. Rau, 244: *Apostolici legatis more Romano vestitis*.

⁵¹ Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, c. 23, ed. Rau, 194.

⁵² In 844 the Roman nobility gathered together *caeleri cursu magnoque aequitatu* to repress a popular invasion of the papal see: LP II, Sergius II, 87; in 846 the Romans hunted the Saracens who land

take part in special ceremonies of penitence in which they walked, sometimes even barefoot, if we can take the sources at face value.⁵³ As for the training and the military bravery of the Roman nobility, some doubts are allowed, given the few occasions in which they demonstrated their worth and the uncertain outcome of those events.⁵⁴ The status of the equestrian nobility, nevertheless, must have been displayed with standards, belts, weapons and horse trappings, so that they could stand up to comparison with the Franks.

Apart from these external aspects, a more important element of confrontation and distinction was the use of Roman law, well known to the nobility, whose members sat in the city courts. The comparison became sour and even conflicting when Charlemagne's successors forced the Roman courts to apply Frankish and other non-Roman laws if those involved in the case demanded it.⁵⁵ Language was also a distinctive element, because it seems that the Frankish aristocracy in Italy preserved the use of the Frankish language and made use of it when they did not want the Romans to understand them.⁵⁶ In the face of these difficult, even dangerous partners, the claim to a distinct identity must have been cultivated and sometimes was recalled in order to feed political opposition.⁵⁷

Aside from the nobility, the people of Rome were also able to evaluate their own cultural originality by confrontation, albeit on a more restricted plane. There were no institutions from the past that could give lustre to the ordinary people, as the senate did for the nobility. Archaizing examples in the sources, such as the term *Quirites* referring to the Romans, or allusions to episodes from ancient history commenting on contemporary events, are sporadic in the sources and come from the

ed in Porto *equitantes et gyranes* (LP II, Sergius II, XLVI, 100). More detailed information about the Roman cavalry is missing.

⁵³ Hadrian I asked Charlemagne for a horse more prestigious than those he already had: *Codex Carolinus* 81, ed. Gundlach, 614; LP II, Paschalis, 549; pope Paschal I *nudis pedibus calciatus equester concurrit* to face the fire in the *burgus Saxonum*; LP II, Benedictus III, 143; Benedict III rode on his predecessor's horse; so did Hadrian II (LP II, Hadrianus II, 174). Penitential ceremonies: LP I, Stephanus II, 443; LP II, Leo IV, 110; *ibid.*, 124; *ibid.*, 132.

⁵⁴ The Romans sent the members of the foreign *scholae* to face the Saracens who had landed in Porto in 846; subsequently they avoided the clash with the intruders: LP II, Sergius II, XLVI XLVII, 100. More brilliant deeds are reported, with some uncertainty, by Benedict of Soracte, *Chronicon*, ed. Zucchetti, 151.

⁵⁵ As happened in 824 with the *Constitutio Romana* of Lothar I, ed. Boretius, 323. A case of Lombard law enforced by Frankish *missi* in Rome in 829: Gregorio of Catino, *Il Regesto di Farfa*, no. 285 (doc. 270), ed. Giorgi/Balzani, vol. 2, 221–223.

⁵⁶ LP II, Benedictus III, 143: [...] *protinus vero secretius lingua eorum confabulantes* [...] said of the Frankish *missi* of Emperor Louis II.

⁵⁷ As in the case of the anti Frankish conspiracy of the *magister militum* Gratianus: LP II, Leo IV, 134. On the hostile attitude of the Romans against the Franks: Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, c. 16, ed. Rau, 186: *erat enim semper Romanis et Grecis Francorum suspecta potentia*, echoed by Notker, *Gesta Karoli*, c. 10, ed. Rau, 334: *Omnes Greci et Romani invidia Francorum gloriae carpebantur*.

upper layers, mainly ecclesiastic, of the learned society.⁵⁸ Popular memory preferred to draw on legendary sources from antiquity. We are told that the *lupa*, the she-wolf, was considered by the Romans to be their mythical mother; the courts of justice sat under her image near the Lateran.⁵⁹ Probably other legends circulated, similar to those that in the twelfth century were collected in the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*. It was, however, the contact with representatives of other peoples present in Rome that prompted the awareness of this diversity. An immediate and constant parallel could be made with the foreign *scholae* in Rome, which preserved cultural vestiges of their countries of origin: housing, language and perhaps dress.⁶⁰ Besides, the Romans had many other opportunities to meet foreigners, above all the pilgrims who arrived in Rome from the west, visited the churches and probably also the shops, and looked for guides who led them into the cemeteries where the relics of the martyrs could be venerated and occasionally stolen.⁶¹

Did confrontation generate the pride which was so often thrown in the Romans' faces by foreigners? A few references in the sources suggest how the Romans thought of these foreigners: they had a considerable dislike for the 'Gauls', who were considered insolent, vain and aggressive; a dislike which could become fear, when the Gauls presented themselves, now as the Franks, standing armed outside the walls.⁶² It is possible that even the Saxons of the *schola* were not much esteemed by the Romans.⁶³ Only Greek identity continued to be seen favourably in the city. The popes entrusted the liturgical offices in some Roman basilicas to Greek monastic congregations; Greek psalmody, different from Roman chant, was appreciated for its particular charm, and Greek choirs took part in the solemn receptions of foreign rul-

58 *Quirites*: LP II, Sergius II, 87; LP II, Hadrianus II, 174; John the Deacon, *Vita Gregorii* 2, c. 13, PL 75, col. 92. Knowledge of the ancient Roman history: John the Deacon, *Vita Gregorii* 4, c. 16, PL 75, col. 180: [...] *sicut Romanorum narrat historia* [...]. 'Flight of the Tarquinii': John the Deacon, *Versiculi*, ed. Strecker, 899. See also Arnaldi 1997b.

59 *Libellus de imperatoria potestate in urbe Roma*, ed. Zucchetti, 199.

60 On Saxons in Rome: LP II, Paschalis, 53: *illorum habitatio quae in eorum lingua burgus dicitur*; the dwellings were wooden: *ibid.*, 54. Paul the Deacon refers to the typical Anglo Saxon clothing of his day in *Historia Langobardorum* 4, c. 22, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 124.

61 Einhard, *Translatio sanctorum Marcellini et Petri* 1, cc. 4–6, ed. Waitz, 241–242. Foreigners shopping in Rome: Odo of Cluny, *Vita Geraldi* 1, 27, ed. Bultot Verleysen, 174.

62 John the Deacon, *Vita Gregorii* 2, c. 9, PL 75, col. 91: *Gallorum procacitas*; *ibid.*, 2, c. 10, PL 75, col. 92: *indiscussam Gallorum levitatem*; *ibid.*, 4, c. 96, PL 75, col. 238: verbal violence *more Gallico*. Benedict of Soracte, *Chronicon*, ed. Zucchetti, 151: [...] *propter hoc* [the defeat of a Frankish army in a skirmish against the Saracens] *populi Romani in derisione habuerunt Franci, usque in odiernum diem. Feritas naturalis* of the peoples from Gallia and Germania in John the Deacon, *Vita Gregorii* 2, c. 7, PL 75, col. 79.

63 The fire in the *burgus Saxonum* caused by the *desidia* of some of them (LP II, Paschalis, 53). It is not clear whether the fault is considered an ethnic characteristic of the whole group.

ers.⁶⁴ On the contrary, northern ecclesiastics were considered incapable even of singing the Roman chant, because of their awkward voices.⁶⁵

All in all, the Romans had sound reasons to feel different from other peoples, and to maintain their difference in the face of Carolingian attempts to normalize the political and cultural life throughout the Frankish Empire.⁶⁶ Moreover, their sense of identity received a moral quality by the ideological values that accompanied the rebuilding of the city promoted by the popes. The extreme detail with which the *Liber Pontificalis* records their initiatives reflects the relevance which the popes attributed to the requalification of the image of Rome, in a period which saw great competition for the definition of the role of the papacy in the Carolingian Empire, in Rome itself and towards Byzantium.

Papal activity did not simply aim at the glorification of the Roman Church; it also extolled the city itself and its ideal figure. The inscriptions placed in the churches, on the walls and in new settlements founded all around the city, proclaimed that Rome had recuperated its splendour, magnificence and security. It was again great and famous and could rightly be celebrated as *caput orbis, splendor, spes, aurea Roma*.⁶⁷ The people of Rome must have perceived this revival of the city's prestige as a source of civic pride and identity. The popes themselves presented the renewed city as the 'patria' of the Romans, giving a moral and emotional foundation to their citizenship of the new Rome.⁶⁸ On some occasions the popes even defended *romanitas* as an innate political and ethical value of the Roman people.⁶⁹ There is no reason to doubt that Roman citizens adopted such values for themselves.

Nevertheless, one cannot conclude an investigation on post-imperial Roman identity without remarking that, while the popes' promotion of Rome was aimed

⁶⁴ Greek congregations assuring the religious service in some Roman churches: LP I, Paulus, 465; LP II, Paschalis, 54; LP II, Leo IV, 113. Greek chant: LP II, Sergius II, 88: *universas militiae scolae una cum patronis direxit, dignas nobilissimo regi laudes omnes canentes, aliosque militiae edoctissimos Grecos, imperatorias laudes decantantes, cum dulcisonis earundem laudum vocibus*. The *Libellus de imperatoria potestate in urbe Roma*, ed. Zucchetti, 204, remembered a procession with crosses and icons *sicut mos est Grecorum* that took place in Rome.

⁶⁵ John the Deacon, *Vita Gregorii* 2, c. 7, PL 75, col. 91.

⁶⁶ It is worth noticing that even the Carolingian script was reshaped in a typical Roman form; Su pino Martini 1978.

⁶⁷ Inscription surmounting the *Porta sancti Peregrini* in the *civitas Leoniana*: LP II, Leo IV, 138, note 49; inscription of Paschal I in the apsidal mosaic of St. Cecilia: *Roma resultat semper ornata per aevum* (LP II, Paschalis, 66, note 22). More expressions of the papal urban ideology: *ampla urbs* (LP II, Valentinus, 71); *famosissima urbs* (LP II, Sergius II, 89; XLII, 98).

⁶⁸ Rome as the *patria* of the Romans: LP II, Gregorius IV, 81 and 82; LP II, Leo IV, 123; the term also in the inscription above the *posterula Castelli* of the *Civitas Leoniana* (LP II, 138, note 49). Funeral epitaph of Sergius II: LP II, 105, note 39.

⁶⁹ Pope John VIII, J.E. 3112, a. 877, Oct. 21, *Epistola* 63, ed. Caspar, 56, refused to give hostages to Lambert of Spoleto, because *Romanorum filios sub isto coelo non legitur fuisse obsides datos*. See also the important, although isolated, passage of LP II, Valentinus, 71: *in hac Romana urbe, quae, Deo auctore, summi sacerdotii et regalis excellentiae retinet dignitatem*.

at the whole of western and eastern Christianity, the construction of the identity of the Roman people, however expressed, had purely local dimensions. In the ninth century it inspired the resistance against the interference of the Carolingian Empire in Rome. It also supported the claim for a special role of the Romans in the papal state. In the tenth century, Roman identity was asserted even more strongly, when Alberic, *princeps et senator Romanorum omnium*, imposed his authority on a large region all around Rome. Yet this was only possible because in those years both the papacy and the empire suffered a temporary weakening of their power. Not even then were the Romans able to present their Romanness to the wider world as an expression of universal values. The idea of Rome that the non-Romans had, remained negative and even provocative and Roman pride was bitterly criticized by them. For the non-Romans, Rome's importance lay solely in its links to the empire and the papacy; consequently the citizens of Rome were expected to derive their identity from the values of these institutions. At the end of the tenth century, the Saxon emperor Otto III, having taken control of Rome by force, stated that it was – as it always had been – the *caput mundi*, but proposed to the Romans that they should now look on him as their father and identify their glory with the successes of his empire.⁷⁰

70 Vita Bernwardi, c. 25, ed. Kallfelz, 318–319; cf. Keller 2015, 266–270.

Veronica West-Harling

The Roman past in the consciousness of the Roman elites in the ninth and tenth centuries

Pope Leo placed a crown on his head, and he was hailed by the whole Roman people: To the august Charles, crowned by God, the great and peaceful emperor of the Romans, life and victory! After the acclamations the pope addressed him in the manner of the old emperors. The name of Patricius was now abandoned and he was called Emperor and Augustus.¹

In the citation, we see probably the most famous of many famous passages used to illustrate the idea of the preservation and/or revival of the notion of *Romanitas*, revival of the Roman Empire, *Renovatio imperii Romanorum*: a large number of well-known clichés – none of which I shall be directly discussing in this paper. The words cited above apply to a pope and an emperor – neither of these is the hero or even the anti-hero of my argument. There is no doubt that the whole process of ideological revival and referencing of Rome to the imperial past was one initiated by the papacy and in its wake by the emperors from North of the Alps who took it up, as well as by their chroniclers and poets. The revival of the ‘Roman past’ was favoured by the popes themselves in the first place, in the ninth century, as part of an antiquarian attitude of revival of the empire of Constantine. Charlemagne, Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald were in ideological accord with this view, as we can see from Charlemagne’s *intitulatio* as *Karolus serenissimus augustus a Deo coronatus, magnus pacificus imperator*, Charles the Bald’s imperial seal inscribed *Renovatio imperii Romani et Francorum*, and many other such official documents or images. Later on, Otto III in particular was keen to go further by dreaming of a revival of imperial Rome, complete with titles, and hopes of returning the centre of government of a revived Roman Empire to Rome, and even to the Palatine, though his views were equally strongly influenced by the contemporary Byzantine political sphere. For the Carolingian and Ottonian emperors, control of Rome was a necessity for the very existence of an emperor, and especially for Otto II and Otto III, Rome was the imperial capital of both Ancient Rome and the New Rome of both Byzantium and Charlemagne.²

The popes were no less keen on this ideological revival. Of the massive amount of material concerning the relationship between them and the emperors in the ninth and tenth centuries, I would only like to refer to three elements. The first is the text now referred to as the *Itinerary of Einsiedeln*, a ‘guidebook’ for pilgrims, produced at the papal court for Charles’s court if one follows the claim of its latest editor Del Lungo, and aimed at highlighting the parallels between ancient Roman glory and

¹ *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 801, trans. Scholz/Rogers, 81.

² P. Schramm 1984, 68–187; Görich 1993, 39–45, 58–59, 72–77, 89–90, 97–110, 187–274; Althoff 1996, 100–125, 169–181.

papal restorations.³ The second point is the appropriation of Roman artifacts by the papacy, for example in its bringing together of the statue supposed to be of Constantine and of the she-wolf onto the Lateran piazza, the heart of the expression of papal political and judicial power in the city.⁴ The third is the deliberate exaltation of the tradition of classical Rome in John VIII's letters.⁵

Last, but by no means least, perhaps the most important influence on this revival and/or preservation of the imperial past were the writers and poets from northern Europe, men who, since Bede's commentary on the legend that as long as the Colosseum stands, so will Rome, continued to influence the way of thinking of Frankish writers. Hence Regino's claim that, when 'Arnulf took the city by force [in 896], this had been unheard of in previous centuries, because it had never happened except a single time when, a long time before the birth of Christ, the *Galli Senones* had done it under their leader Brennus', and referring to the senate.⁶ It is generally assumed that these were literary antiquarian expressions from writers North of the Alps, who used their classical knowledge to define thus the leading aristocratic figures in the city. For these men, such ideas were exotic and perceived as part of the continuation of their classical readings, which they continued to associate with the city to the same extent as they did its link with the papacy, Constantine, and above all, of course, St Peter, Prince of the Apostles and Keeper of the Keys. This double association of Rome, with both classical scholarship and the Petrine presence, was one increasingly imposed on the city by its vast numbers of northern pilgrims, and was taken up with eagerness and effectiveness by the papacy after its alliance with the family of Pepin. It played a crucial role in the transformation of Rome, through the projection put onto it by its visitors, into a city with a dual nature: that of the past, exemplified by its visible monuments, which the papacy contributed to preserving and restoring for the purposes of tourism, as a kind of heritage park; and that of the present, the city of the saints and martyrs, above all the city of St Peter. In fact, the idea of Rome was increasingly associated by northern pilgrims with St Peter and the pope, not perhaps launched but very much developed through the Anglo-Saxon devotion to St Peter, and partly via Boniface and Alcuin, becoming a standard element of Carolingian piety.⁷ This is well illustrated through the very association of 'Rome' with the Vatican by most pilgrims: they did not focus as much on the city itself, even if they visited its churches and relics, as on the area of St Peter's. Even Charlemagne, during his first visit in Rome, came to St Peter's, where he stayed

³ Del Lungo 2004, 82.

⁴ Krautheimer 1980; Goodson 2010, esp. 66–106; Esch 2001, 3–7, 16; Herklotz 1985, 13–25; Wickham 2015, 336–337.

⁵ John VIII, *Epistolae*, ed. Caspar; Arnaldi 1990, c. 1.

⁶ Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon*, a. 871, a. 881, trans. MacLean.

⁷ Miller 1974 and 1975; Zwölfer 1929; Schieffer 2000, 283–90, and Schieffer 2002; Ortenberg 1995. In a more general way on the Patrimonium of St Peter, there is a large amount of literature available, most of which is discussed in Noble 1984, 138–324 esp. 212–55 and 291–323.

throughout the week, and though he went with the pope to the Lateran, and was received there with pomp and ceremony, was then taken across the Via Maior back to the Vatican, where he spent most of his time, and where he, or more likely his successors, had their headquarters in a palace within the complex of St Peter's.⁸ The Romans, from what we can read between the lines, were well aware of this, and possibly quite happy with it. Their contact with emperors or would-be emperors was only too often one with their troops when they laid siege to the city or repressed rebellions, as in 864 with Louis II, in 878 with Adalbert, and in 896 with Arnulf, resisted by Angeltrude, not to mention Otto III's siege.⁹ One gains the impression that the Romans rather hoped that the Frankish, and later the Ottonian, emperors would think that Rome was St Peter's, and stay there: if foreign emperors and rulers thought St Peter's was Rome, let them, and they will leave us in peace, the Romans may have thought. This is of course why, when he so abysmally failed in his *Renovatio imperii Romanorum* in Rome, partly because he was determined to rule from Rome itself, Otto III was so hated by the Romans that they effectively expelled him from the city.

The papacy took up and developed both these strands, the heritage and the pilgrimage ones, brilliantly in the ninth and tenth centuries. At the same time, this augmented papal prestige and authority among the visitors to the city, from simple pilgrims to emperors, and allowed the popes to fashion the very nature of the papacy as a European force. But the Romans themselves had different perspectives, and throughout our period, we see this increasing tension between this pilgrim, petrine-led perception of Rome, which the papacy was happy to adopt as its powerbase, and therefore embed its increasing European-wide authority in it, and the Roman inhabitants' perception of their city and their Church.¹⁰ An excellent anecdote illustrates this: when Notker tells the story of how, when Pope Leo III's accusers tried to swear to their innocence, many among them 'begged that they might be allowed to swear on the tomb of Peter that they were guiltless of the crime imputed to them'; however, Leo, 'aware of their dishonesty', begged Charlemagne not to be deceived by their cunning. Leo claims that they would do so because they knew that Peter will forgive them, but this may well also mean that he was aware that they may have been prepared to perjure themselves without too much concern if asked to swear an oath on the relics of St Peter, which they would not do if asked to swear an oath on those of a Roman saint; therefore he, Charlemagne, should look for the stone of the martyr Pancras, and they should be made to swear by that.¹¹ Despite the justification given by Leo of his accusers' choice of Peter, this vignette seems

⁸ Einhard, *Vita Karoli* 27, ed. Pertz, 457; LP I, Hadrian I, cc. 37–40, pp. 497–498; *Annales regni Francorum* a. 800, trans. Scholz/Rogers, 78–81.

⁹ *Annales Bertiniani*, a. 864, ed. Waitz, 66–74; *Annales Fuldenses*, a. 878, a. 896, ed. Kurze, 91–92, 127–130; Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon*, a. 896, ed. Kurze, 144; Liutprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis* 1, 25–27 and 32–37, ed. Becker, 21–22, 24–28.

¹⁰ Di Carpegna Falconieri 2002, 39–49, 82–83, 92–93.

¹¹ Notker the Stammerer, *Gesta Karoli Magni Imperatoris* 1, 26, trans. Ganz.

to me to show, on the one hand, that the local martyr Pancras, a purely Roman saint, was more feared by the Romans than was St Peter, and also, on the other hand, that those same Romans were aware of the Franks' reverence for St Peter and thought they could be deceived in this way.

While the papacy and pilgrimages are well-known territory, my own interest is in the pendant of this development: how did the Romans perceive the past of their city? I believe that the answer to this lies less in matters of imperial and papal ideology, than in two practical aspects of life in the city: topography, and the self-perception of the people (which, of course, as so often for our period, means of the elite) through their self-chosen titles. These are the two kinds of material discussed here. I propose to do so by setting up a deliberately artificial distinction between the aristocracy and the elites of the city on the one hand, and the popes on the other, excluding the popes themselves from the analysis. This may seem somewhat problematic methodologically since, from the second half of the eighth century, most popes were members of the main aristocratic families in the city, and most top level papal functionaries of the Lateran bureaucracy, especially the seven palatine judges, likewise.¹² Similarly, looking at it from the other end, most important aristocratic families were important partly because they held offices or titles associated with the papal entourage, notably the *primicerius* and the *superista*. Examples of *primicerii* include Ambrose, *primicerius* between 742/3 and his death in 752, and his successor Christopher, effectively the Foreign Affairs ministers, who wielded huge power under popes Zacharias, Stephen III and Hadrian I, and Theodotus, uncle of Hadrian I, former duke of Rome then *primicerius*, founder and patron of the *diaconia* of S. Angelo in Pescheria.¹³ In the ninth century, Pope Paschal I had sent the *primicerius* Theodore, together with the head of the Lateran militia, the *superista* Florus to represent the pope at the Emperor Lothar's wedding to Ermengard in 822.¹⁴ After Pope Zacharias' return of the patriarchate from the Palatine to the Lateran, the papal court was no longer administered by a vicedominus but by a *superista*, who often became the other power behind the pope. Such was especially Paul Afiarta, who attempted to bring the papacy and the king of the Lombards into a closer alliance under Hadrian I¹⁵, and later on Gratian, *superista* involved in an alleged plot under Leo IV and Benedict III and accused of being a spy for the Emperor Lothar in Rome.¹⁶ Nevertheless, I will justify making the distinction here between the aristocracy and the popes, in so far as, once popes, many of these men either had to, or chose to, or needed to, think

¹² Toubert 1973, 2, 1202–1229 and 2001; Wickham 2015, 187–188.

¹³ LP I, Zacharias, cc. 12, 14, 18, pp. 429–432, and Stephen II, c. 5, 24 (Ambrose), pp. 441, 447; Stephen II, c. 49, p. 455, Stephen III, cc. 5, 7–8, 11, 15, 28–32, pp. 469–473, 478–480, and Hadrian I, cc. 5, 14, pp. 487, 490 (Christopher); Hadrian I, c. 2, p. 486 (Theodotus).

¹⁴ *Annales regni Francorum* a. 821, trans. Scholz/Rogers, 108–9.

¹⁵ LP I, Hadrian I, cc. 6–15, pp. 487–491.

¹⁶ LP II, Leo IV, cc. 110–112, p. 134, and Benedict III, c. 11, p. 142.

of themselves and their actions in relation to their role as popes on the international scene, and not just as members of the Roman elite families.

It is precisely through the families of the popes in the ninth century, at a time when we have less information about the aristocracy of Rome from other sources, that we can work out where these families chose to live, which was at the foot of, or on the perimeter of, the central zone of the old imperial city: the area of S. Silvestro in Capite on the Via Lata (family home of Popes Stephen II and Paul), the Via Lata near S. Marco (Hadrian I, Valentine), the Regio III around S. Martino ai Monti and Trajan's Baths on the Esquiline (Hadrian II), and the Regio IV (Sergius II).¹⁷ We might conclude that at the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth centuries, the public and ceremonial spaces of the ancient city were still respected: they had been part of the imperial fisc, and the popes only carried out repairs and restorations there. There had already been some reusing of a few of these monuments, converted into churches or *diaconiae*, most famously the Curia as the church of St Hadrian, the Pantheon as Sta Maria ad Martyres and the vestibule of the Domus Tiberina as the church and *diaconia* of Sta Maria Antiqua.¹⁸ But the popes had never demolished classical monuments, unless they were a risk, like the Temple of Concord, which was in such a bad state that it threatened to collapse on top of the *diaconia* of SS Sergius and Bacchus, which had been built leaning into half of the arch of Septimius Severus, and was then demolished and rebuilt by Pope Hadrian I.¹⁹ Most importantly, even when such churches and *diaconiae* were in the Roman Forum in the middle of classical complexes, it was nevertheless still clear to all exactly what these monuments had been: when Stephen III was elected, his electors met at the 'Three Fates' i.e. the three statues of the Sybils near the Rostra in front of the Curia – perhaps not by chance the meeting place of Roman republican assemblies.²⁰

As Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani has shown, the half century which saw the end of eastern imperial rule in the city enabled the popes for the first time to have access to, and then to take control of, this huge area of property and real estate capital, no longer belonging to the emperors.²¹ The ninth century is a crucial period for change in the city, notably with the beginnings of the encroachment of private space onto the public space of the Fora, even if still only around the edges, with the Fora of

¹⁷ LP I, Paul I, c. 5, p. 464–465, Hadrian I, c. 1, p. 486, LP II, Valentine, c. 1, p. 71, Hadrian II, c. 1, p. 173, Sergius II, c. 1, p. 86. In the tenth century again the references are to the *Regio VIII* at the foot of the Capitol LP II, Benedict VI, p. 255 and in the *Gallina Albas* region on the Quirinal near the Baths of Diocletian, LP II, John XV, p. 260. On the area around S. Marco and its aristocratic links see Manacorda 1993, 42–48.

¹⁸ LP I, Honorius, 323–327; Boniface IV, 317–318; John VII, 385–387.

¹⁹ LP I, Hadrian I, c. 90, p. 510.

²⁰ LP I, Stephen III, c. 10, pp. 470–471.

²¹ The works by Santangeli Valenzani are of crucial importance and I am drawing heavily on their conclusions in this paper. Especially important are: Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 31–101, 157–188; Santangeli Valenzani 2008; Santangeli Valenzani 2011; Santangeli Valenzani 1996; Santangeli Valenzani 2000.

Nerva and Caesar. Some of the main roads, especially the Argiletum, were not only preserved, but recovered and reused, and the aristocratic houses excavated there, which Santangelo Valenzani defines as Carolingian in the sense that they date from the height of the period of Carolingian control over the city, and dates to the ninth century, were clearly meant to open onto a main road.²² These Carolingian houses, of the *domus solarata* type, with two floors, of which relatively little is known since the top floor, the ‘piano nobile’ where the family lived, is no longer there, shows the reuse of marble columns and capitals.²³ The attempt made by the Roman aristocracy to associate itself topographically with the centre of the Roman past nevertheless still respected the central part, especially the Roman Forum, perceived as the core of old Rome, and of course the Capitol and the Palatine, until the tenth century. This is clear from that fact that the ground level in the Roman Forum, for example in front of the Basilica Emilia, remained the same, and only started to rise between the late eighth and the mid-ninth century, though very slowly, and would not rise by the 3–4 m which would later turn it into the ‘Campo Vaccino’ until the late eleventh-twelfth centuries. In 982 for example, we find a significant example of this phenomenon with a house of a similar type to those in the Forum of Nerva, effectively inside the temple of Romulus, *in templum quod vocatur Romuleum*²⁴ – erroneously called so since it was the temple of Venus and Rome, but it had been known by the name of Romuleum for a long time, so that we cannot assume this to have been an example of gradual forgetting of ancient Roman monuments.

The other major public space with which the aristocracy associated itself was the area of the old *Campus Martius*; this effectively meant the Terme Alessandrine,²⁵ the area around and between the Pantheon and Piazza Navona, but also the area of the now Largo Argentina, which had been part of the aristocratic zone of some of the old senatorial aristocracy, most notably of the Anicii. There we find a ninth-tenth century *domus* six to seven times the size of the ones in the Forum of Nerva. Like most aristocratic houses of a high level, this *domus* probably had the standard two floors, with some reuse of marble from Roman monuments on the top floor, its own private baths, a *curtis* around it incorporating a church, possibly with a significant relic,²⁶ and almost certainly with prestigious decorative schemes such as that still extant in the church of Sta Maria in Via Lata, a possession of the family of Alberic in the

²² Santangeli Valenzani 1999; Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 34–46; Pani Ermini 2001, 296–304.

²³ Santangeli Valenzani/Meneghini 2007, 47–50; Santangeli 2000.

²⁴ *Tabularium S. Mariae Novae*, a. 982, no. 1, ed. Fedele, 183.

²⁵ Fiore Cavaliere 1978, 121–126, 145; Pani Ermini 2001, 315–317; Santangeli Valenzani 1994; Wickham 2015, 120, 130–134.

²⁶ Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 41–44, 50.

tenth century.²⁷ Less characteristically, the house opened not onto a road, but onto the interior, a plan akin to the traditional Roman *domus* which we still find in Ravenna.²⁸

Papal control over the city space also meant in effect that the new owner had the right to demolish or otherwise dispose of its built environment. To that extent, the ninth century was crucial in the transition of the old centre: until the Carolingian period, the monumental landscape of classical Rome was in a good state of preservation, but on account of the need to reinforce the city's fortifications and rebuild the walls, as well as to set up those of the Leonine city, the popes ripped out the marble floors of the imperial fora to reuse the marble.²⁹ This was the first example of actual spoliation and reuse of the monuments of the city centre, and it started the decline of the monumental fabric of the imperial fora. The popes sometimes kept such monuments as part of the memory of the city that they constructed, which we see so clearly in the *Itinerary of Einsiedeln*. This text, produced in the second half of the eighth century, only makes one error of identification when describing ancient monuments, that of calling the Stadium of Domitian the Circus Flaminius.³⁰ Otherwise, every name and identification is completely accurate – making it clear that they were all remembered and known, and that the papacy was keen to preserve them. But the spoliation of the marble floor in the fora led to the building of large *domus* along the Via Sacra and the Vicus Jugarius, and of small wooden houses like that in the northern corner of the Atrium of Vesta, which remained functional until the tenth century. The concomittant result was the rise of floor level in that area in the ninth and tenth centuries, as well as the presence of artisans' workshops in the area of Cannapara (cordwainers) and of modest houses in the Forum of Caesar, whose purpose was to service the nobler *domus* of the Forum of Nerva.³¹ This infill with private housing in the fora, as well as newly established churches including Sta Maria Nova, and the use made by them of still usable ruins, crypts, columns and arches, gradually led to an increasing ruralisation in the Forum of Caesar, and also an increasingly marshy landscape by the eleventh century, when even the *domus* of the Forum of Nerva were abandoned by the elite to lower social levels inhabitants.³² Part of the problem with the destruction of the buildings was the loss of

27 On the link between Alberic's family and the monastery of S. Ciriaco in Via Lata, see Cavazzi 1908 and *Ecclesiae S. Maria in Via Lata Tabularium*, Introduction, ed. Hartmann, vol. 1; Martinelli 1655, 7 129; Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 42–44; another example of such a house, a *domus solar ata* with a marble staircase is mentioned, for example, as the house belonging to land given by John Crescentius to Farfa in 1013, see Gregorio of Catino, *Il Regesto di Farfa*, no. 699 (doc. 667), ed. Giorgi/Balzani, vol. 4, 68–71.

28 The description of a characteristic house (*domucella cenaculata*) in Ravenna in 975–976 is for example that of the *negociator* Unalzo, see Benericetti 2002, 297 (no. 253).

29 Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 54–55, 71–72; Coates Stephens, 1998.

30 Del Lungo 2004; see also the essential papers by Delogu 2000a and 1988.

31 Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 157–174.

32 Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 44–47, 175–179.

inscriptions which anchored the names of these buildings in the popular memory: gradually until the twelfth century, the knowledge of the ancient city, or at any rather the correlation of monuments with their names, became lost. Thus not only in the hagiography do we have dragons living in the *disabitato* as mentioned by John the Deacon, but also fancy invented names for temples, such as *Templum Fatalis*, *Templum Dianae*, *Templum Minervae*, which bear no relation to the reality on the ground – a mythical city superimposing itself on the real city.³³ Some major names remain well-known, the Colosseum, Trajan and Antoninus's columns, the she-wolf, but increasingly the names of the regions no longer suffice to identify a place in a recognisable manner.

It remains significant that, when it comes to the elites' land transactions, their way of defining a particular piece of land is precisely through its localisation, for example in the form of 'one end is the wall which is adjacent to X's house, and the other wall is the one adjacent to Y's house, and the third one is the wall next to the temple of A'. Such examples include properties near the *columpna maiure* called Antoniniana, the area of the *Campus Martius*, the *campo de Agonis*, the *Horrea sub Aventino*, the *Therme Alexandrinis* and the *Thermis Diocletianis*, the areas called *Arenula* and *Piscinula*, the *Via Sacra*, the *templum* called *Romuleum*, the church of St Apollinaris a *templum Alexandrini*, the *arcus qui dicitur militiorum*, and the *Colossus*, used also to identify a person like 'Bonizo de Colossus'.³⁴ Here is an example of such a transaction, in 982, at the time of Otto II:

John archdeacon of the diaconia of 'S. Maria which they call Nova', leases to Leo, priest of the diaconia of SS Cosma e Damiano in the *Via Sacra*: [...] a tiled and shingled 1 storeyed house with solarium, with both the lower and the upper floor from the ground to the roof, with its courtyard and pergola, with the marble staircase in front, and the garden at the rear with 13 olive trees and other fruit trees. The house is sited in the Fourth Region in Rome, not far from the Colossus in the temple called the *Romuleum*, with the following boundaries on each side: on one side, the house of Romanus the smith, and the house of the brothers Francus and Sergius, the garden being of the heirs of a certain Kalopetrus, on the second side the garden of Constantius the priest

³³ *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, ed. and trans. Nichols/Gardiner; Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 225–227; Santangeli Valenzani 2015a, 314.

³⁴ *Regesto del monastero di S. Silvestro de Capite*, ed. Federici, 265–292 for the grant by Pope Agapitus II of 955, and its confirmation in 962; for several examples of such toponyms, see also *Le carte antiche dell'Archivio Capitolare di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, a. 955, ed. Schiaparelli 1901 (*columpna maiure*); *Liber Largitorius*, no. 279, ed. Zucchetti, vol. 1 for 958 charter, and Gregorio of Catino, *Il Regesto di Farfa*, no. 707 (doc. 675), ed. Giorgi/Balzani, vol. 4, 77–79, for 1027 privilege (*campo de Agonis*); *Il Regesto del monastero dei SS Andrea e Gregorio Ad Clivum Scauri*, no. 125, ed. Bartola, 495 (henceforth *S. Gregorio*), for 961 charter (*sub Aventino in loco qui vocatur Orrea*); Gregorio of Catino, *Il Regesto di Farfa*, no. 461 (doc. 428), ed. Giorgi/Balzani, vol. 3, 141–143, for 998 charter (*iuxta thermas Alexandrinis*); *Tabularium S. Praxedis* 2, ed. Fedele, 40–43, for 998–999 charter (*Thermis Diocletianis*); Lori Sanfilippo 1957, 2, no. 1 for 1000 charter (*Arenulam*); *S. Gregorio*, no. 68, ed. Bartola, 299, for 945 charter (*Piscinula*); *Tabularium S. Mariae Novae*, a. 982, no. 1, ed. Fedele, 182, for 982 lease (*Via Sacra*; *non longe a Colossus*); *Il Regesto Sublacense del secolo XI*, ed. Allodi/Levi (henceforth *RS*), no. 118 for 966 charter (*Bonizo a Colossus*).

and his family, on the third side the garden of Anna, a noble young lady, and the house of Stephen the coppersmith (*herarius*), and on the fourth side the public road.³⁵

An example of even more detailed knowledge can be found in Stefano de Imiza's grant to SS Andrea e Gregorio in Clivo Scauro in 975: he owned a large part of the eastern Palatine, including 'his' *templum* called *Septem Solis*, as well as the *criptas in portico* [...] above it, the *moenia palatii* called *Balneum Imperatoris* between the Circus (Maximus) and the *arcum triumphale* (of Constantine), all of which he gave to SS Andrea e Gregorio, in the case of the temple for the monastery to destroy it whenever it decided to do so.³⁶ The absence of the full names of the circus and the arch could be interpreted as proof of an end to the classical memory, but it can equally be interpreted as an omission of something, which is too obvious to all for it to be stated. Similar usage is found in narrative sources, and Benedict of Soracte for example uses references such as the *arcus qui dicitur militiorum* or the church of St Apollinaris *a templum Alexandrini*.³⁷

The area of the fora was clearly important for the strategies of settlement of the Roman aristocracy, especially for the family of Alberic and his friends. All their houses are around SS Apostoli (himself) and the Via Lata (his three cousins Marozia, Stefania and Teodora), and Alberic made gifts to churches in the reused monumental complexes, such as S. Basilio in scala Mortuorum, built on podium of the temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus.³⁸ When it first came to prominence, the family of Theophylact, like that of another major aristocratic functionary in the tenth century, Gregorius de Aventino, settled on the Aventine, as had the old imperial aristocracy.³⁹ The family still lived there, Theophylact and his wife Theodora, then their daughter Marozia and her son Alberic, born in the family home which he would later turn into the monastic foundation of Sta Maria de Aventino (now S. Maria del Priorato), to initiate the reform of Odo of Cluny in the city.⁴⁰ Alberic then moved to the

35 *Tabularium S. Mariae Novae*, a. 982, no. 1, ed. Fedele, 183: John archdeacon of the diaconia of 'S Maria quae appellatur Noba', [leases to] *Leo presbiter diaconiae SS Cosme et Damiani in Via Sacra: [...] domum solarata tegulicia et scandolicia, una in integrum cum inferiora et superiora sua a solo et usque a summo tecto, cum corticella sua et pergola atque scala marmorea ante se, hortuo post se in qua sunt 13 arbores olibarum seu ceteras arbores pomarum. Posito a Roma regio IV, non longe a Colossus in templum quod vocatur Romuleum, inter affines ab uno latere domum de Romano ferrario, atque domum de Franco et Sergio germanis, sive hortuo de heredes quondam Kalopetro, et a secundo latere hortuo de Constantio presbitero et de suis consortibus, et a tertio latere hortuo de Anna nobilissima puella ad domum de Stephano herario, et a quarto latere via publica.*

36 S. Gregorio, no. 151 (a. 975), ed. Bartola, 581–584.

37 Benedict of Soracte, *Chronicon*, ed. Zucchetti, 151, 170.

38 Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 47–59, Santangeli Valenzani 2011 and 2015; Wickham 2015, 22–28.

39 RS no. 55.

40 Rota 1956; Sickel 1902 — more recently, Hamilton's papers, especially Hamilton 1962/1979 and Hamilton 1970; Santangeli Valenzani 2011, and Wickham 2015, 24–28.

area closest to the imperial end of the fora, and his palace was back at the core of power on the Via Lata, at SS Apostoli.⁴¹ I would like to remark in passing on the fact that this may be also an interesting choice of location in relation to its name: the cult was of course strongly associated with the imperial family in Constantinople, notably with the Apostoleion.

Another element of interest in relation to the topography of the city and its elites is the case of the Palatine.⁴² In the late-seventh century it was still in use, as witnessed by the existence of the *curator palatii* Platon, father of Pope John VII, who then moved the *episcopium* there, where it remained until Pope Zacharias moved it back to the Lateran half a century later, either because it was no longer felt to be in need of imperial protection or because it was no longer in need of closeness to the by then no longer Byzantine centre of power.⁴³ When Charlemagne and his successors were in Rome, they never considered reviving of use of Palatine by living there, either because of its Byzantine association, but more likely because they did not see their empire in that way; they saw it as Constantinian, and therefore its link was with St Peter and hence the Vatican, where the Carolingian palace was.⁴⁴ The Palatine was abandoned as a palace and saw the transformation of some of the old buildings into churches and monasteries, most famously S. Maria in Pallara, founded in the tenth century by Peter Medicus, possibly from an existing church in a *curtis*.⁴⁵ In the tenth century the Palatine had large areas of private aristocratic property, often granted to monasteries. Thus, while no longer an area of imperial power, there was an increasing interest in the Palatine from some aristocratic families in the tenth century, especially the de Imiza – Stephen's grant of 975 to SS Andrea e Gregorio has been mentioned, and the family already had a foothold in the area in 963.⁴⁶ The de Papa family of John de Papa *de septem viis* around the Septizodium was another such aristocratic family.⁴⁷

A quick word on the debate of Otto III's palace on the Palatine (or not) – though this is not immediately related to my discussion here.⁴⁸ Currently, we still have two views on the matter, the first developed by Schramm and Brühl and apparently accepted by Toubert and Augenti for example, suggesting that Otto III, true to his ideas of imperial *renovatio*, actually took up residence on the Palatine. This is contested by Santangeli Valenzani, followed by Le Pogam, who remain convinced that Otto stayed

⁴¹ RS, no. 155 (Alberic's 942 *placitum*); Santangeli Valenzani 2015a.

⁴² Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 209–215; Augenti 1996, 45–74; Augenti 1999 and 2000.

⁴³ LP I, John VII, 385–387, and Zacharias, c. 18, p. 432; Augenti 1996, 60.

⁴⁴ See eg. Monciatti 2005, 8–15.

⁴⁵ Fedele 1903.

⁴⁶ Wickham 2015; Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 211; S. Gregorio no. 151 (a. 975), ed. Bartola, 581–584, for the de Imiza bequest, also mentioning the de Papa.

⁴⁷ Augenti 1996, 62–63.

⁴⁸ P. Schramm 1984, 87–187; Brühl 1954; Toubert 1973, 2, 1012; Augenti 1996, 74–77; Görich 1994; Santangeli Valenzani 2001; Le Pogam 2004.

on the Aventine, like all Roman aristocrats, probably at SS Alessio e Bonifazio. Görich further related Otto III's move to the Palatine to the fact that much of it was in the hands of the Imiza family, who were 'pro-imperial', as opposed to the Crescentii on Quirinale.⁴⁹ Did Otto stay on the Aventine? – very likely; did he want to revive the Palatine? – very likely too, and he may have begun to do so later had he lived.

By the tenth century we no longer have only a few major aristocrats who take over the monuments, everybody appropriates the old public space. At first it had been the papacy which, through papal foundations like *xenodochiae* and *diaconiae*, had implanted a network of assistance and helped expand papal power and control over the city, largely in relation to pilgrims from northern Europe.⁵⁰ In the tenth century it was the aristocracy, and especially Alberic and his entourage, who were responsible for the foundation and reform of monasteries, which were also part of their strategy of territorial control of the city.⁵¹ Such tenth-century foundations, whether chapels in their palaces or new houses, were aristocratic and not papal, founded or promoted by Alberic and his family or friends. From the foundation of SS Ciriaco e Nicola in Via Lata by the women of Theophylact's family, Sta Maria de Aventino by Alberic or SS Cosma e Damiano in Mica Aurea by Benedict Campaninus, and SS Alessio e Bonifazio, to the gifts to SS Andrea e Gregorio, S. Erasmo on the Celio, S. Pietro in Horrea and Sta Maria in Monasterio by the likes of the de Imiza, to the great reforms of Subiaco, it was the aristocracy who was involved with monasticism, not the papacy.⁵²

Monastic reform was not the only aspect of Alberic's policy in relation to the reuse of the ancient topography of power. Another aspect was his support to what one might see as an attempt at urbanism through government intervention, associated with Kaleolus, one of Alberic's friends at the 942 *placitum*.⁵³ This was an attempt at 'rezoning' or urban regeneration in the Forum of Trajan, in the area known as the *Campus Kaleolonis*.⁵⁴ Here too there were several aristocratic *domus*. Like his control of monasteries and of the Church in order to make sure of that they functioned well and carried out their duties, a prerogative but also a duty perceived as part of the ruler's (usually the emperor's) function, so the intervention of the *princeps* for the purposes of euergetism seems to have been felt by Alberic to be part of a Roman ruler's job description.⁵⁵ To that extent, Alberic's influence in terms of consciousness of

49 Görich 1994.

50 To the classics on the history of the assistential system, esp. Lestocquoy 1930 and Bertolini 1968, need to be added the more recent Saxer 2001, 584–590; Stasolla 1998; and Giuntella 2001. A key paper on the subject is now Santangeli Valenzani 1996 as well as his discussion in Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 73–91.

51 Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 47–53, 95–101.

52 Santangeli Valenzani 1996 and 2008; Barone 2014, 200–205.

53 For the 942 *placitum* see RS no. 155.

54 Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 186.

55 Rota 1956, 16–20; Kölmel 1935b.

the Roman past can be also seen in the other aspect with which this paper is concerned: the self-consciousness of the Roman elites as expressed through their titles.

The secular administration of Rome still used some of the old titles and functions, but these had gradually lapsed, so that, for example, the last mention of a Prefect of the City, with the title of *vir gloriosus*, had been that of Gregory the Great.⁵⁶ Apart from a brief reappearance at the time of Hadrian II (772–795), when a Dominicus is said to have been Urban Prefect – Cecchelli, Arnaldi and Burgarella have all shown how the same name is used but without there being any demonstrable continuity – the next proper reference to a Prefect of the City was in 955 in the Bull of Agapitus II, which mentioned the *Praefectus* Stephen de Teodoro, precisely at the time of Alberic.⁵⁷ The next prefect would be Peter, active during the rebellion of 965–966 against Otto I and later hung by the hair from the statue of Constantine.⁵⁸ Words such as senate and senator were used, often by northern writers, for example by Regino and the author of the *Annals of Fulda*, the first mentioning that in 872 ‘the Roman senate declared [...] Adalgis to be a tyrant’ or that in 881 ‘Charles [the Fat] coming to Rome, was [...] received [...] by the Roman senate’, and the second stating that in 896 ‘the whole of the senate of the Romans [...] came [...] to receive the king [...]’ and that ‘Constantine and Stephen [...] were great among the senators’. Senators and the senate were also still mentioned by the *Liber Pontificalis*, most conspicuously under Hadrian II,⁵⁹ but no scholar, except Solmi who wrote in 1944 with nationalistic fervour that the senate had continued to exist without interruption throughout the early Middle Ages, actually believes that there was such continuity.⁶⁰

In the remaining charters and judicial documents dated to between 750 and 1000 the most common title found is that of *consul et dux*, which appears in over thirty documents, with several people being so described – the title thus expanded from being a qualifier of moderate to high status when it defined many people in one document, to one increasingly more limited to those of the highest status, when referring to *primates* like John de Primicerio, Ildebrandus and Stephen de Imiza, especially when associated to the qualifying *eminentissimus vir*. The title was used for Theophylact and Crescentius II, for example in 927 and 987, though they had more elevated ones too.⁶¹ The use of the separate titles of either consul or *dux* without the combination of the two, interestingly, seems to have been used, though also rather indiscriminately, only at the highest level, with *dux* alone used in twelve docu-

⁵⁶ LP I, Gregory I, 312–314.

⁵⁷ For the Bull of Agapitus II see above n. 30; Cecchelli 1935; Burgarella 2001; see also Arnaldi 1982; P. Schramm 1984, 57–63; Görich 1993, 250–256.

⁵⁸ LP II, John XIII, p. 252.

⁵⁹ Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon*, a. 872, a. 881, trans. MacLean; *Annales Fuldenses*, a. 896, trans. Reuter, 133–134; LP II, Valentine, c. 7, p. 72, and Hadrian II, c. 3, p. 173.

⁶⁰ Solmi 1944.

⁶¹ 927 (Theophylact): RS no. 62; 987 (Crescentius) see *Regesto dell’abbazia di Sant’Alessio all’Aven-tino*, no. 3, ed. Monaci, 368–369.

ments when referring to men such as Theodorus *dux* in 939 or Demetrius de Melioso in 961, but also sometimes more specifically for the most powerful men around Rome, such as Ingebaldus *dux et rector* of Sabina in 939.⁶² Likewise, while the title of consul was fairly generously given in 837, it became more restricted in the tenth century, when it too was associated only with Theophylact in 963, John and Crescentius II sons of Crescentius in 988, and Demetrius de Melioso in 946⁶³ – fewer than ten documents in the tenth century. It could be sometimes associated with another title, for example that of *magister censi Urbis Romae* in 850 and *tabellio Urbis Romae* in 927,⁶⁴ at which point it was still at a lower level of importance, compared to those of Theophylact consul, and Crescentius *consul et senator*. Clearly, there was a conflation of titles meant to be reminiscent of the Roman tradition in the later ninth and early tenth centuries, but there appears to have been a change across the tenth century, with a more hierarchical and restrictive application as time went on. This ‘specialization’ first of all separated the *dux*, and at a lower level, the *comes*, used sometimes for city aristocrats but increasingly for the dominant figures of the papal territories, such as Ingebald of Sabina – men who were not in fact part of the papal government of the city – and the consuls, the aristocracy whose power was city-based, associated with papal posts, such as Theophylact as *vestararius*, John de Primicerio and, in the ultimate case, Alberic and Crescentius, with the ultimately elevated titles of *senator* and *illustrissimus*.⁶⁵ The title of *senator*, and of *illustrissimus*, which had gradually disappeared after the eighth century, was resurrected as the highest one by Alberic as part of his revival of classical Rome, and was presumably meant to apply to the men governing Rome, to himself in 937, 938 and 945 as *omnium Romanorum senator*. It was later assumed by others who saw themselves in this light, Gregorius *Romanorum senator* in 986, and Crescentius in 989 as *omnium Romanorum senator*.⁶⁶ The use of all such titles was not simply self-assumed, and examples show people being addressed as such, for example in a letter from Eugenius Vulgarius to

62 Gregorio of Catino, *Il Regesto di Farfa*, n. 400 (doc. 372), ed. Giorgi/Balzano, vol. 3, 79–80.

63 RS no. 123: *Theophilactus eminentissimus consul* in 963; *Regesta Honorii Papae* 3, ed. Pressutti, 1, cxx–cxxi for *Iohannes et Crescentius illustrissimi viri filii domini Crescentii consulis et ducis qui dicitur de Theodora* in 988; *Regesta Honorii Papae* 3, ed. Pressutti, no. 1 for *Demetrius eminentissimus consul et dux filiusque Meliosi* in 946.

64 RS no. 31: *Anastasius consul et magistro censi urbis Romae* in 850; RS no. 62: *Leo in Dei nomine consul et tabellio urbis Romae* in 927.

65 *Theophilactus vestararius*: Sergia and Bonifacius children of *Theophilactus vesterarius* and *Theodora vesterarissa* in 900 circa, see Mai 1831, 215; in 927, *Liber Largitorius*, no. 82, ed. Zucchetti, vol. 1; S. Gregorio no. 4, ed. Bartola, 22: *Ioannes consul et dux qui vocatur de Primicerio* in 983; BAV Codices Vaticani Latini, Fondo Galletti 12632, pp. 313–317 [formerly ASV Indice 224]: *Dominus Crescentius excellentissimus vir et omnium Romanorum senator atq[ue] glorioso comes* in 989; Zimmermann 1984, no. 72 (a. 936), pp. 120–124 or no. 85 (a. 938), pp. 146–148: *magnificus vir Albericus, gloriosissimus princeps atque omnium Romanorum senator*; S. Gregorio no. 68, ed. Bartola, 297: *Albericus Domini gratia humilis [later gloriosus] princeps atque omnium Romanorum senator* in 945.

66 *Cartario di S. Maria in Campo Marzio*, ed. Carusi, no. 1: *Gregorii Romanorum senatoris* (a. 986).

someone of importance in the Roman Church calling him *episcoporum venerantissimo* [...] *ac senatori primo*, and to one Geminus as consul, admittedly by a writer who defined the success of Pope Sergius as the man who had restored the Rome of the Fabii and the Scipioni.⁶⁷ The title was not limited to men, but used extensively by the women of the Theophylact/Alberic family: Marozia II, Theophylact's granddaughter, wife of the *vestararius* Theophylact, *senatrix omnium Romanorum*, and her sister Stefania *senatrix*, mostly also qualified as *illustrissima*, as was their sister Teodora III, and then Gregory de Tusculum son of Marozia II, and Crescentius II.⁶⁸ At the summit of the pyramid was, of course, the *princeps* title revived by Alberic for himself with a very different meaning from such Carolingian titles as used by, for example, Louis III in 901: not as the leading members of the court, and not only imitating the titles of southern Italian princes,⁶⁹ but also modelled on the title and role of Augustus, the *primus inter pares* among senators, the *cuncto senatus* as defined in a 958 *placitum*.⁷⁰

The family of the *vestararius* Theophylact *gloriosissimus* and his wife Theodora *vesterarissa* or *vesteratrix* were in control of the city at the turn of the tenth century, and he was succeeded by their daughter Marozia *senatrix Romanorum*, who ruled the city after her father's death until 932. In 932 Marozia's son Alberic famously rejected her third marriage to king Hugh of Provence or of Arles, rebelling against his perceived humiliation by Hugh when, as his stepson, Alberic brought him a basin of water for Hugh to wash his hands before the nuptial banquet, and Hugh shouted at him for not being polite enough; Alberic used the opportunity to rally the Roman aristocracy around him against the foreigners, he disposed of his mother by imprisoning her, and ruled as *princeps atque omnium Romanorum senator* from 932, though he himself married Hugh's daughter Alda.⁷¹ He was succeeded in 954 by his son Octavian, who later became Pope John XII (956–964).

Alberic's court is best seen in his chief remaining act of government, the 942 *placitum*. The main figures at this point, and into the second half of the tenth century, were Benedict Campaninus, Stephen de Imiza son of Ildebrand, Demetrius de Melioso, and John de Primicerio.⁷² Benedict Campaninus was described as *eminentissimus vir et gloriosus dux*.⁷³ Demetrius di Melioso too was *eminentissimus consul et dux* by

⁶⁷ Eugenius Vulgarius, *Sylloga* ed. in P. Schramm 1984, no. 33, 52–53.

⁶⁸ RS no. 64: *Marozza senatrix omnium Romanorum* (a. 959); RS no. 124: *Marozza excellentissima femina atque senatrix* (a. 961); Zimmermann 1984, no. 205 (a. 970), pp. 404–406: *Stefania clarissima senatrix*; *Regesto dell'abbazia di Sant'Alessio all'Aventino*, no. 3 (a. 987), ed. Monaci, 368: *Stefania il lustrissima femina comitissa senatris*.

⁶⁹ On Alberic's titles see above note 61 and also, for *princeps* on its own, for example Zimmermann 1984, no. 85 (a. 938), pp. 146–148, *Albericus gloriosus princeps Romanorum*; Labruzzi 1912; Wickham 2015, 24, 190; Wickham 2000.

⁷⁰ RS no. 20.

⁷¹ Benedict of Soracte, *Chronicon*, ed. Zucchetti, 165–167; Liutprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis* 3, 45–46, ed. Becker, 97–98.

⁷² RS no. 155.

⁷³ RS no. 35: *Benedicti eminentissimi viri et gloriosi duci* (a. 943).

946;⁷⁴ he was one of John XII's envoys to Otto I and for Liutprand, he was the *illustrior* of the Roman *optimates*.⁷⁵ His son was John *excellentissimus vir*, and in 987 he, like his father, was *eminentissimus consul* [sic] *et dux*, with two *nobilissime* sisters (married to a *nobilis vir* and a *consul et dux*).⁷⁶ John de Primicerio, as his name suggests, was presumably the son of a papal office-holder. Like Benedict Campaninus, he was one of the great aristocrats present at the court cases in 966 and 983, and also the executor of the will of Stephen de Imiza, as *consul et dux*. His son Leo was called *illustris*,⁷⁷ perhaps the title which was historically most directly associated with the foremost Roman families, and a title often applied to women as well, as had been the case in the Late Roman Empire for the highest-ranking members of the Senate. Before 1000, we find it recorded nearly forty times, over half of which apply to the people just mentioned above and/or their close relatives: the families of Theophylact and Alberic, the de Imiza, the de Primicerio, the Crescentii, and their wives.⁷⁸

But neither Theophylact nor Alberic were consistent about their titles; they were taking up a range of past images without settling for any one on a permanent basis, which indicates that they themselves were perhaps creating their legitimacy on the basis of classicizing formulae, in other words picking and choosing what they thought most fit out of a body of symbols, titles and ideas of power. I should like to show how this affected their perception of their own role within the body politic of the city.

Traditional historiography has made much of the 'Italian' or 'national' versus 'foreign' or 'German' attitudes in Rome and in Italy in the tenth century.⁷⁹ While current perceptions have shifted away from this perceived nineteenth century 'nationalist' attitude, there is some indirect continuation of it among some historians who see the success of Alberic and the Crescentii as a form of the tenth century dislocation of the Carolingian world, and thus as an attempt by individual local powers, be they regions or ethnic groups, to move away from the centralising power of the empire and to gain independence.⁸⁰ It seems to me plausible to see the political development of tenth-century Rome in the terms suggested by Delogu, Wickham and Di Carpegna Falconieri,⁸¹ as an attempt to reverse the ninth-century expansion of papal power in European terms, and to treat Rome as only a part of the wider political man-

74 *Documenti dell'archivio della cattedrale di Velletri*, no. 1 (a. 946), ed. Stevenson, 73: *Demetrius eminentissimus consul et dux filiusque Meliosi*.

75 Liutprand, *Historia Ottonis* 6, ed. Becker, 162–163.

76 *Regesto dell'abbazia di Sant'Alessio all'Aventino*, no. 2 (a. 987), ed. Monaci, 365–368: *Iohannes eminentissimus consul et dux filiusque Demetrii*, with his sisters Boniza and Theodora *nobilissime femine*, wives of *Franco nobilis vir* and *Gregorius consul et dux*.

77 *Ecclesiae S. Maria in Via Lata Tabularium* no. 10 A, ed. Hartmann: *Leo [tt illustris] filius Iohannis de primicerio* (a. 981); *S. Gregorio* no. 4 (a. 983), ed. Bartola, 23: *Leo illustris filius Ioannis de Primicerio*.

78 Wickham 2015, 195.

79 Most obvious representative of this debate is Kölmel 1935a.

80 Keller 2015, 280–281.

81 Delogu 2000b; Wickham 2015, 24–25; Di Carpegna Falconieri 2002.

date of the western empire, to return the government of the city and the remit of its bishop to a more specifically Roman one, rather than the European political power towards which it had been gradually moving under the Carolingians, and which the Ottonians revived with even more enthusiasm through their appointment of 'German' popes. If we accept this, then the choices made by the Roman aristocracy to try and control papal appointments, and to control the running of the city, seem to me to be manifestations of this 'anti-internationalism', and of a return to the structures of government of a more 'secular' Rome, for which the best model would have therefore been a pre-Constantinian, or even pre-imperial, Rome. One could then interpret Alberic's opposition to the rule of Hugh of Provence over the city, and by Crescentius II to that of the Ottonians in this light. The issue was not simply one of control over the papacy, but also, in the case of Alberic specifically, an attempt to reduce the influence of the popes to what he probably saw as its rightful remit, that of ministering to the Church of Rome, rather than, on the Carolingian model that it had increasingly adopted, being a political power controlling areas of the remit of the prince.

To that extent, one could suggest that Alberic's was a truly determined attempt at revival of the real power of Rome in the sense of the old republic, rather than that of spiritual tourism of the papacy, which was mostly centred on pilgrimage. Alberic and his 'court' clearly tried to put in place policies based on two goals: that of reviving Roman classical structures, such as the titles of Urban Prefect and the Senate, and that of attempting to create a more secular, Roman focus to their rule, opposed to the papacy's perception, which had become too focused on its European level. Such aims can be guessed at from Alberic's acts as a ruler. We have very few surviving coins of Alberic: on them he uses the title of *patricius* in the first instance, which, it has been argued, was meant to show that his position was granted by the Byzantine emperor.⁸² This may have been so, but in that case it would have been because he sought help against Hugh from the Byzantines – such a title might show that they may have considered giving it, and that they granted Alberic a title just below that of the emperor, and one previously used for the exarchs.⁸³ However, once he got rid of Hugh and did not need such help any more, Alberic only used the *princeps* title. But Alberic's view of his power was that it was given to him by the *populus Romanus* as full sovereignty – which explains his minting of coins.

Another way in which Alberic acted as a ruler was that, while fighting against a possible imperial rule by Hugh, he himself acted as an emperor. We can see this firstly through his founding and reforming of monasteries, and secondly through his supporting a 'rezoning' of the heart of imperial Rome through patronage and euergetism, as in the *Campo Kaleolonis*.⁸⁴ Alberic saw monastic reform as part of the role of the emperor to look after the good of the Church. At a time when there

⁸² Labruzzi 1912, 147–149; Fusconi 2012. I am grateful to A. Rovelli for the latter reference.

⁸³ Labruzzi 1912, 147.

⁸⁴ Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 180–186.

was no emperor, this would have to be part of his responsibility as a ruler: he could argue that he had to do it since the function of emperor was suspended. He was a major monastic reformer and his family granted lands to major monasteries in and outside Rome, and he attempted to control both land and government rights in Lazio, notably through having his own men in control, such as Benedict Campaninus *gloriosus dux*.⁸⁵ He tried to re-establish territorial control over the *Patrimonium S. Petri*, through officials answering to him. At the same time, even as he took control of monasteries like Subiaco, he did not turn his lands and that of his family, held as emphyteutic land from the Church, into patrimonial land, nor did he in fact attempt to build a dynasty.⁸⁶ There was on his part a distinct lack of interest in expansion outside Rome or Lazio; no attempt at direct kingship or empire, no patrimonialization of family wealth.

And this, to my mind, implies that, at the same time as he carried out a revival of an ancient Rome, with republican memories, and some of the duties and roles of an emperor, Alberic also showed either an uncertain understanding of what ancient Roman rule meant, or, far more likely, he was constructing his own idea of ancient Roman rule in an antiquarian style. Alberic's cultivation of the Roman past, especially in its republican tradition: the revival of the Senate and the office of Prefect of the City, head of the judicial system, as well as of his own title of *princeps* of the Senate, the naming of his son Octavian, his use of his name on the coinage, his idea of the prince's euergetism, was a deliberate classicizing act.⁸⁷ At the same time, interestingly, he did not attempt to create a government in the Roman style, notably in terms of legislation or justice. There are, extraordinarily for one so attached to the Roman tradition, fewer documents from Alberic's rule than from almost any other of that period in the city, and only one which could be definitely seen as a 'public' act, referring to a meeting of his 'court': the record of the *placitum* held in his palace at SS Apostoli in 942.⁸⁸ Alberic did not date his documents by his own rule but by that of the popes. He not only rejected his mother's marriage to King Hugh but also, after having thrown Hugh out of Rome, he deliberately moved out of Castel S. Angelo, where Hugh and his mother had been ensconced, back to SS Apostoli, a symbolic move away from a fortified residence, as used by tyrants alone,⁸⁹ to a palace admittedly, but only the foremost one among his peers. He made a point of living in his own house as a *princeps* – even the doges in Venice, while living in their own houses before and after their period of office, did make the ducal palace their official residence

⁸⁵ Wickham 2015, 192.

⁸⁶ Wickham 2015, 24–25.

⁸⁷ P. Schramm 1984, 87–187; Görich 1993, 187–267.

⁸⁸ RS no. 55.

⁸⁹ Santangeli Valenzani 2015a.

while in office.⁹⁰ The lack of attempt at patrimonializing the family lands at a time when the popes were particularly weak and would have been unable to resist pressure from the *princeps*, and the little preoccupation with the creation of dynastic rule in the mould of most post-Carolingian rulers, seems to suggest that Alberic did not see himself as a ruler of this kind, for example as a potential king of Italy, let alone an emperor. He may have done so early on, which may explain his (failed) attempt to gain a Byzantine bride; perhaps this failure brought him back to focusing on Roman interests alone later. Alberic seems to have not quite been able to decide whether he wished his rule to be one in the post-Carolingian model, or one fully in the Roman model. He may not have wanted to, or been able to, think entirely in terms of a tradition of 'secular' Roman government for himself and the city. This would not have been an impossible point of view at the time, with the doges of Venice thinking exactly like that. Moreover, it may not have been a totally alien view in Rome itself, if one believes, as I do, that there had been an earlier Roman attempt to revive a secular tradition of government. The idea of a return to the perceived greatness of ancient Rome by restoring the traditional separation between secular and ecclesiastical government in a pre-Constantinian mould, could have been exactly what Pope Sergius II's (844–847) brother Benedict was attempting to do. The *Liber Pontificalis*' hostility to Benedict seems to indicate that he attempted to build a more secular power in city, notably through the construction and restoration of the walls and other fortifications, 'despoiling' monasteries – as well as being guilty of simony, since he was indifferent to the spiritual qualities of future bishops and only wanted to raise money through the sale of episcopal charges in order to achieve his aim.⁹¹ Moreover, he claimed to have been given the 'primacy' or 'lordship at Rome'; some have explained this as some kind of imperial deputy title. The accusation of simony against Benedict clearly reflects the chronicler's shock at this abuse of the tools of power of the Church; but such a use of the Church patrimony to construct defenses at the expense of monasteries and churches could also be interpreted as an attempt to establish a distinct non-ecclesiastical and military rule over the city (in his case a more definitely imperial one), even though not to the extent that Alberic was to do subsequently.

Chris Wickham saw Alberic's request on his death-bed for his son to be made pope as an acknowledgement of the failure of his plans for a Roman republican revival.⁹² I would also see it as an acknowledgement of the fact that, by that stage, the association of Rome with the papacy, especially as a result of the northern European veneration for St Peter, had already made the city too much of a player on the European scale for a purely Roman regime for Rome to be still feasible. It was not really

⁹⁰ John the Deacon, *Chronicon Venetum* 3, 32, ed. and trans. Berto, 147, where John the Deacon highlights how one doge, after becoming ill and withdrawing from the ducal charge, leaves the palace to go back to this house.

⁹¹ LP II, Sergius II, cc. 40–42, pp. 97–98.

⁹² Wickham 2015, 24.

possible for Alberic 'to turn the pope into a mere bishop on a permanent basis'.⁹³ More importantly perhaps was the fact that, during his rule as a *princeps*, Alberic had succeeded in keeping away the various powers fighting for control of Italy, from Hugh of Italy to Berengar II and Adalbert, from gaining a foothold in the city. He had been successful in this on account of his own strong power and prestige, and of the fact that he was able to rule with the consensus of the main aristocratic factions in the city. It seems more than probable that, by the time of his death, he would have been able to see that the chances of his son doing the same as *princeps* would have been lesser, and that the consensus was unlikely to last, unless his son also came to be in charge of the pontificate.

The attempt to revert to a secular government was made again by the Crescentii who did, however, have to deal with an emperor too. Crescentius I de Theodora, *illustrissimus vir* and *consul et dux*, was already a political actor in the 970s, but it would be his wife's Sergia *illustrissima femina* and their sons, John and Crescentius II *illustrissimi viri*, who would be the major political figures in Rome in the 990, John with the title of *patricius*, Crescentius II as *excelentissimus vir et omnium Romanorum senator*.⁹⁴ The latter took control of Rome in the early 990s, and was still in charge when Otto III invaded the city, besieged and took Castel S. Angelo and beheaded him in 998, after having ritually mutilated and humiliated the pope set up by him, John XVI, Otto's very own old tutor John Philagathos.⁹⁵ We know how keen Otto III was on 'his' Romans and on his plan for the *Renovatio imperii Romani*; for this, he put together a package comprising Roman titles for his court, such as the *prefectus navalis*, *imperialis palatii magistri*, *imperialis militiae magister*, mixed with Byzantine ones such as *logotheta* and *protospatharius*, partly known through his mother's roots and partly probably copying the administration of the papal court, itself modeled on that of the imperial palace of Constantinople in the first instance.⁹⁶ Moreover, he behaved in a manner which he thought suited to his imperial position, most famously through his splendid isolation when dining alone at a semi-circular table on a little stage.⁹⁷ Had this remained his only stance of imitation and restoration, as others had done before him, for example Berengar I when he was said in the *Gesta Berengarii* to have been received in the city with a proper *adventus* ceremony, complete with *proskynesis*, salutation, coronation and acclamation,⁹⁸ Otto III might have been regarded by the Romans as yet another northern fan of Antiquity. The real problem arose when he made it clear that he intended actually to reside in Rome, probably on the Palatine in the old imperial seat of power, and to govern from there. As previously sug-

⁹³ Wickham 2015, 24.

⁹⁴ *Regesta Honorii Papae* 3, ed. Pressutti, 1, cxxi; BAV Codices Vaticani Latini, Fondo Galletti 12632 [ex ASV Indice 224], 313–317.

⁹⁵ Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon* 4, 30–31, ed. Holtzmann, 167–169.

⁹⁶ Halphen 1905; Houben 2001, 27–34; Labande 1963; P. Schramm 1969.

⁹⁷ Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon* 4, 47, ed. Holtzmann, 185–186.

⁹⁸ *Gesta Berengarii imperatoris*, ed. and trans. Stella, 120–129; Hofmann 2002, 547–556.

gested, most ‘foreigners’ thought that Rome meant the Vatican and St Peter’s, and most Romans were quite happy to allow them to live with this delusion. Having Otto III actually wanting to take over the city of Rome itself was, however, definitely not an acceptable situation, for either the Crescentii or any other important Roman family, possibly not even for the allegedly pro-imperial de Imiza.

As rulers of Rome, the Crescentii had some of the same problems that Alberic had had, but for them too the focus of their interest and political power was the city – Chris Wickham had shown how Rome was sufficiently important and rich for one to be satisfied with controlling it rather than bothering with external struggles in Italy.⁹⁹ Had the emperor been like the Carolingians, or even like Otto I, who focused on St Peter’s, one could live with that. The problem with Otto III was first of all that he wanted to rule from Rome and in Rome, which would have been unacceptable to the Romans, and secondly that the pope at this time, Gregory V, was his appointee as well as his German relative Bruno; neither could possibly have endeared him to the Romans. Crescentius II responded by pushing out Gregory V and putting in place his own pope, John XVI. But even after having Crescentius II executed and John XVI punished in 998, this did not allowed him to regain control of the city: Otto was effectively thrown out of Rome, never to return – though he is unlikely of course to have accepted this dismissal had he lived longer. Gregory V was accepted back briefly before his death in 999, and Otto again chose the next pope, Silvester II, but he was an outsider, a Frenchman and a well-known scholar under his name of Gerbert, and therefore probably a more acceptable compromise. Mainly, though, in Rome itself, Crescentius II’s son John gained an even stronger position than his father’s as Rome’s effective ruler with the titles of *patricius urbis* or *patricius senatus* or *patricius Romanorum* up to his death in 1012.¹⁰⁰

The various perceptions of Rome in the ninth and tenth centuries referred to the present as well as the past: *aurea Roma*, *Roma caput mundi*, *rerum suprema potestas*, *terrarium terror*, *fulmen quod fulminat orbem*,¹⁰¹ the city of St Peter and the capital of the *patrimonium* of St Peter, the city of Augustus and Trajan, the city of Constantine, and the capital of the Christian Roman Empire, even Republican Rome, ‘mistress of the nations’, *res publica Romanorum*. Most of them were proposed by the creators of ideology, papal or imperial, and by outsiders looking at the city and its associations with the Roman Empire, the martyrs, and especially St Peter. For the Roman aristocracy, as far as we can tell in the ninth century, when we begin to have enough evidence, one can speculate that they too ‘bought’ into this scenario, and associated their own power with that of the rising importance of the papacy. This is, for example, Delogu’s view about the use of the past in Rome, and one which can be justified

⁹⁹ Wickham 2015, 192.

¹⁰⁰ Wickham 2015, 199–200. See also Scholz 2006.

¹⁰¹ Eugenius Vulgarius, *Sylloga* ed. in P. Schramm 1984, no. 33, 52–53; *Libellus de imperatoria potestate in urbe Roma*, ed. Zucchetti, 191–210.

from the overall narrative.¹⁰² I would propose, however, that the importance of the actual, real presence of the traces of imperial Rome visible to the naked eye in the city, and their impact in everyday life for reference purposes, as well as being part of the folklore of the city, and the sheer long-term memory of the association of power with words like senate, consul, *princeps*, were still part of the ideological mental landscape of the city. Di Carpegna Falconieri has pointed out the importance of the concept of *romanitas* to Romans in legal terms, not because of some major legal distinctions at this point between Roman and Lombard law, but because it was a way of expressing belonging.¹⁰³ There was a clear understanding that Rome had been great and no longer was, as the beginning of the *Libellus de imperatoria potestate in urbe Roma* says:

*Priscis temporibus imperiale decus effloruit Romae, sub cuius dominatione diversa consistebant regna, et cui cunctae gentes propria submittebant colla. Constituit ergo consules, qui cotidiano usu regni gubernacula consilio disponebant. Erant namque distributa officia per senatores et magistratus, prout unicuique ministerium opere competeat.*¹⁰⁴

In earlier times the imperial ornament flourished in Rome, under the power of which were various kingdoms and to which all these peoples bowed their heads. It appointed consuls, who on a daily basis dispensed the government of the kingdom through their counsel. Many offices were distributed, senators and magistrates, to each in accordance with their competence for that particular task. (My translation)

completing it with a nostalgic yearning for it, when mentioning how, when Lothar I was emperor in Rome:

*ubi et ampliori quadam usum est potestate, habens strenuos viros eius urbis, scientes antiquam imperatorum consuetudinem, et intimantes Caesari, qui suggerebant illi, repetere antiquam imperatorum dominationem.*¹⁰⁵

while according to custom power was greater, having strong men from the city itself, with knowledge of ancient imperial law, suggesting to Caesar and intimating to him that he should restore the ancient rule of the emperors. (My translation)

Even Liutprand, in his fictionalized account of Alberic's speech to the Romans after his quarrel with Hugh, made this point – no friend of Alberic, we must assume that he would have thought it plausible for the *princeps* to have said these things, and be taken seriously:

“The dignity of the Roman city is led to such depth of stupidity that it now obeys the command of a prostitute. For what is more lurid and more debased than that the city of Rome should per

¹⁰² Delogu 2015, esp. p. 318; see also Di Carpegna Falconieri 2002, 92–93.

¹⁰³ Di Carpegna Falconieri 2012a, 85–87.

¹⁰⁴ *Libellus de imperatoria potestate in urbe Roma*, ed. Zucchetti, 191.

¹⁰⁵ *Libellus de imperatoria potestate in urbe Roma*, ed. Zucchetti, 200.

ish by the impurity of one woman, and the one time slaves of the Romans, the Burgundians, I mean, should rule the Romans?"¹⁰⁶

As for Benedict of Soracte, his final lamentation about the fate of Rome, *at tantis genta oppressa et conculcata*, now under the Saxon yoke, daughter after having been mother, holding the scepter and supreme power over kings, has become a well-known topos.¹⁰⁷

Despite this awareness and the lamentations on it, it remains clear that there was enough of the glory of Rome left on the ground to make it highly visible and desirable to be associated with it, and proud of it if one was a Roman born and bred – maybe even to use it as part of one's day to day life. This, obviously, is precisely what led to Liutprand's alleged scandalized attitude to John XII, who, according to him, was known to *in ludo alea Iovis, Veneris, ceterarum demonum adiutorium poposcisse* – 'invoke the names of Jupiter, Venus and other demons when playing dice' – as the pope was accused of doing at the synod which deposed him in 963.¹⁰⁸

106 Liutprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis* 3, 45, trans. Squatriti, 134.

107 Benedict of Soracte, *Chronicon*, ed. Zucchetti, 186.

108 Liutprand, *Historia Ottonis* 6, ed. Becker, 162–163. Grabowski 2015 has shown convincingly how deliberate as well as successful Liutprand's hatchet job on John XII has been; the interesting fact remains that making such an accusation of worship of the pagan gods would have seemed a plausible sin for a Roman to engage in, in the eyes of Liutprand's Ottonian audiences.

Giorgia Vocino

Looking up to Rome: Romanness through the hagiography from the duchy of Spoleto

In the early fifth century, a church was built in the honour of St Peter just outside the city of Spoleto on the *Via Flaminia* leading to Rome. A hymn was posted up on its walls celebrating its construction. The text of the *elogium* that the Spoletan bishop Achilles wrote for the occasion was copied in the fourth section of the so-called *Corpus Laureshamense*, a collection of inscriptions from Rome and other cities of Italy copied in a ninth-century manuscript from Lorsch (BAV, Pal. lat. 833).¹ If the great city of Rome (*Magna Roma*) sheltered the apostle's venerable sepulchre, the devout bishop Achilles was nonetheless convinced that also Spoleto, as many other places, could efficaciously hold the saint's venerable name by building a church dedicated to the great Peter (*Magnus Petrus*).² The primacy of Peter, the true anchor of the universal Church, was then justified through the well-known quotation from the Gospel of Matthew: 'thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my church' (Matthew 16.18).³ We would not expect to read such an explicit claim outside the papal city at such an early date. Yet, in the early fifth century, the allegiance of the bishop of Spoleto was clearly with what he considered to be the head of the universal Church, the see that resided in the great city of Rome and was anchored to the great Peter.

In the last decades of the Western Roman Empire, in the province of the *Italia suburbicaria*, the greatness of Rome and the greatness of the prince of the apostles had already started to conflate. The glory and prestige of the city relied both on its im-

I would like to thank Max Diesenberger, Clemens Gantner, Rutger Kramer and Graeme Ward who kindly read my manuscript and offered precious and most helpful suggestions and criticism. I am particularly grateful to Erik Goosmann for drawing the map and locating on it, with relentless patience, all the places named in this paper.

1 The *elogium* in elegiac couplets is copied at the folios 75r–76r of the manuscript and edited by De Rossi 1888, 113–114. For a more detailed analysis of the text and the historical context of its writing see Carletti 2001.

2 *Corpus Laureshamense* 75r–76r, vv. 5–16, ed. De Rossi, 113–114: *Magna quidem servat venerabile Roma sepulchrum, / in quo, pro Christi nomine passus, obiit; [...] Ille suos sanctos cunctis credentibus offert / per quos supplicibus prestat opem famulis. / Quidnam igitur mirum magno si culmina Petro / quolibet existant aedificata loco.*

3 *Corpus Laureshamense* 75r–76r, vv. 17–18; ed. De Rossi, 113–114: *Cumque per totum caelebratur ecclesia mundum / in fundamento fixa Petro maneat.* This is supplemented by adding a reference to Matthew 16.19 at vv. 31–32: *Hac dicione potens terra caeloque Petrus stat: / arbiter in terris ianitor in superis.* It should be noted that Roman claims to primacy building on the *meritum Petri* can be found in the contemporary letters of Pope Boniface I (418–422), see Carletti 2001, 149–153 (cf. Carefoote 1996, Chantraine 1988). Boniface's letters are published in Pope Boniface I, *Epistulae et decreta*, PL 20, cols. 745–792.

perial and apostolic past as well as on the continuity of the Roman Church from the time of its founder, St Peter. The ‘world of ancient Rome’ and its distinctive Roman-ness constituted a prismatic configuration to which the Church was adding new facets.⁴ The purpose of this contribution is to assess how hagiographers working in early medieval central Italy looked up to Rome, appealing to specific images of the city and understandings of Roman identity. This region witnessed frequent shifts of political balance and boundaries among different agents, which makes it in turn a capital standpoint to gauge the ways in which this ‘world of Rome’ could be thought, shaped, represented and put to use to serve different strategies and convey specific messages outside Rome, but not far from it.

In the 570s the Lombard Faroald, who had previously fought for the Byzantines, turned against them and carved out a *ducatus* in central Italy, establishing his residence in Spoleto.⁵ A profound fracture had by then opened up in the peninsula breaking its geo-political unity. The Spoletan duke was surrounded by Roman neighbours: the exarch – the highest imperial official in Italy – wielded his authority from Ravenna and, most likely in the late seventh century, a *dux* was appointed in Rome to govern over the territories that constituted the core of the future papal republic.⁶

Unfortunately, no historiographical sources survive from the duchy of Spoleto, but a number of saints’ lives do: a pool of sixteen texts can convincingly be dated to the centuries ranging from the time of Gregory the Great (d. 604) to Emperor Otto III (d. 1002).⁷ As it is often the case with hagiographic texts, the study of this *corpus* requires caution. Cross-references between them are abundant, but the identification of the place of writing and a precise dating are often problematic, which is further aggravated by the lack of reliable critical editions for many of them. Moreover, the only *scriptorium* operating within the borders of the duchy – the only one from which early medieval manuscript evidence survives – lay very close to the frontier with the Roman duchy and was sheltered within the walls of the monas-

⁴ On the different understandings and identifiers of Roman identity see the introduction to this volume by Walter Pohl, as well as Pohl 2014.

⁵ On the formation and history of the Spoletan duchy see Gasparri 1983.

⁶ On the confrontations between Lombards and Romans in central Italy up to the mid eighth century see Carile 2001. On the reorganisation of the Italian territories under Byzantine rule and the genesis of the duchy of Rome, see Cosentino 2008, 135–141, Delogu 2001, T. Brown 1984, esp. 46–60, Bavant, 1979.

⁷ The texts that can be ascribed to this political region of Italy and this time range are: the Life of Valentine bishop of Terni (BHL 8460), the Passion of Gregory martyr of Spoleto (BHL 3677), the Deeds of Terentianus bishop of Todi (BHL 8003), the Passion of Concordius martyr of Spoleto (BHL 1906), the Passion of Pontianus martyr of Spoleto (BHL 6891), the Life of abbot John Penariensis (BHL 4420), the Life of Fortunatus written by priest Audelao (BHL 3087), the Life of Felix bishop of *civitas Martana* (BHL 2868b), the Passion of Constantius bishop of Perugia (BHL 1938), the Passion of Felicianus bishop of Foligno (BHL 2846), the Deeds of the twelve Syrian missionaries (BHL 1620), the Passion of Savinus martyr of Spoleto (BHL 7452), the Passion of Vincentius bishop of Bevagna (BHL 8676), the Deeds of Cetheus bishop of Amiternum (BHL 1730), the Life of Laurence bishop of Spoleto (BHL 4748b) and the Passion and *Translatio* of John bishop of Spoleto (BHL 4437).

tery of Santa Maria of Farfa.⁸ Not only was this a centre for the production of new hagiographies, but it was also active in gathering *passiones* and *vitae* written elsewhere in central Italy and integrating them into larger collections.⁹ Founded by an aristocrat from Gaul, governed by a long series of foreign abbots (many of them from Aquitaine), generously endowed by the Spoletan elites and dangerously close to Rome, the monks of Farfa took care to secure for themselves a safe and independent space from an expansionist papacy.¹⁰ The composition of a *sanctorale* corresponding to the ambitions of the monastery thus came to play an important part in the monastic agenda. Therefore, the mediation of Farfa in the transmission of Spoletan saints' lives – copied or rewritten – should not be underestimated.¹¹ Keeping in mind all these caveats, these *passiones* and *vitae* provide crucial evidence in the otherwise disheartening vacuum of narrative sources stemming from this region.

Representations of Rome and ideas of Romanness are often sheltered in these texts, although the line between the cases in which they were deliberately sketched or the result of unbiased automatisms can be at times difficult to draw.¹² The following pages shall focus on those representations showing a higher degree of conscious elaboration, i.e. the passages in which a hagiographer purposefully fashioned a specific discourse in line with his broader agenda. In the first part two pre-Carolingian texts offer insights into the perception of Rome and its distinctive Romanness during a time in which the Byzantines still had a firm grip on central Italy. The second section focuses on hagiographies written between the late eighth and the early ninth century, when papal ambitions were at their apex and heavily influenced the renegotiation of the political balance in central Italy. The last part then analyses how Romanness could be used or claimed to reshape the identity of the duchy of Spoleto in Carolingian and post-Carolingian times.

⁸ Capo 2003, 248–252; Susi 2000. Nonetheless, it is very likely that other religious foundations such as the monastery of Sant'Eutizio, founded in the fifth century by the Spoletan bishop Spes, and the bishoprics of Spoleto, Foligno and Norcia, also had active *scriptoria* in the early Middle Ages. After all, the lack of evidence did not prevent Bernhard Bischoff to refer to a 'writing province' of central Italy (excluding Rome), see Bischoff 2007, 50–51.

⁹ Some of the saints' lives produced in this region between the late eighth and the ninth century might have actually been written in Farfa. Crossing the information provided by these texts with the hagiography produced in Farfa and the geography of its possessions, Emore Paoli and Eugenio Susi have suggested a production in the monastic *scriptorium* for the *Vita Felicis episcopi Martani* (BHL 2868b), the *Passio Constantii* (BHL 1938), the *Acta XII sociorum Syrorum* (BHL 1620) and possibly the *Passio Feliciani* (BHL 2846), see Paoli 2001, 495 as well as Susi 1997, 291; cf. Maggi Bei 1994.

¹⁰ For a thorough study of the rising power of Farfa in central Italy see Costambeys 2007.

¹¹ Even the mid ninth century *Constructio Farfensis* narrating the history of the foundation of Farfa which survives in an eleventh century interpolated version is a mixed literary genre showing prominent hagiographic features, see Longo 2000.

¹² Emperors and imperial officials recurrently feature in the texts, but in many cases they are only part of a standard hagiographic panorama and do not contribute to the development of a specific narrative or to the shaping of a particular setting.

‘Imperial Romanness’ in Lombard times

The earliest hagiographic text associated with a city within the duchy of Spoleto is dedicated to St Valentine, martyr and bishop of the church of Terni. Already known to Bede who borrowed from it in his Martyrology, the *Passio sancti Valentini martyris* (BHL 8460) was written between the late sixth and the early eighth century.¹³ The existence of two different Valentines, one celebrated in BHL 8460 as the bishop of Terni and the other, a Roman *presbyter*, mentioned in the *Passio sanctorum Marii, Marthae et filiorum* (BHL 5543), still makes it difficult to assess who the ‘original’ Valentine was and where he was first venerated.¹⁴ However, the existence of two cults and two distinct hagiographic traditions hints at two different centres of promotion belonging to two separate ecclesiastical and political spaces: the episcopal city of Terni in the Spoletan duchy on the one hand, and Rome on the other.¹⁵

The entire narrative of the *Passio Valentini* (BHL 8460) takes place in Rome. The city as described by the anonymous hagiographer is an imperial capital with a strong cultural appeal: three noble students from Athens reach Rome to complete their education in Latin and, in order to do so, they choose *magister* Craton, an orator practising both in Greek and Latin (*orator utriusque linguae*). After witnessing the miraculous healing of the young *scolasticus* Cerimon at the hands of Valentine, the three Athenian students decide to give up on their education in human wisdom (*studia humanae sapientiae*) and to engage in spiritual studies (*spiritualibus studiis*) because, as the saint had reminded them, ‘worldly wisdom is deemed foolish in the eyes of God’ (*sapientia mundi stulta est apud Deum*).¹⁶ A multitude of students and the son of the *prefectus urbi* also publicly adhere to the Christian faith. The outraged senators then proceed to arrest Valentine, who is tortured and eventually beheaded at the order of the city prefect. His body is brought back to Terni by the Athenians who are themselves captured by the *consularis* Lucentius, sentenced to death and buried close to the saint.

Surprisingly, in the *Passio sancti Valentini*, Rome is not identified as the place of residence of emperors, who very commonly act as persecutors in hagiographic texts or are mentioned to provide a chronological frame for the story. Yet, the city hosts senators and Roman officials (the *prefectus urbi*, a *tribunicus* and a *consularis*). Furthermore, Rome is vividly depicted as a centre of Greek-Latin culture whose excellence attracts noble Athenian *scolastici* interested in completing their education. The

¹³ Paoli 2012, 177. For the edition of the text see *Passio sancti Valentini martyris*, ed. D’Angelo, 211–222. Details from the text are recorded in the manuscript that has been acknowledged as the closest witness to Bede’s original martyrology (St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 451, 15–17).

¹⁴ In the early Middle Ages, Valentine was commemorated on the same day in a *basilica* near Terni and in a sanctuary close to Rome, both located on the *Via Flaminia*. This would suggest that the same saint was at the origin of two cults, cf. Angelelli 2012.

¹⁵ Susi 2012, 291–299.

¹⁶ *Passio sancti Valentini martyris*, ed. D’Angelo, 218.

seat of imperial institutions and a cosmopolitan metropolis, Rome is still the capital of a largely pagan empire: its officials are stubborn persecutors and its classical culture can be rejected as worthless wisdom, an obstacle on the path to salvation. The paganism of Roman officials and the futility of the *humanae litterae* are very common hagiographic *topoi*, but the stress put both on the presence of a bilingual cultural elite and on a scholastic system attracting a multitude of students (*multitudo scolasticorum*) offers us some perspective on what could be perceived as Rome's distinctive Romanness within the borders of the duchy of Spoleto. No precise details are given about the burial place of the saint, and the hagiographer's primary concern appears to have been to highlight the spirituality of the saint rather than the institution of a new cult site. Valentine was thus described as a monkish bishop whose profile and miraculous performances show the profound influence of the ascetic model of sanctity promoted by John Cassian and Gregory the Great.¹⁷ Medieval authors – hagiographers included – were not interested in telling 'the truth' as we would expect them to, but they were bound to a pact with their audience that relied on likelihood or at least plausibility in fiction. Therefore, in late sixth- or seventh-century central Italy, it was plausible to draw an image of Rome as a city hosting a Greek-Latin educational system and to use this stage as a literary setting.¹⁸ This particular representation of Rome constitutes a unique case in the early medieval hagiography written in this region of Italy. It would seem that the hagiographer could still appeal to a relatively fresh and shared memory of Rome as the political and cultural capital of a thoroughly Mediterranean empire.

The Byzantine presence in central Italy might have contributed to the survival of an imperial and classical understanding of Romanness, of which the natural embodiment was the former capital of the empire. This possibility seems to be corroborated by a pre-Carolingian hagiographic text dedicated to the holy bishop of a city located in the so-called 'Byzantine corridor' connecting Rome to Ravenna. The *Acta sancti Terentiani* of Todi (BHL 8003) draw an interesting portrait of the Roman emperor as the source of the law. Hadrian is described standing in front of Roman public buildings (a temple, the *forum*) while listening to the *petitio* of his officials (a proconsul, a prefect and a *togatus*).¹⁹ A first oral *responsum* is later converted into a formal *iussio* compelling Christians to sacrifice to the Roman gods. The de-

¹⁷ The hagiographer had probably read both Gregory's *Dialogi* and John Cassian's *Collationes*, cf. Paoli 2012, 168–177.

¹⁸ The presence of Greek speaking Romans in early medieval Rome is well known, but it would be tempting to narrow down the dating of the text to the seventh century when the presence of eastern learned monks and clerics was more visible in the city, see Delogu in this volume; Gantner 2013a, 308–310; Burgarella 2002; Sansterre 1983, 9–31.

¹⁹ The critical edition of the three *recensiones* of this *Passio* is available in the unpublished *tesi di laurea* by Emore Paoli (defended in 1989), which unfortunately I could not consult (cf. Paoli 2001, 512, n. 171). The text BHL 8003 can also be read in the *Acta Sanctorum* (AA SS, Sept. I, 112D 116 A). I double checked the Bollandist edition against the earliest manuscript evidence (the tenth century legendary of Moissac now BNF, lat. 17002, f. 239r–241r).

cree records a series of classical imperial titles: *Victor Adrianus, augustus inclitus, triumphator perpetuus, generali honore et pietate praecelsus toto orbe Romano, sacrisque diis immortalibus decus honoris*.²⁰ The persecution is then carried out: once in Todi, the *proconsul Tusciae* Lecianus summons the civic elites and *sedens in foro* reads, *vulgo sermone*, the imperial law, to which the crowd replies seventeen times with the acclamation *Auguste semper vincas*. A crowd of Roman officials predictably features as persecutors in the text (a prefect, a proconsul, a *togatus*, magistrates and *augustales*). The hagiographer then focuses on the catechesis given by bishop Terentianus, insisting particularly on Trinitarian technicalities, touches on the torments inflicted upon the saint and finally concludes with his martyrdom.

The vivid memory of Rome as the imperial capital and the depiction of the Roman emperor as a legislator hint at an early dating of the text. The accent put on the complex dogma of the Trinity suggests that the *Deeds of Terentianus* were written before the mid-seventh century when Arianism was permanently and officially dropped by the Lombard kings.²¹ If the time and place of writing are difficult to assess – the text could either be produced in Todi, a city still under Byzantine control, or in the territories where the Lombards settled – the hagiographer's agenda can more convincingly be accounted for. The *Acta sancti Terentiani* served a missionary purpose targeting the Lombards and their beliefs.²² It seems to have been a successful operation as shown by the spread of the cult devoted to Terentianus in Lombard territories along the axis connecting Pavia, Chiusi, Spoleto and Benevento.²³ Moreover, the model of sanctity provided by the text is recognizable in other early medieval hagiographies dedicated to saints venerated in the duchy of Spoleto, which also confirms an early dating of these *Acta*.²⁴

In late sixth- and seventh-century central Italy, the representation of Rome and the way its Romanness was fashioned was still anchored in the memory of its imperial past and traditions. The city was the residence of emperors, high officials and the Senate as well as a prominent centre of classical culture, where both Greek and Latin traditions of studies were promoted. Despite the long persistence of hagiographic *topoi*, this image will no longer be prominent in later accounts written in this

²⁰ *Acta sancti Terentiani*, AA SS Sept. I, 113 (cf. BNF, lat. 17002, f. 239v).

²¹ The religious beliefs held by the Lombards at the time of their settlement in Italy and in the following decades did not constitute a coherent whole and Arianism – for which, it must be said, the sources provide only scattered evidence – seems to have been a pragmatic and propagandistic political choice more than an ethnic marker of Lombard identity, see Gasparri 2005a, 4–19; Pohl 2002c, cf. also Mores 2010. On the dating of the *Acta sancti Terentiani* see Paoli 1991.

²² Terentianus's dialogue with his persecutor, the proconsul Lecianus, focuses on the unity of the Trinity and the distinctive qualities of God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, which his interlocutor finds hard to understand (*Acta sancti Terentiani*, AA SS Sept. I, 113; cf. BNF, lat. 17002, f. 240r).

²³ Interestingly Roman Byzantine territories were not touched by the spread of Terentianus's cult, see Paoli 2001, 512–515.

²⁴ Paoli 2001, 514–515.

same region. Rome was changing and these changes had an impact on the literary representation of the city.



Fig. 1: Italy in the late eighth century.

The 773-watershed and the reconfiguration of Rome as the city of St Peter

The episode of the Spoletans being tonsured *more Romanorum* in 773 as a sign of their sworn *fidelitas* to the Roman Church is a puzzling passage of the *Vita Hadriani I* in the *Liber Pontificalis*.²⁵ What it meant exactly when the lay elites of Spoleto and

²⁵ LP, Hadrian I (97), ed. Duchesne, I, 495–496. This was not the first case in which a ritual hair cut

Rieti received a Roman tonsure is still unclear, but it must have taken the form of a public act clearly displaying political allegiance. The dukes of Spoleto had already sought papal protection earlier on in the eighth century, but after the disintegration of the exarchate in 751 and the Frankish takeover in the *regnum Langobardorum* in 774, the political balance in central Italy had changed. In 773, Hildebrand had been acknowledged as duke of Spoleto after swearing an oath to St Peter and to the Roman Church represented by Hadrian I. Yet, only two years later, when the Frankish takeover of the Lombard kingdom proved to be a permanent solution, Hildebrand switched sides and pledged allegiance to Charlemagne. The swift change was eloquently recorded in the *intitulatio* of Spoletan diplomas and Pope Hadrian – however reluctantly – had to accept the new *status quo*.²⁶ The subordination of the duchy to the Frankish king was confirmed in 789 when, with Charlemagne's approval, the Frankish aristocrat Winichis was appointed duke of Spoleto.²⁷ But the popes, the Carolingians and the Spoletan dukes were not the only political agents in the region. The monastery of Santa Maria of Farfa was also strengthening its position and trying to assert its control over the surrounding territories.²⁸ This process accelerated drastically in the decades following the formation of the Franco-papal alliance.

The distance between late eighth-century Rome and its heyday as capital of an empire was growing: the institutions and traditions that structured the political, administrative and cultural world of the ancient city were fading from memory and losing their meaning while a new image of the city was gradually emerging.²⁹ This phenomenon is strikingly mirrored in the most elaborate text written in this region at the turn of the ninth century: the *Acta XII sociorum Syrorum* (BHL 1620), which recount the legend of the Syrian missionaries sweeping across Umbria and southern Tuscya.³⁰ This long compilation appears to be a patchwork bringing together saints and stories

was performed and understood as a visible mark of political allegiance and a sacred bond: Pippin III had been given a ritual hair cut by king Liutprand thus establishing a spiritual godson godfather relation (see Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum* 6, 53, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 183) and the same Romans had been shaved and dressed *more Langobardorum* at the time of Pope Gregory III (731–741), see LP, Gregory III (92), ed. Duchesne, 420; cf. Gantner 2014a, 194–195.

²⁶ Thomas 2008.

²⁷ Gasparri 1983, 114–120.

²⁸ Costambeys 2007; Susi 2000.

²⁹ The progressive shaping of a new representation of Rome in papal propaganda has been analysed in several recent studies each focusing on specific sources (narrative, material, iconographic, etc.), see for instance Gantner 2014b; McKitterick 2013a and 2011; Goodson 2010; Humphries 2007; Delogo 2001; Noble 2001.

³⁰ Manuscript evidence hints at a rapid circulation of the text, which can be found in the late ninth century passionary of Bobbio (BAV, lat. 5771, f. 332v–337v). A critical edition of the hagiographic dossier (BHL 1620–1622f) is much needed and could shed new light on the progressive definition of the legend as well as on the time and place of writing of the *recensiones* that have come down to us.

that probably originated in different contexts. The merging of originally independent legends would explain its fanciful chronology: Emperor Julian (360–363) is made a contemporary of pope Urbanus I (227–231), pope Eugenius (654–657) and king Totila (541–552).³¹ The main agenda of the hagiographer appears to be the drawing of a complex sacred geography pivoting around a new pole of legitimation: the Roman Church, the authority of which relied on the legacy of St Peter. Accompanied by his sons and other relatives of his, the Syrian missionary Anastasius reaches Rome and finds shelter in the house of pope Urbanus I. During his stay, the Roman bishop proceeds to the ordination of two priests and two deacons among the Syrian kin. Shortly after, Anastasius falls victim to Julian's persecution, while his companions flee the city.³² Euticius then reaches Lake Bolsena, where he lives an eremitic life, while Bricius, the main character of the *Acta*, sets foot in Spoleto with the others. Imprisoned for his preaching, Bricius receives an apparition of an angel accompanied by St Peter. The apostle consecrates him *in ordine pontificatus* with the power of ordaining bishops. With this newfound metropolitan authority, Bricius invests his companion John as bishop of Spoleto (*metropolis civitas Spoletina*), who in turn builds a beautiful church dedicated to St Peter outside the city walls. The bishops of Bevagna, Bettona and Perugia are similarly chosen and ordained by the Syrian missionary. When the time has finally come for him to be rewarded with the crown of martyrdom, an army of angels together with Peter and all the apostles rejoice and witness Bricius's ascension into heaven: his soul, in the shape of a dove, is seen rising through a path covered in precious cloths, gems and pearls.³³

The *Acta XII sociorum* draw the portrait of a missionary saint, invested by St Peter with metropolitan power, although not attached to a specific episcopal seat.³⁴

31 *Acta XII sociorum Syrorum*, AA SS Iul. I, 9–16. The title indicated in the earliest manuscript actually reads *Passio atque conversatio undecim fratrum qui de Syrie partibus profecti sunt in urbe Roma sub tempore Iuliani, quod est VII Kl. Augustas* (BAV, lat. 5771, f. 332v) which is consistent with the names given in the text and the saints acting in the narrative.

32 The text copied in the passionary of Bobbio tellingly locates the martyrdom of Anastasius *ad Aquas Salvias* (BAV, lat. 5771, f. 333r). In the mid seventh century, outside Rome's city walls, a monastery was rededicated to Anastasius, the Persian soldier who had been beheaded in Kirkuk, modern Iraq, in 628. A group of Greek speaking monks had translated the head of the saint from Palestine to Rome, where the relic had soon become the heart of a popular cult. The hagiographic contamination between the identity of Anastasius the Persian, venerated in the Roman monastery, and Anastasius the Syrian, head of the family of Umbrian missionaries, is another fascinating hint at the complex process of definition of this legend.

33 The hagiographic *topos* of the path to heaven *strata palliis* echoes Gregory the Great's narration of the death of Benedict of Nursia (cf. Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* 2, 37, ed. and trans. Simonetti, 1, 212–214).

34 Missionary bishops, whose preaching had been sanctioned by Roman popes, had often been granted metropolitan power in order to create episcopal networks in newly christianized regions. This was for instance the case of Augustine, former monk at Sant'Andrea in Rome, who received the *pallium* from Gregory the Great, enabling him to organize the new Church of the English, see Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistolarum* 11, 39, ed. Ewald / Hartmann, 312: *quia nova Anglorum ecclesia*

Through Bricius the organization of the episcopal network of Umbria was directly connected to St Peter. The subordination of the bishoprics of the duchy of Spoleto – with the addition of Perugia, former residence of a Byzantine duke – to the Roman Church was thus legitimized.³⁵ Performing a ritual prostration in front of St Peter, Bricius acknowledges his authority and as the apostle puts him back on his feet, a strong hierarchical bond is established between the two.³⁶ Such a powerful and explicit image immediately calls to mind what happened in 773 when the people of Spoleto and Rieti sought the protection of St Peter and swore their allegiance to the prince of the apostles. The authorship of this text has recently been attributed to the monks of Farfa in consideration of the overlap between the areas in which the Syrian missionaries operate and the geographical distribution of the possessions of the monastery.³⁷ It is a plausible assumption, but the presence of the text in the ninth-century passionary compiled at Bobbio, gathering other accounts dedicated to the saints of Spoleto, and its absence in another contemporary hagiographic collection copied at Farfa (Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, Farf. 29) calls for a suspension of judgement.³⁸ The *Acta XII sociorum* could have been written (or assembled if they originally existed as separate legends) in Spoleto – maybe even in the monastery of S. Brizio as suggested by Lanzoni³⁹ – as well as in Farfa, or even in Rome. Whichever the case, the hagiographer's agenda is straightforward: the ecclesiastical organization of the duchy was the result of missionary activity, the ultimate legitimation of which resided in Rome with the popes. This strategy is not surprising when we consider that papal authority and power in central Italy started expanding under the aegis of the Carolingians.⁴⁰ On the hagiographic stage, the increasing space and visibility of the Church of Rome in the persons of St Peter and its pontiffs run parallel to the fashioning of Rome as the 'city of the popes'. By the turn of the ninth century, a

ad omnipotentis Dei gratiam eodem Domino largiente et te laborante perducta est, usum tibi pallii in ea ad sola missarum sollemnia agenda concedimus, ita ut per loca singula duodecim episcopos ordines, qui tuae subiaceant dicioni.

35 On the Byzantine duchy of Perugia see Riganelli 1994. It shall be noted that the account of the martyrdom of Hercolanus, the Syrian missionary chosen for the episcopal see of Perugia, is drawn from Gregory the Great's *Dialogi*, but is artfully modified to highlight the saint's *virtus*, cf. Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* 3, 13, ed. and trans. Simonetti, 2, 48–51.

36 *Acta XII sociorum Syrorum*, AA SS Iul. I, 14: *Prosternens se sanctus Bricius ad pedes eius, osculatus est plantas ipsius, et dixit: Ecce Dominus meus, cuius vestigia de Orienti itinere sum secutus. Tunc erexit eum beatus Petrus apostolus in pedes suos [...] consecravique eum in ordine pontificatus ut per singulas civitates episcopos ordinaret.*

37 Paoli 2001, 496.

38 Moreover, the passionary of Bobbio does not integrate saints' lives directly connected with specific cults of Farfa, such as those dedicated to Anthimus, Getulius, Iacintus, Victorinus, Victoria and Anatolia. For the *sanctorale* of the monastery see Susi 2000 and Mara 1964.

39 Lanzoni 1927, 427–428.

40 On the territorial expansion of the papal *res publica* in the Carolingian period see Noble 1984, 138–183. On the collision with Farfa over the lands in Sabina see Costambeys 2007, especially 273–307.

specific representation of the city had come to play a pivotal role in the propaganda of the popes targeting 'other' audiences and the anonymous compilers could not help but conform to it.⁴¹

The new protagonism of the Roman Church and the refashioning of Rome as the papal city are also mirrored in the contemporary *Passio sancti Feliciani* (BHL 2846) celebrating the life and deeds of the first bishop and martyr of Foligno.⁴² The text gives an interesting version that runs counter to the one presented in the *Acta XII sociorum*. The noble Felicianus from Foligno reaches Rome *propter studium litterarum*, but the institutions that he chooses for his education are churches and monasteries exclusively. He is then noticed by Pope Eleutherius (175–189) who sponsors his entrance into the circle of students supervised by Archdeacon Victor and encourages him to embrace a religious life. Once back to his *patria*, Felicianus is elected to the episcopal seat of Foligno and travels again to Rome where his election is officially confirmed by Pope Victor (former archdeacon). Afterwards the bishop engages in intense missionary activity: he preaches and converts the pagan peoples of Spello, Bevagna, Perugia, Plestia, Nocera Umbra, Norcia and Trevi, while the only cities deaf to his teachings are Assisi and Spoleto. At this point, Felicianus receives from the hands of the pope the privilege to wear the metropolitan *pallium* and immediately ordains Deacon Valentine as bishop of Terni.⁴³ Celebrated as the second earliest bishop of Italy after the Roman pope, Felicianus finally dies of weakness and old age during his journey to Rome at a distance of three miles from Foligno.⁴⁴

The similarities between the *Passio Feliciani* and the *Acta XII sociorum* are patent: Felicianus is depicted as a mirror image of Bricius, the apostle of Umbria. Following a similar strategy, the legitimation of his missionary activity proceeds from the Roman Church, which is this time more convincingly framed in the time of popes Eleutherius (175–189) and Victor I (189–199). Foligno is described as a capital city built on public ground (*in agro publico*) with its *palatium publicum* and a palatine church, thus openly challenging Spoleto, the traditional place of ducal residence. Felicianus's failed attempt at converting the people of Spoleto and Assisi

⁴¹ See again Gantner 2014b and 2014a. A pope is also mentioned in another contemporary account celebrating a Spoletan saint: the Passion of Concordius, priest and martyr of Spoleto (BHL 1906). Written in the late eighth or early ninth century, the text was already known to Ado of Vienne (d. 875), see Ado of Vienne, *Martyrologium*, ed. Dubois / Renaud.

⁴² *Passio sancti Feliciani*, ed. Faloci Pulignani. The text was soon integrated into the ninth century passionaries of Farfa (Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, Farf. 29, f. 130v 133r) and Bobbio (BAV, lat. 5771, f. 338r 339r).

⁴³ *Passio sancti Feliciani*, ed. Faloci Pulignani, 48: *Accepit tamen sanctus Felicianus episcopus a sancto Victore romanae urbis episcopo privilegium, ut extrinsecus lineo sudario circumdaretur collum eius. Tunc itaque Valentinum diaconum Interamnensium civitatis [...], permissu supradicti Victoris, eum episcopum ipse sacravit.*

⁴⁴ *Passio sancti Feliciani*, ed. Faloci Pulignani, 49: *qui erat in provincia primus omnium sacerdotum, ut ante eum ab urbe Roma, ad dextram atque sinistram usque ad Alpes, episcopatus nomen nullus au diret.*

could also be explained by the competitive agenda behind the compilation of this text.⁴⁵ Although the anonymous compiler was writing a version of the evangelization of Umbria that was opposed to the *Acta XII sociorum*, legitimization sprung from the very same source: Rome and the Roman bishops. The gap between the representations of Rome given by the *Passio Valentini* and the *Passio Feliciani* could not be more profound: while the three noble Athenians had set out for Rome to receive a classical education delivered by a bilingual orator, Felicianus only attended churches and monasteries before being introduced in the school supervised by the papal archdeacon Victor. This is even more striking since the hagiographer could have certainly made more extensive use of imperial Roman history, as elsewhere he integrated details from sources such as Eutropius's *Breviarium* or Jordanes's *Romana* into the narrative.⁴⁶

If Rome was no longer described as either the capital of the empire or the place of residence of emperors and their officials, it should not be seen as a consequence of a lost familiarity with imperial Roman history, but rather of the increasingly accentuated papal predominance over the city. After redrawing Rome's urban landscape, the Roman Church along with its apparatus (for example, the *cubicularii*, a papal school) was casting its shadow also on the hagiographic stage.

The contemporary production of two opposite versions of the evangelization of Umbria shows to what extent the competition fuelled by the reconfiguration of the duchy after 773 could also result in the compilation of alternative stories about the original ecclesiastical organization of the region.⁴⁷ The establishment of a tight connection with a particular image of Rome, depicted as the city of the popes, fits into a crucial period of transition: the *Acta XII sociorum* and the *Passio Feliciani* have thus come down to us as two witnesses of a complex process of power redistribution. In this dynamic context the reshaping of the history of the Lombard settlement in central Italy also became possible. Letting go of ethnic identifiers, the Lombard dukes of Spoleto were going to be refashioned as Roman-like rulers.

⁴⁵ Spoleto and Assisi had been tightly connected in the Passion dedicated to another prominent saint of the duchy, Savinus. He was already known to Paul the Deacon who presented him as a Lombard 'ethnic patron saint' (cf. Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum* 4, 16, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 121–122), but the Passion reshaped Savinus's portrait: in the *recensio* BHL 7452, most likely written in the ducal capital before the mid ninth century, the saint is tortured in Assisi, but eventually dies and is buried in Spoleto (cf. La Rocca 2002b; Paoli 2001, 515–519).

⁴⁶ The short mention of Gordian III (238–244), his military expeditions against the Persians and his murder at the hands of the praetorian prefect Philip was not necessary to the plot, yet the anonymous compiler integrated it in the Passion (*Passio Feliciani*, ed. Faloci Pulignani, 48; cf. Eutropius, *Breviarium* 9, 2, ed. Santini, 57 and Jordanes, *Romana*, ed. Mommsen, 36).

⁴⁷ Competitive contexts were very prolific in terms of early medieval hagiographic production. More particularly, a keen interest in defining or reshaping 'histories of episcopal foundation' can be observed in Carolingian Northern Italy, Bavaria and Saxony, see Vocino 2014, Diesenberger 2013, Wood 2001.

Renouncing a barbarian identity: The fashioning of Spoletan Romanness

So far exclusively set in the distant past of the Roman Empire, the hagiographic accounts written in the duchy of Spoleto after 773 started to explore new historical settings. The *Acta Cethei* (BHL 1730), probably written in the ninth century, recount the deeds of the bishop and martyr of Amiternum at the time of the Lombard invasion.⁴⁸ They present an unprecedented chronological frame:

at the time of Pope Gregory, when Phocas held the Roman empire in Constantinople and Faroald ruled the duchy in Spoleto; having just left Pannonia and crossed the borders of Italy, the people of the Lombards, then flooding everywhere, invaded the territories of the Romans, the Samnites and the Spoletans.⁴⁹

The *Acta* cast as persecutors two evil and despicable Lombards, Alais and Umbolus, who *barbarice* lay waste the lands around Amiternum. Cetheus, bishop of the city, frightened by such cruelty, flees and reaches the see (*sedis*) of Pope Gregory the Great. The Roman pontiff consoles him by revealing that *illa gens Langobardorum* shall soon have a change of heart and seek out the blessing of the apostolic church. This comes true: shortly after, the Lombards decide to go to Rome and bring Cetheus back *cum honore* to his episcopal town. They reach Rome and enter St Peter's where they pray to the saint before meeting with Pope Gregory. After taking an oath *ad corpus sancti Petri* not to sell, but to protect and increase ecclesiastical properties, the Lombards of Amiternum receive papal blessing and travel back to reinstall Cetheus on his episcopal seat. Upon the outbreak of a fight between Alais and Umbolus for the control of the city, Cetheus is sentenced to death by the latter. The saint is drowned in the waters of the river Pescara and his body drifts to Aternum, where it is found by a fisherman and eventually becomes the heart of a popular cult.

⁴⁸ The manuscript transmission of the *Acta Cethei* distinguishes two different versions of the text, one in which the saint is celebrated as the bishop of Amiternum (BHL 1730), the other placing his episcopal seat in Aternum, modern day Pescara (BHL 1731). Both historical and archeological evidence hints at a later rewriting of the *Acta Cethei* in the form of BHL 1731 to promote and support the cult of the saint in Pescara. The original *recensio* (BHL 1730) could have been written as a reaction against the expansionism of Farfa in the area around Amiternum from the late eighth century onwards (see Migliario 1995, 49–60): Gregory the Great's injunction not to alienate ecclesiastical *prædia* would find a coherent explanation in this context. On this complicated hagiographic dossier, see Susi 2003, 344–355.

⁴⁹ *Acta Cethei*, AA SS Iun. II, 689: *Tempore beatissimi papae Gregorii, cum apud Constantinopolim Phocas Romanum teneret imperium, apud Spoletum quoque ducatus curam gereret Faroaldus; gens Longobardorum, quae de Pannonia dudum egressa, quosdam Italiae fines pervaserat, sese deinceps huc illucque diffundens Romanorum et Samnitum Spoletanorumque fines invasit.*

Furthering the strategies deployed in the *Acta XII sociorum* and in the *Passio Feliciani*, the *Acta Cethei* identify the city of Rome exclusively with the papacy: Cetheus did not flee to Rome, but to the *sedis papae Gregorii* and the church of St Peter is the only Roman landmark. The apostolic church occupies the entire hagiographic stage to the point that mentioning Rome is no longer necessary. At the same time, the duchy is freed from any association with a Lombard identity as Duke Faroald was already in charge at the time the *gens Langobardorum* plundered Italy. A pope in Rome, a Roman emperor sitting in Constantinople and a duke in Spoleto provide the frame of reference for the story: the *imperium Romanum* is thus disconnected from both the city of Rome and its people while the new focus of identification is centred on the church founded by the apostle Peter and held by his successors.

On the frontline of the military campaigns led by Duke Winichis (789–822) against the Lombards of Benevento, the Spoletans could no longer expect benefits from furthering claims to Lombard identity, nor did they need them.⁵⁰ The reign of Winichis, who had been appointed by Charlemagne, has rightly been recognized as another watershed in the history of the duchy: the Carolingian attempt at controlling the Spoletan polity – followed by institutional, economic and social reorganization – had triggered a process of territorialization of the local society.⁵¹ A similar development can be observed in the duchy of Benevento where the existence of a pronounced regional identity is also mirrored in the sources, although an entirely different propaganda focused on the appropriation of the many features of Lombard kingship.⁵² The classicizing designation *Samnites* that we read in the *Acta Cethei* had for instance already been used to indicate the people over which the duke of Benevento wielded his authority: Paul the Deacon chose it in a few passages of his *Historia Langobardorum* and, later on, Beneventan hagiography also adopted it.⁵³ The *Acta* are another witness of the progressive regionalization of central and southern Italy, a development shared by both ‘Roman’ and ‘Lombard’ polities. In this context it became possible, and maybe convenient, to reframe the history of the Spoletan duchy and promote a different version of the past: along with the Romans and the Samnites, the Spoletans ruled by Faroald had been victims of the Lombard invasion.

The hagiographic transfiguration of Spoleto is taken to its extreme point in a late tenth- or early eleventh-century text in which a new Spoletan identity is shaped

⁵⁰ It is worth mentioning that in the same decades the Lombard *principes* of Benevento decided to present themselves as the unique heirs of Lombard history and traditions, a choice mirrored in the contemporary Beneventan hagiography, see Galdi 2014; Paoli 2003, 297–315; Vuolo 1996.

⁵¹ Collavini 2003.

⁵² See Pohl 2003, 99–101.

⁵³ See, for instance, the mid ninth century *Translatio sanctorum Ianuarii, Festi et Desiderii* (BHL 4140), AA SS Sept. VI, 888: *Igitur tempore quo Beneventanorum ac Samnitarum magnus princeps Sico Neapolim obsidebat*. Also in the mid tenth century *Vita Barbati episcopi* (BHL 793) ed. Waitz, 557: *Tempore quo Grimoalt Langobardorum regni moderabat abenas eiusque filius Romualt Samnitibus imperabat*. Cf. the contemporary *Translatio sancti Heliani*, ed. Waitz, 581.

around the Romanness of the city's history and traditions. The *Passio sancti Iohannis episcopi Spoletani* (BHL 4437) was written by John, monk of Montecassino, at the request of Berta, abbess of the Spoletan monastery of Sant'Eufemia.⁵⁴ The *proemium* preceding the deeds of the saint is a full on *elogium* of the ancient Roman region of Valeria and its main city, Spoleto. The town was cherished by the Roman emperors as if it were a second Rome: acknowledging the courage and prosperity of its inhabitants, they decided to make it the seat both of a duke and an archbishop.⁵⁵ The author indulges himself in giving an etymological explanation of the name of the city, further stressing the special connection with the Roman emperors: an imperial *donum* had been granted to the people of Spoleto who could dispose of the booty earned on the battlefield. From these *spolia* the city received its name.⁵⁶ John of Montecassino drew his inspiration from a literary genre known as *laudes civitatum*: he praises the antiquity and wealth of the city, mentions its strategic location and fortifications, recalls the most renowned local historical personages and then focuses on the saints' relics preserved in local churches.⁵⁷ Duke Faroald – possibly Faroald II (703–720), whose generosity towards religious institutions is well documented⁵⁸ – is interestingly described as a staunch Catholic and a patron who had contributed the decoration of Spoleto with lavish Roman-styled buildings and mosaics.⁵⁹ The grafting of the history of Spoleto onto the Roman imperial past and the traditions it held, together with its presentation as a *secunda Roma*, show the extent to which claims for Romanness could play a part in boosting the prestige of a city. The foundation of the duchy is completely detached from its original context: Spoleto had deservedly become a seat of a duke and an archbishop as a result of its special relation with the Roman emperors. The appropriation of imperial traditions, such as public euergetism, places Faroald in perfect continuity with the Roman past, on an uninterrupted line that stretches up to the dramatic destruction of Spoleto at the hands of the Saracens.⁶⁰ The mention of episcopal funerary inscriptions is also integrated into

54 *Passio sancti Iohannis martyris*, ed. Sordini, 380–383.

55 *Passio sancti Iohannis martyris*, ed. Sordini, 381: *que tante audacitatis atque fecunditatis priscis temporibus vixit ut secunda romanis diligeretur principibus. Qua propter ducatum ei pariter et archiepiscopatum dignitatis imposuerunt.*

56 *Passio sancti Iohannis martyris*, ed. Sordini, 381: *Insuper etiam ubique post triumphum victoriae imperiali taxatione eius militibus dividendi spolia concesserunt que pro tanti doni derivatione eius voca men a philosophis est inventu.*

57 For an analysis of the early medieval Italian *laudes civitatum* see Granier 2009a.

58 Cf. Gasparri 1978, 77; Jarnut 1995.

59 *Passio sancti Iohannis martyris*, ed. Sordini, 381: *unus catholicus memorandum faruoldus, cuius vigor in tantum religionis enituit ut romanis opibus musivisque scematibus suo ducatu ut actenus videntur studiosissimus fundator existeret.*

60 The Saracen sack of Spoleto could very well be a literary invention, or assumption, of the hagiographer: there is no mention of it in contemporary sources and no archaeological evidence has yet been found to support the information provided by the text. But John of Montecassino could have picked that idea from Erchempert's *Historia*, see Erchempertus, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventana*

a 'rhetoric of prestige' stressing the use of noble material (marble) and their high literary quality. The classicizing vocabulary (*calathus*, *aula*, *arca*) describing the interior of Spoletan churches likewise highlights references to a prestigious cultural world emitting a Roman imperial aura. Following the model set by poems such as those dedicated to the destruction of Aquileia, the excellence of the city and its consequent rise in pride led to its doom.⁶¹ Spoletan *superbia* was punished: the town was left in ruins by the Saracens and restored only after a long period of desolation.

The long prologue to the *Passio sancti Iohannis* thus provides a moral frame for the life and deeds of the holy bishop of Spoleto. John is described as a soldier of the faith, a *fortissimus praeliator*, intrepidly facing the Gothic threat (*Getuli*) and finally meeting his death at their hands.⁶² Centuries later, *secundo piissimo regnante Ottone*, Gunderada, abbess of Sant'Eufemia, transfers his body into the monastic church near the episcopal palace, while her successor, Berta, commissions the hagiographic text.

John of Montecassino clearly did not have much information on the saint and he seems not to have been aware that bishop John had already made his appearance in earlier hagiographic accounts.⁶³ The connection with the apostle of Umbria, Bricius, is not mentioned and the portrait of the saint is extremely stereotypical.⁶⁴ However, the hagiographer is particularly thorough in offering an accurate sacred geography of the city of Spoleto, mentioning the extra-urban church dedicated to St Peter, where the late antique bishop Spes was buried, along with the monastery of San Ponziano and its cemetery. While the duchy of Spoleto was detached from all Lombard association, the city and its dukes were integrated into a Roman history where the popes had no place. The turbulent history of the papacy during the tenth century – often referred to as the 'Roman pornocracy' – and the imperial *renovatio* under the Ottonians most likely influenced the compiler's choices.⁶⁵ At the turn of the elev-

norum 44, ed. Waitz, 251: *Per idem tempus Athanasius presul Neapolim militum magister preerat; ut, [...], cum Saracenis pacem iniens ac primum infra portum aequoreum et urbis murum collocans, omnem terram Beneventanam simulque Romanam necnon et partem Spoletii dirruentes, cunctaque monasteria et ecclesias omnesque urbes et oppida, vicos, montes et colles insulasque depredarunt.*

61 Cf. *Versus de destructione Aquilegiae numquam restaurandae*, ed. Dümmler; *Carmen de Aquilegia numquam restauranda*, ed. Dümmler.

62 *Passio sancti Iohannis martyris*, AA SS Sept. VI, 30–31.

63 The bishop of Spoleto had sanctioned the foundation of the monastery built by another saint, abbot John, in a *Vita* most likely written in the late seventh or in the eighth century, see *Vita Iohannis abbatis Penariensis* (BHL 4420), AA SS Martius III, 31. Bishop John had also been mentioned in the *Acta XII sociorum Syrorum* where he had been ordained by Bricius himself and appointed to the metropolitan seat of Spoleto, cf. *Acta XII sociorum Syrorum*, AA SS Iul. I, 14.

64 The omission of the connection to Bricius could also find a congruent explanation if the hagiographer was deliberately avoiding any reference to the Roman Church. The convergence between Spoleto, the Ottonians and Montecassino during the reign of Otto III (996–1002), as well as the fail of the emperor's Roman experience, could have provided a fitting context for the writing of the text in Montecassino at the request of a Spoletan abbess (cf. Dell'Omo 2002).

65 On the tenth century papacy see Arnaldi 1991 and Zimmermann 1971.

enth century, the prestige of Rome was indeed particularly intertwined with the fortunes of this ruling family – Otto III (996–1002) made the city his place of residence – and the revival of Carolingian imperial legacy.⁶⁶ Refashioning the city of Spoleto, the duchy and its metropolitan church meant, once again, establishing a connection with Rome and with a distinct idea of Romanness promoted in a particular context and for a specific agenda. After the papal ‘golden age’ under the Carolingians, the ‘Rome of St Peter’ and the ‘imperial city’ did not necessarily have to coincide. Yet, Romanness still constituted a powerful source of prestige and legitimation. Complying with late tenth-century political circumstances, the hagiographer opted for a classical reshaping of a Spoletan Romanness.

Conclusions

Ever since its foundation, the city of Rome has been an inescapable centre of gravity in the history of central Italy. The landscape and the sources produced in the duchy of Spoleto reflect the region’s close proximity to the capital of the empire – and, later on, the head of the western Church – and, later on, the head of the western Church. Spes, the early fifth-century bishop of Spoleto, has traditionally been referred to as the ‘Spoletan Damasus’ for his monumental euergetism and his promotion of saints’ cults.⁶⁷ His successor Achilles consecrated to St Peter the church built outside the city walls: in the inscription commemorating the episcopal commission, the connection with *Magna Roma* and *Magnus Petrus* was immortalized.⁶⁸ The greatness of Rome and the greatness of the apostle were two sources of prestige and legitimation available in central Italy long before the Lombards came to settle in the area. However, in the early Middle Ages, appealing to ‘Imperial Rome’ or ‘Christian/Papal Rome’ appears to have been a choice heavily influenced by the shifting balance between the different political agents operating there. When hagiographers writing outside Rome decided to make their saints dwell in Rome and engage with Roman authorities, their call was not trifling, but often functional to a precise discourse and agenda.

The texts written before the eighth century reveal that classical Rome, with its institutions, culture and traditions, still provided a meaningful frame of reference. The Byzantine presence in central Italy certainly nurtured the perpetuation of a Roman imperial experience – although, as time progressed, this would have become more and more artificial. The richness of the vocabulary used to describe the hierarchy of the empire and the persisting memory of the legislative power of the emperor – connected to specific places within the ancient city – indicate that the imperial *res*

⁶⁶ On the Roman elements in the Ottonian ideal of empire see Houben 2001.

⁶⁷ De Rossi 1871, 94.

⁶⁸ Frutaz 1965; Maccarone 1978; D’Angela 2006, 7–25.

publica still represented the most authoritative model.⁶⁹ A wide cultural and intellectual network corresponded to this imperial landscape. Athenians could study in Rome and expect to find there a *magister* trained in both Latin and Greek rhetoric. Yet, the classical scholastic system was challenged and gradually overcome by a new ‘programme of learning’ oriented towards spiritual studies. The papacy was reshaping the landscape of Rome and the understanding of the empire, a mutation that even a highly stereotypical literary genre, such as hagiography, could not fail to echo.⁷⁰

In the eighth century, the popes gave up on their political partnership with the Greek emperors and opted for a more active, at times aggressive, engagement within the western political scene.⁷¹ The Carolingian age saw the depiction of Rome as the papal city: many recent studies have focused on the monumental and iconographic programmes focusing on saints’ cults promoted by the eighth- and ninth-century popes.⁷² This Roman mutation is mirrored in the hagiography written on behalf of the saints of Spoleto and Foligno. In the ongoing competition between these cities, the source of legitimation for their hagiographic agendas resided in Rome. No longer the seat of emperors, the city made room for the apostle Peter and his successors: they rose as the new prominent figures on the literary stage, while the institutional and topographical Roman landscape was also redrawn. In the hagiographic narrative, ecclesiastical schools emerge as new centres of learning, *cubicularii* execute the popes’ orders and papal *domus* become safe houses for persecuted Christians.

The Spoletans had by then moved closer to Roman bishops and Frankish rulers, which in turn allowed the progressive detachment of the history of the duchy from its Lombard origin. As the hagiographer of the *Acta Cethei* has it, Duke Faroald was ruling in Spoleto while Gregory the Great was seated in Rome and Phocas in Constantinople: like the pope and the Byzantines, he too had to endure the Lombard ‘barbarian’ invasion. At the turn of the eleventh century, John of Montecassino even considered it plausible to present Spoleto as a *secunda Roma*, to depict Duke Faroald as a Catholic Roman-like patron and to fashion local bishops in the image of Pope Damasus.

In the mind of the hagiographers writing in early medieval central Italy, Rome was indeed eternal. But the city, along with its institutions and inhabitants, never stopped to metamorphose under their eyes. If they deemed it necessary or convenient to substantiate a specific image of the past, early medieval authors could always look

⁶⁹ On the use of the concepts of *res publica* and *imperium romanum*, their change of meaning in early medieval papal sources and on the imperial facet of Roman Romanness up to the mid eighth century, see Gantner 2014b.

⁷⁰ On the transformation of Romanness in Rome see the contribution of Paolo Delogu to this volume.

⁷¹ Gantner 2015 and 2014a, see also Hofmann 2002 and Noble 2001.

⁷² For further bibliographical references see the rich monographs by Goodson 2010 and Scholz 2006.

up to Rome and Roman identity. The choice of a particular shade of Romanness was influenced by the political circumstances of the present, but the eternal city with its cultural world and history could meet almost every need. After all, Rome and the Romans could never have dropped off the Spoletan radar.

Thomas Granier

Rome and Romanness in Latin southern Italian sources, 8th – 10th centuries

In the early Middle Ages, Latin southern Italy was completely permeated with Romanness, not only because of its close proximity to the city itself: language, names, roads, cities, buildings and monuments were everywhere, and many still are today. The southern Italian cities which, though suffering from the Gothic War, escaped the Lombard conquest are arguably the only places in the West where Romanness and Latinity – namely, Latin language and Roman law and traditions – evolved nearly undisturbed since Late Antiquity. This region was directly submitted to the Roman Church: the sees south of Rome were a single ecclesiastical province, the head of which was the holder of the Roman see, the pope himself, and this until the second half of the tenth century. This region was also subject to influences, varying in types and degrees, from the new Rome, including, in some times and places, actual military control and imperial government. Finally, its political organization was extremely fragmented: Lombard principalities, former ‘Byzantine’ Tyrrhenian duchies and areas governed by the Eastern Empire neighboured each other; from 800, then 962, the western empires, Carolingian, then Ottonian, also had ambitions and actual influence in the south. This was the very time and place when and where the two Romes, the old and the new, were in close contact. In such a context, Rome and Romanness cannot but have original and complex meanings.

This issue is mainly addressed in narrative sources – historiography and hagiography –, those in which the themes of identity, history, power and ideology are the most fully dealt with, their writers reflecting the ideas and conceptions of rulers and the *élites*, both lay and clerical, to which they belonged. To begin with, understanding these writers’ idea of Rome demands that what they really knew about it, its history and legacy be precisely established. Next, the study focuses on how writers and sources dealt with Rome itself, the city and the people; what, to their minds, was Rome, who was Roman and who were the Romans? It then moves from the city to the two institutions associated with it: the Roman Church and the empire, then the two empires; addressing the issue of Romanness thus demands to investigate that of *imperium*, and to try to weigh whether, how and how much ‘Roman’ each empire might be in these people’s minds. Finally, a close look is taken at a few special contexts and sources, which grant access to specific views of Rome, revealing the full complexity of what Romanness can mean and imply there and then.¹

¹ For the general context, see Wickham 1981, 146–167, Galasso/Romeo 1994 and La Rocca 2002a; for a detailed analysis of Carolingian politics in the South, see West 1999; for a general overview of ideas about Rome in the early Middle Ages, see *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente* 2002.

Southern Italy was subjected to Roman conquest from its very first beginnings and was included in the Roman heartland very early; as a consequence, people living here shared their mother tongue and most of their cultural background with the Romans. The two language areas, Latin and Greek, bordered each other here. All Latin authors have a clear conscience of the language difference: for instance, they single out people able to speak both languages, or the liturgical use of Greek in Latin areas. Texts are also passed from one language sphere to the other through numerous translations or rewritings, with hagiographical examples having been particularly studied. The prologues to these works often address the issues of language and method: the authors were precisely aware of the specificities of each language, which made direct transfer impossible, so that the translation method *ad sensum* was almost always preferred. As far as language is concerned, Greek is thus almost always differentiated from *latinum* or *latina lingua*, only exceptionally from *romana lingua*. Roman, therefore, is almost never equated to Latin in these sources: to these authors and the people they wrote about and for, sharing the language of Rome did not make one Roman.² Southern writers also had a clear conscience of the status of Rome in history: this was the main region where Roman history was written and copied in the early Middle Ages, with two reworkings of Eutropius' *Breviary*, by Paul the Deacon in the 770s for duke Arechis of Benevento's wife Adelperga, and by Landolfus Sagax in the late tenth century, for an unidentified southern ruler – most probably a duke of Naples or a prince of Capua-Benevento (Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 909).³ So, there was a real interest in Roman history here, including and, mostly, because of its continuation in Constantinople. Other sources use Roman history as a frame and background: the *Gesta episcoporum* of Naples, written in three stages between the 840s and the mid-tenth century, fit local and regional institutions and events in the general history, ecclesiastical and imperial. In their reworkings of the *Passions* of third- and fourth-century martyrs, ninth- and tenth-century Neapolitan hagiographers detailed, sometimes with astonishing precision, the historical context, in order to insert persecution, martyrdom and sainthood in a general history of the Christianization of the Roman Empire and of salvation, the main source and ideological model of which was Jerome's *Chronicle*.⁴ Finally, Rome's political heritage was especially alive here, imperial sovereignty being the main model for rulers, as it was for all rulers in the early medieval West. The Neapolitan dukes are a special case, their authority being, as a matter of fact, an offshoot of Constantinopolitan power. The Lombard rulers imitated Roman imperial sovereignty,

² Chiesa 1989 1990 and 2004; D'Angelo 2001; Granier 2015.

³ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. Crivellucci, and Landolfus Sagax, *Historia Romana*, ed. Crivellucci; Chiesa 2001, 247–251; Granier 2009b, 175, 177, 182–183.

⁴ Peter the Subdeacon, *Passio sanctorum Abbacyri et Iohannis* (BHL 2078) 2, 1–6; *Passio sanctae Iulianae* (BHL 4526) 2, 1–3, and *Passio sanctae Restitutae* (BHL 7190) 1–4, ed. D'Angelo, 21–22, 100 and 186, and 'Introduction', *ibid.*, cl cli, on the use of Jerome's *Chronicle*; Bonitus of Naples, *Passio Theodori ducis* 2, AA SS Februarii II, 31 A C.

making use of its ideology and ways of displaying political language: in Benevento, the triumphal arch of Trajan (dated 114 – 117) was a tangible testimony of Roman heritage; Arechis had his Saint Sophia church built not far from it, a direct imitation of Justinian's Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. In Salerno, Arechis' palace, chapel and especially inscriptions are also a clear imitation of imperial Roman display of the language of power.⁵ The princes' interest in manuscripts of Roman historiography clearly proves they modelled their own rule on that of the Roman and Byzantine emperors. So, Romanness as a political concept had an actual presence and relevance in the early medieval South, being both accounted for, imitated and continued; writers, commissioners and audiences thus enjoyed an actual familiarity with Rome and Romanness, cultural and political, both current and historical.

The word 'Rome' first and most regularly qualified the city itself, and its territory. Erchempert of Montecassino, writing his *Ystoriola* of the Beneventan Lombards c. 891 – 895, listed the main cities of central-southern Italy: *Tunc Salernum, Neapolim, Gaietam et Amalfim pacem habentes cum Saracenis, navalibus Romam graviter angustabant depopulatio*;⁶ Rome lies next to the other cities, equal to them. It is sometimes qualified as *urbs*, the word also at times being applied to small cities, such as Nocera in this account.⁷ In Erchempert's *Ystoriola* and in the *Chronicon Salernitanum*, written by an abbot of Salerno c. 974 – 978, however, *Urbs* alone, without a name, usually means only Rome (*papa Stephanus Urbem deserit*).⁸ Like the other cities, Rome is head of a territory. The anonymous first part of the *Gesta episcoporum* of Naples, written in the 840s, mentions a series of strongholds around Rome, describing this territory according to its military organization.⁹ Another passage shows the *Romani* suffering under stress of imminent military action from the Lombards upon the *Romania*.¹⁰ The same view of this Roman territory is found in the surviving fragment of Peter the Subdeacon's third part of the text, written in the first half of the tenth century: he wrote about the *Romana provincia* suffering from Saracen raids.¹¹ Similarly, Erchempert mentions the *Romana tellus*, and in the *Salerno Chronicon*, its author related that King Aistulf took relics *ex Romanis finibus*.¹² Concerning the areas raided by the Saracens, Erchempert also stated that *omnem terram Beneventanam si-*

5 Granier 2006, 63–72; Peduto/Fiorillo/Corolla 2013.

6 Erchempert, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum* 39, ed. Waitz, 249; *Chronicon Salernitanum* 121 (quoting Erchempert 39), ed. Westerbergh, 134.

7 Erchempert, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum* 5, ed. Waitz, 236.

8 Erchempert, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum* 47, ed. Waitz, 254; *Chronicon Salernitanum* 3, ed. Westerbergh, 5; the quotes from Erchempert in the *Chronicon*, all indicated by Ulla Westerbergh, are not always detailed here.

9 *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum* 27, ed. Waitz, 415.

10 *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum* 40, ed. Waitz, 423–424.

11 *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum* 66, ed. Waitz, 436.

12 Erchempert, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum* 47, 74, ed. Waitz, 256, 262; *Chronicon Salernitanum* 7, ed. Westerbergh, 9.

mulque Romanam necnon et partem Spoletii dirruentes.¹³ Here, Rome is head not of a mere territory, but of a polity, such as the former principality of Benevento (divided into Benevento and Salerno since 849) and the duchy of Spoleto. Erchempert's perception of space was thus politically based, a geography of polities.

The name or adjective *Romanus* was mostly used to name the inhabitants of Rome itself and its territory. In the *Salerno Chronicle*, Pope John XII (955–964) welcomed Prince Gisulf I of Salerno (946–977) to Rome, surrounded by *Romani*.¹⁴ In another passage, the phrase *plures Romanorum vel ceterarum civitatum populi*, quoted from the *Liber Pontificalis*, clearly shows the writer distinguished a *populus Romanus* from people from other cities.¹⁵ Lines 47–48 of the epitaph of Prince Grimoald of Benevento (d. 806), quoted in the *Chronicon*, state:¹⁶

Itala, Romana, Illirica, Hebrea, Afra, Pellasga
Morte tua princeps <gens> sine fine dolet.

There was thus a *Romana gens*, distinguished from the *Itala* (the inhabitants of the kingdom) and also from the Lombards, the *Bardorum gens*.¹⁷ *Romanus* can also qualify men holding government offices in the city: in the first part of the *Gesta episcoporum* of Naples, passages excerpted from the *Liber Pontificalis* mention a *Romanus patricius* and a *Romanus exercitus*, imperial officers and troops in Rome.¹⁸ In a very few cases, the word *Romanus* can have another meaning. In the first part of the Neapolitan *Gesta*, in an account of the Gothic War, *Romani* means the Latin inhabitants of Italy, as opposed to both *Gothi* and *Greci*. This account, however, was taken word for word from chapter 2, 5 of Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum*. This special meaning of *Romani* must thus first be ascribed to Paul, even if the Neapolitan writer made it his own.¹⁹

All in all, the bulk of the sources equate *Romanus* with 'inhabitant of Rome'. Southern Italian writers, whether they were Lombards or not, did not consider themselves as Romans, in so far as they did not live in Rome or come from Rome.

Their view of Rome was also shaped by the fact that the city remained the seat of a major institution, the Roman Church, and was the place where the crown of the Western Empire was bestowed upon its bearer.²⁰ The bishop of Rome is a major political and ecclesiastical actor in the South at the time; the sources thus often account for his actions, and closely link pope and city. Phrases like *episcopus Romanus*, *pon-*

¹³ Erchempert, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum* 44, ed. Waitz, 251; *Chronicon Salernitanum* 126, ed. Westerbergh, 139.

¹⁴ *Chronicon Salernitanum* 167, ed. Westerbergh, 171.

¹⁵ *Chronicon Salernitanum* 3, ed. Westerbergh, 5.

¹⁶ *Chronicon Salernitanum* 29, ed. Westerbergh, 33.

¹⁷ *Chronicon Salernitanum* 29, ed. Westerbergh, 32.

¹⁸ *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum* 23, 26–27, ed. Waitz, 414–415.

¹⁹ *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum* 20, ed. Waitz, 412.

²⁰ See the contribution of Paolo Delogu in this volume.

tifex Romanus, *sedes Romana* or *sedes apostolica* are commonplace everywhere; the Neapolitan *Gesta episcoporum* use the phrase *sancta Romana ecclesia* twice.²¹ The very close link between Rome and St Peter is vividly stressed in John the Deacon of Naples' *translatio* of Severinus, written in 902–903 in response to very recent events: the sea expedition of Emir Ibrahim ibn Ahmad from Kairouan to Sicily and the completion of the Arab conquest of the island. John described the emir's hatred towards Rome and St Peter: in the words he ascribed to him, Ibrahim would attack and destroy the *civitas Petruli* and, a little later, John used the phrase *Petrus Romanus*. Finally Ibrahim was miraculously killed by an apparition of St Peter.²² In this very detailed narrative, John singled out the two main cities of the Christian world, Rome and Constantinople; he interprets recent events as being driven by Ibrahim's hatred towards Christianity. His miraculous punishment which eventually put a halt to the Arab conquest is logical. St Peter's heritage in Rome gave the city's bishop real institutional authority, clearly acknowledged in the *suburbicarius dioecesis*, which lay to the south of the city. This authority is one of the main themes of the first part of the Neapolitan *Gesta*, because, in order to fit the Neapolitan church in the general history of Christianity, large parts of the text are devoted to the history of the church between the fourth and eighth centuries, especially the dogmatic arguments and conflicts between East and West. One passage recounts the tentative promotion of the Neapolitan see to archbishopric by the patriarch of Constantinople, and the swift reaction of the Roman see (around 717). In this instance, the author clearly separated the Greek and Roman churches: *hic dum a Grecorum pontifice archiepiscopatum nancisceretur, ab antistite Romano correptus, veniam impetravit*.²³ Part two of the *Gesta*, written by John the Deacon around 900, regularly attests that the Neapolitan bishops were ordained in Rome;²⁴ in part three, Athanasius II (876–898) is ordained in Capua by John VIII (872–882).²⁵ The Roman liturgy works as rule and model, and the Neapolitan rite is reformed according to this *sacer Romanorum ordo* by Bishop Stephen II (766–794). The pope has actual disciplinary authority: he sends legates to investigate accusations of slander against Bishop Tiberius (819–839).²⁶ Likewise in the *Vita* of Bishop Athanasius (849–872), written shortly after his death, Pope John VIII and Emperor Louis II (855–875) send their *missi* to investigate the circumstances behind the bishop's exile from his see.²⁷ This aspect of Roman authority can also be seen in Erchempert: John VIII anathematizes

21 *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum* 15, 29, ed. Waitz, 410, 417; the second instance is a quote from the *Liber Pontificalis*, but the first one is original.

22 *Translatio sancti Severini* (BHL 7658) 8, 17, in: *Monumenta ad Neapolitani ducatus historiam pertinentia*, ed. Capasso, vol. 1, 291–300, here 294, 297–298; Feniello 2011, 83–87.

23 *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum* 36, ed. Waitz, 422.

24 *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum* 42, 46, 59, 63, ed. Waitz, 425, 427, 432, 434.

25 *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum* 66, ed. Waitz, 436.

26 *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum* 52, ed. Waitz, 428.

27 *Vita Athanasii* 7, 27–41, ed. Vuolo, 137–138.

the Christian polities allied to the Arabs (877) and receives Landonolf in Rome in order to ordain him as bishop of Capua (879).²⁸

Tightly connected to the idea of Rome is of course the idea of empire. From Charlemagne's campaign in the South in 787 to that of Henry II in 1022, southern Italy was, albeit irregularly, the very region where the two empires came face to face, with a peak in the second half of the tenth century: the time of the Ottonian emperors was also that when the Eastern Empire firmly renewed its hold on the most southern parts of the peninsula. In most instances, the two empires were qualified without distinction or precision. The most commonly used words are *augustus*, *augusta*, *caesar*, *imperator*, *imperium*, alone, without any geographical or linguistic precision. Part One of the Neapolitan *Gesta* deals with a time in which there was no Frankish Empire, and thus reflects the perfect continuity of the one Empire, from Rome to Constantinople. Once, its authority is qualified as *res publica*, for the time of Justinian. Part Two of the *Gesta* deals with a time when there were two empires, yet the same undifferentiated vocabulary is used for both; for instance, the same words *augustalis diadema* are used in accounts of Charlemagne's and Michael II's (820) coronations.²⁹ Erchempert's narrative deals with a period when a significant change took place: the renewal of eastern initiative in the South in the last decades of the ninth century. In the first half of his narrative (until Chapter 38 out of eighty-two), he used the standard vocabulary to deal with the Carolingian emperors, and from there on, the same words are, in turn, mostly used about the eastern ones. Any geographical precision about empire is exceptional, mostly when it was absolutely necessary to avoid confusion, for example in the Neapolitan *Gesta* (*Leo Constantinopolitanus imperator*), concerning events of the 820s when Frankish authority was much more effective.³⁰ Erchempert wrote about the *augustus Achivorum* in the early part of his narrative, because Charlemagne was the *augustus* most frequently referred to here;³¹ in Chapter 38, he wrote about *Gregorium baiulum imperiale Grecorum*, precisely because this is the turning point in the narrative, when the Eastern Empire takes initiative again.³² So, in the later part of the work, it was necessary to be specific about the *augusti Gallici* because the narrative context is fully reversed compared to that of the beginning, with major initiative and authority from Constantinople.³³ We can draw a perfectly matching picture from the charters: Benevento and Salerno charters from November 867 to July 871, and from December 873 to August 874 are dated according to the years of Louis II, always qualified as *domnus Ludovicus imperator augustus*. One, from the brief period of Byzantine control of Benevento (March, 892), is dated *sexto anno imperii domni Leoni et Alexandri magni imperatores*. The

²⁸ Erchempert, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum* 39, 43, 46, ed. Waitz, 249, 250, 251, 254.

²⁹ *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum* 18, 48, 54, ed. Waitz, 411, 428, 429.

³⁰ *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum* 54, ed. Waitz, 429.

³¹ Erchempert, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum* 5, ed. Waitz, 236.

³² Erchempert, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum* 38, ed. Waitz, 249.

³³ Erchempert, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum* 78, ed. Waitz, 263.

hundreds of known Neapolitan private charters from the early tenth century onwards are invariably dated according to the years of a *magnus imperator*, as are the dukes' charters. And, in his own charters, Louis II is always and exclusively qualified as *imperator augustus*.³⁴

Both empires, therefore, were simply empires, and none of them was qualified as the 'Roman' Empire. They were qualified as Frankish or Greek only in the very few instances when it was absolutely necessary for clarity's sake.³⁵ Yet the two empires were by no means identical, almost all authors sharing a common idea of Roman imperial history: direct continuity was from Rome to Constantinople, never from Rome to the Franks. The 774 conquest made Frankish then Saxon rulers the successors of the Lombard kings in Italy, while the only true successors of the Roman emperors were the eastern rulers, as Roman historiography clearly proves: Paul carried on Eutropius' narrative until the time of Justinian, and Landolfus in turn further on, until Leo V's coronation in 813.

Things are much more complex in the Salerno historian's narrative. Like the ninth-century authors, he frequently used *augustus*, *imperator* or *imperium* in an un-specific way for both rulers. He did not restrict the verb *imperare* to the emperors, using it for instance in regard to Prince Radelchis of Benevento (881–884).³⁶ As the list of Italian rulers at the beginning of the *Chronicon* proves, he shared the common idea of Lombard-Frankish-Ottonian continuity as far as the northern kingdom was concerned.³⁷ But his narrative has four specific features. First, he clearly disconnected the Eastern Empire from the *res publica*: at the beginning of his narrative, he lifted a phrase from the *Liber Pontificalis* when describing Pippin III's campaigns against King Aistulf (*ut per pacis federa causam beati Petri et rei puplice Romanorum disponderet* and *propria sancte Dei ecclesie rei puplice Romanorum reddidisset*); equating the *res publica* and the city and Church of Rome, he made one of the main ideological stances of the papacy his own.³⁸ This can be connected to the account of

³⁴ *Regesti dei documenti dell'Italia meridionale*, ed. Martin/Cuozzo/Gasparri, nos. 835, 838–839, 843, 845–848, 851, 887, 889 and 1112; Neapolitan private charters are quoted as *regesti* in *Monumenta ad Neapolitani ducatus historiam pertinentia*, ed. Capasso, vol. 2, and dukes' charters are edited *ibid.*, vol. 3, 1–84; *DD Ludovici II.*, ed. Wanner, show only minor changes in the side formulas: in DD 1–16 (January 10, 851 to February 8, 855), ed. Wanner, 67–97, that is while Lothar I is still alive: *Hludouicus gratia Dei imperator augustus invictissimi domni Hlotharii filius*; in DD 17, 19–30, 32–44, 47, 53 and 55 (that is until December, 871), ed. Wanner, 97–99, 102–127, 132–155, 159, 170–171 and 174–175: *Ludouicus gratia Dei imperator augustus*; in DD 18, 31, 46, 48–52, 54 and 56–69, ed. Wanner, 100–102, 127–132, 157–158, 159–169, 172–173 and 175–202: *Ludouicus divina ordinante providentia imperator augustus*, which is the only formula used in the last years of the reign; one special case: in D 45 (shortly after May 17, 866), ed. Wanner, 156: *Hludouicus divina favente clementia imperator augustus*.

³⁵ It is the same in John the Deacon of Venice's early eleventh century *Istoria Veneticorum*: Berto 2001, 66–69.

³⁶ *Chronicon Salernitanum* 1, 10–11, 103, 113–114, 117, 119, 122, 129 (Radelchis), 131, 133, 142–142*, 144 and 147*, ed. Westerbergh, 1–2, 15–17, 104, 126, 128–130, 133, 135, 142–144, 149–150 and 154.

³⁷ *Chronicon Salernitanum* 1, ed. Westerbergh, 1–2.

³⁸ *Chronicon Salernitanum* 4–5, ed. Westerbergh, 5–8; Noble 1984, 94–98.

Alexander III's (886–913) death: falling into excessive pride, he wants to renew the reverence towards the seventy antique statues of the subdued peoples – now brought from the Capitol to Constantinople – which used to make noise when one of the *gentes* rebelled against the empire. He embellishes them with precious fabrics, but Peter appears to him the following night and declares '*Ego sum, inquit, Romanorum princeps Petrus!*', and Alexander dies the following day.³⁹ This narrative aims at disconnecting the eastern emperors from their Roman roots and tradition, and at stressing the new Christian nature and identity of Rome: Rome was no longer the city of the emperors, but that of St Peter only. Second, the Salerno historian is very detailed about the accessions of western emperors, always stressing that their dignity stemmed precisely from the crowning and anointing by the pope in Rome.⁴⁰ Third, he is the writer most frequently dealing with so-called 'Greeks'. In his mind, like in the other sources, Greek was primarily a language, and Greeks were first distinguished on a language basis: he often gave Greek etymologies of words, or explained the meaning of Greek words.⁴¹ He also frequently differentiated Greek writers from Latin ones.⁴² In one instance, *Grecia* is a clearly defined place, set apart from *Tracia* and *Frigia*: this is the narrative of the origins of the Amalfitans, said to have travelled from Italy to the East and back again, and this detail aims at building an accurate account of the journey of the founders.⁴³ In all other instances, 'Greek' has a political meaning: the people in and from the areas under eastern imperial authority, be they from the Near East, Greece itself, Sicily or southern Italy. *Greci* ruled over Sicily before the Arab conquest⁴⁴, *Greci* referred to inhabitants of Bari⁴⁵ or Matera⁴⁶ (current Basilicata), and of Puglia as a whole⁴⁷, and distinguished them from Lombards, Neapolitans and Arabs.⁴⁸ Albeit these Italian areas under imperial rule were also inhabited by people speaking Latin and/or living under Lombard law (especially in Puglia), yet to this writer's mind, all were *Greci* nonetheless. And fourth and last, but by no means least, this historian paid great attention to the rulers' titles. To him, like to other contemporary writers, a 'Roman Empire' was firstly a thing of the past, for instance in the narrative of the origins of the Amalfitans, said to be the descendants of *Romani* who had left for Byzantium along with Constantine, *tempore quo Costantinus imperator Romanorum regni moderabat habenas*. But he also set

³⁹ *Chronicon Salernitanum* 131, ed. Westerbergh, 143.

⁴⁰ *Chronicon Salernitanum* 103 (Louis II), 121 (Charles the Bald, quote from Erchempert) and 169 (Otto I), ed. Westerbergh, 104, 134 and 172.

⁴¹ *Chronicon Salernitanum* 80a, 99, ed. Westerbergh, 78–79, 100; these etymologies are lifted from Isidore and Bede.

⁴² *Chronicon Salernitanum* 107, ed. Westerbergh, 109 and 111.

⁴³ *Chronicon Salernitanum* 89, ed. Westerbergh, 90.

⁴⁴ *Chronicon Salernitanum* 60, ed. Westerbergh, 59.

⁴⁵ *Chronicon Salernitanum* 129, ed. Westerbergh, 142.

⁴⁶ *Chronicon Salernitanum* 134–135, ed. Westerbergh, 144–145.

⁴⁷ *Chronicon Salernitanum* 120, ed. Westerbergh, 134.

⁴⁸ *Chronicon Salernitanum* 138, 140, ed. Westerbergh, 146, 148.

up a very meaningful fictitious exchange of letters between a Frankish ruler and the Constantinople court: the emperor writes to the Frankish leader (indeed a confused mix of Carloman and Charlemagne, and of the crownings in 774 as king of Italy and in 800 as emperor): *imperator augustus patricio Karolo salutes*. In his answer, Charles ignores this title of *patricius*, acknowledges the eastern dignity (*augusto imperatori Karolus*), but clearly states that he is the one responsible for the existence of a Roman Empire: *capud mundi Roma est, quam teneo* and *scio Romanorum regnum esse sicuti fuit, meis vero temporibus volo, si placet Deo, ut existat*.⁴⁹

All in all, the Salerno historian had a special idea of ‘empire’ and the ‘Roman Empire’ – of the Romanness of empire – compared to the other southern Italian writers: there used to be a Roman Empire, in the time of Constantine for instance. It had now moved to the East and ceased to be properly Roman; it was now inhabited by Greeks, even in its Italian parts. It had alienated itself from Romanness – the city, its Church and St Peter. A genuine Roman Empire could have only one capital city, Rome itself; its possible existence in the present rested on the ruler in Rome – the western sovereign. The main reason behind this special stance was the fact that the historian wrote in a very different context than the Neapolitan hagiographers or Erchempert. As a Lombard from the west coast, living under the prince of Salerno’s rule, he differentiated himself and those he called ‘Lombards’ from the people of the Southeast, living under imperial rule. Above all, he wrote when the Ottonian emperors had efficiently revived the idea of a Roman Empire: they ruled over two kingdoms, they were present and effective in Rome and in the South, where their power was met with support (however limited). Otto II married Theophano in 972 and ran campaigns in the South in 981–982. With the eastern emperors having also vividly renewed their authority in Italy at the time, both empires were active in the region, both connected to and rivalling one another. Their ultimate ideological model was the same, yet they dramatically differed as far as the lands they ruled and the language they spoke were concerned. As a consequence, the Salerno historian has a sharp, clear-cut view of two different empires: the western one was not really the ‘Roman’ one – yet it could have been; the eastern one was clearly Roman no more.

A few special cases deserve being pointed out and discussed, because they show that the idea of Romanness could, in some specific contexts, give rise to original, detailed and complex views and writings. Southern Italian cities had ancient pre-Roman and Roman roots, and antique traditions remained mostly undisturbed by the Lombard conquest. And some of them were capitals of independent, sovereign princes; these two features combine to encourage civic pride, and the writings extolling it. The late ninth-century Montecassino *Cronicae* refer to the great fire that destroyed the city of Capua, and its refoundation, on a nearby site, by the four sons

⁴⁹ *Chronicon Salernitanum* 88 and 34, ed. Westerbergh, 88 and 36–37.

of *gastald* Landolf in 856. The Cassinese historian wrote that the four founders called their new city a 'second Rome' and transcribed a dedicatory verse inscription, of which two lines also draw a parallel with Rome: they recall the Roman, senatorial dignity of the old Capua, and its complete and legitimate transfer to the new one. As a monk, he read these events as evidence of foolish pride: Capua burned because of its inhabitants' sins, and its leaders, instead of amending, remained blinded by pride. But these references nonetheless stemmed from genuine antique traditions: Cicero's *De lege agraria* mentions that Capua was called *altera Roma*, and the great amphitheatre of what is today Santa Maria Capua Vetere offered tangible evidence of this glorious past, as well as it was a military stronghold at the time.⁵⁰ The prologue to the *Life* of Bishop Athanasius extolls Naples' rich, pre-Roman antiquity, stating that it was so ancient that naming it *Nea polis* was nonsense and that its power and glory made it second only to Rome.⁵¹ Another piece of evidence concerning local pride and Roman emulation is the flourishing of apostolic narratives of origins about southern Italian and Sicilian churches, written mainly between the eighth and tenth centuries, that is in the period when, between the Lombard conquest of Ravenna and the end of an actual Byzantine political and military authority in most of the peninsula (750) and the new hierarchy among southern churches with the creation of the archbishoprics (late tenth century), Rome exerted real direct authority over these sees: Roman authority was acknowledged, yet created dynamics and tensions and, moreover, prompted the conception and writing of narratives that clearly emulated it.⁵²

Another spectacular testimony of what Rome and Romanness could mean is the very long letter sent in the name of Louis II to Basil I (867–886), most probably between the conquest of Bari (February 871) and Louis' custody in Benevento (August–September 871), apparently conceived and written by Anastasius Bibliothecarius and passed down to us through the *Salerno Chronicon*.⁵³ It apparently answers a letter (unknown to us) from the *basileus* rebuking Louis for being called *imperator augustus* – which he was indeed, as his charters prove. This exchange of letters proves that the eastern emperor and his counsellors had to deal with a new, unusual situation: there was another, a western empire and, in the time of Louis II, Carolingian rule was actually present and successful in the South and challenged Byzantine authority; never before had the Eastern Empire needed to justify its legitimacy and uniqueness.

50 *Cronicae Sancti Benedicti Casinensis* 12, ed. Berto, 22–23: *Quamque ludo secundam vocitabant Romam. Nam sicut qui effugerit a facie leonis et incurrerit in ursum, sic ab istis remota civitas ipsa ab igne pari in ultione corruit in abyssum. Qua gloria sperabatur erigi, carmen indicat istud: [...] Illa senatorum pollebat fulta caterbis, / Nomine sed Capua vocitatur et ista secunda.* Taviani Carozzi 1991, vol. 1, 220, and Visentin 2012, 95–105. Cicero, *De lege agraria oratio prima* 24; *oratio secunda* 86.

51 *Vita Athanasii* 1, 6–40, ed. Vuolo, 115–119.

52 Granier 2012, 176–182.

53 *Chronicon Salernitanum* 107, ed. Westerbergh, 107–121; *Regesti dei documenti dell'Italia meridionale*, ed. Martin/Cuozzo/Gasparri, no. S145; Arnaldi 1963b.

Louis' and Anastasius' answer is in two parts: a lengthy discussion of the imperial title, and an account of recent events in southern Italy. The idea of Rome permeates this letter, and it is the only reflection about what 'empire' and 'Roman Empire' meant that originated from a southern Italian context – and an extraordinarily detailed one at that. Its arguments are as follows: there is only one empire, the one of Christ, reflected in the Church; both emperors rule it inasmuch as they are in spiritual communion. The Western Empire is not a novelty, but dates back to Louis' great-grandfather Charlemagne; even the Roman Empire was once a novelty; the Empire is an effect of divine will, and, as such, has been designed forever, before time began. The Franks are not Romans, but are nevertheless able to rule the Empire: history proves that there have been Spanish, Isaurian or Khazar emperors; anyway, God can appoint to Empire any man fearing him. The Carolingians are not called Frankish emperors, because they rule Rome and are anointed and crowned in Rome.⁵⁴ They are Christians, and thus of the true blood of Abraham; just as the Jews refused to acknowledge Christ, the Greeks have ceased to be Romans when they left the City, abandoned its language, and steered away from orthodoxy.⁵⁵ As a matter of fact, almost everything is already summed up in the very address:

*Lodoguicus divina ordinante providencia imperator augustus Romanorum dilectissimo spirituali que fratri nostro Basilio gloriosissimo et piissimo eque imperatori nove Rome.*⁵⁶

Thus there were two Romes: Basil ruled the new one and Louis the old. Yet only Louis was truly *imperator Romanorum*, and Basil was his equal, not the reverse.

Louis' empire was thus truly Roman because he ruled Rome, was in communion with the pope, had been anointed by him and acclaimed by the people of Rome. But this is almost the only instance in which Louis, or a Carolingian for that matter, stressed, explained and justified the 'Roman' nature of his rule – the pseudo-corre-

54 *Preterea mirari se dilecta fraternitas tua significat, quod non Francorum sed Romanorum imperatores appellemur, sed scire te convenit, quia nisi Romanorum imperatores essemus, utique nec Francorum. A Romanis enim hoc nomen et dignitatem assumpsimus, apud quos profecto primum tante culmen sublimitatis et appellacionis effulsit, quorumque gentem et urbem divinitus gubernandam et matrem omnium ecclesiarum Dei defendendam atque sublimandam suscepimus, a qua et regnandi prius et postmodum imperandi auctoritatem prosapie nostre seminarium sumpsit. Nam Francorum principes primo reges, deinde vero imperatores dicti sunt, hii dumtaxat qui a Romano pontifice ad hoc oleo sancto perfusi sunt; Chronicon Salernitanum 107, ed. Westerbergh, 112.*

55 *Sicut si Christi sumus, secundum apostolum Abrahe semen existimus, ita si sumus Christi, omnia possumus per gratiam ipsius, que possunt illi qui videntur existere Christi; et sicut nos per fidem Christi Habrahe semen existimus, Iudeique propter perfidiam Abrahe filii esse desierunt, ita quoque nobis propter bonam opinionem, orthodoxiam, regimen imperii Romani susceptum, Greci propter kacodosiam, id est malam opinionem, Romanorum imperatores existere cessaverunt, deserentes videlicet non solum urbem et sedes imperii, set et gentem Romanam et ipsam quoque linguam penitus amittentes, atque ad aliam urbem sedem gentem et linguam per omnia transmigrantes; Chronicon Salernitanum 107, ed. Westerbergh, 114.*

56 *Chronicon Salernitanum 107, ed. Westerbergh, 107.*

spondence between Carloman-Charlemagne and Constantinople being an invention of the author. This was only done at that time because of the need to claim and prove that the conquest of Bari, which deprived the Eastern Empire of its main stronghold in the South (very briefly, indeed, but this would not have been predictable in 871), made Louis' authority perfectly legitimate in all Italy, that his rule was the true *imperium*, for which there was only one ideological model, the Roman Empire, and one source of legitimacy, the city and Church of Rome. Obviously, neither Louis nor Anastasius considered Louis' empire first and foremost as 'Roman', but they were nevertheless able to build very sound reasoning in this sense aimed at undercutting whatever challenge, criticism or reproach might have come from Constantinople. In this letter, Anastasius drew much of his evidence from Greek writers: he showed off his vast culture, encompassing Greek sources, and placed the *basileus* face to face with arguments and proofs from his own cultural universe. However exceptional, the letter matches many of the Salernitan writer's ideas about empire, as detailed and discussed above, which explains why he paid so much attention to this unique document and inserted it in his own work.⁵⁷

Shortly after, in the decades around 900, several bitter criticisms against Rome originated from the South. The poem known as *Versus Romae* might have been written in Naples in or shortly after 878. These twenty-four hexameters refer to recent events of the years 876–878 to point out that Roman glory had faded, that its prestige and power had passed to the Greeks, and that it was even unworthy of the protection of Peter and Paul, whom it had murdered long ago and whose relics it now sold.⁵⁸ Around ten years later, Pope Formose (891–896) was exhumed and judged (897), and his ordinations were invalidated, which upset several Italian and western churches in the following twenty years. The writers taking his side in this argument were mostly southern ones, or at least hosts in southern cities: Auxilius and Eugenius Vulgarius in Naples, and Rodelgrimus and Guiseldardus in Benevento. The latest known text in the argument is the *Invectiva in Romam pro Formoso papa*, an attack against John X (914–928) written around 914, the writer of which knew and quoted the *Versus Romae* and the previous southern pro-Formose writings.⁵⁹ This polemical stance did not clash completely with nor invalidated the general acknowledgement of Rome's prestige and institutional authority over the southern churches. These writers' commitment in the Formose affair was of course triggered by the cancellation of his ordinations of several southern clerics and prelates, but also clearly

⁵⁷ Taviani Carozzi 1992.

⁵⁸ *Deseruere tui tanto te tempore reges, / Cessit et ad Graecos nomen honosque tuus. [...] / Constantinopolis florens nova Roma vocatur: / Moribus et muris, Roma vetusta, cadis. [...] / Transiit imperium mansitque superbia tecum, / Cultus avaritiae te nimium superat. [...] / Truncasti vivos crudeli vulnere sanctos; / Vendere nunc horum mortua membra soles. / Sed dum terra vorax animantium roserit ossa, / Tu poteris falsas vendere reliquias; Versus Romae* 3–24, ed. Traube, 556; Granier 2004.

⁵⁹ Most texts are in *Auxilius und Vulgarius*, ed. Dümmler, the *Invectiva* is edited separately as *Inuectiva in Romam pro Formoso papa* by Dümmler; Gnocchi 1995.

shows that these men expected something from the Roman see: that it should not tear itself apart and after having ridiculed itself by digging up and judging a deceased pope; that it should not be governed by an *invasor* such as John X. The *Versus*' context was that of the years between Louis II's and John VIII's deaths (875–882), that is the time when the pope tried against all odds to carry out Louis' imperial programme in the South, while favouring Charles the Bald, then Carloman and Charles the Fat; the poem can be read as a charge against the political ambitions of the papacy – which had to face hardships in Rome itself – without close and efficient support from an emperor: a disreputed Rome had no claim to pretend to carry out the imperial rule by itself. The Western Empire could not exist without the Roman Church, but, to these writers – and, most probably, their rulers – the Roman Church could not substitute itself for the Empire.

These partisan writings show that many southern intellectuals could have a clear idea of where Romanness is located and what it implies: the Roman Church and Empire needed each other, but were clearly differentiated; the Roman Church enjoyed an acknowledged authority, but with matching demands and limits. These authors lived in independent polities, whose rulers and bishops could have different views and political agendas from the popes and emperors. They were perfectly able to challenge and question Roman and regal political choices, and to make it known.

* * *

A major change in the history of Italy and the whole West occurred around 750: the Lombard conquest of Ravenna dramatically diminished the actual presence and government of Constantinople in Italy, and the papacy's alliance with the Frankish rulers distanced it from its traditional, imperial protector. From the second half of the eighth century onwards, the Roman Church claimed to be the perfect embodiment of Romanness – the use of the phrase *res publica* in the *Liber Pontificalis* being a spectacular testimony to this claim.⁶⁰ From 800 on, Constantinople faced a second Christian Empire, that of the Franks, then the Saxons, and was thus forced for the first time to claim its own Roman legitimacy and continuity. Southern Italy was the single region in the Christian world where these transformations of what Romanness was and meant in the early Middle Ages had their most noticeable effect, where these two rival claims of Romanness met and interacted with each other. The strength of these claims and debates in the late tenth century explains the *Chronicon Salernitanum*'s author's unique attention to the Empire's Romanness. In addition, the sources reveal Romanness as a shared culture: while clearly differentiating themselves from those they named Romans, Latin southern Italians shared most of their culture with them; it is thus no wonder that the issue of Romanness was a key ideological issue in the early medieval South and that the sources and their writers paid special attention to it.

⁶⁰ See the contribution of Paolo Delogu in this volume.

Southern Italy was an extremely fragmented area, a world of cities and city-centred polities, both large (like the principality of Benevento before 849) and small, even minute ones (like the duchy of Amalfi). Yet, it was unified by the Christian faith. As a consequence, identity was felt and expressed on two major scales, the local polity each one belonged to being the first, the Christian Church the second.⁶¹ Such criteria of identity explain the conception of Rome and Romanness encountered in the sources studied here: although Roman imperial ideology remained the ideal model of Christian sovereignty, and was imitated almost everywhere, the emperors of Constantinople were the only genuine successors of the ancient rulers of Rome. Yet, none of the two contemporary empires – the ambitions and, at times, actual successes of which are dramatically described in our sources – was first and foremost a Roman Empire. The *Chronicon Salernitanum*'s stance, exceptional among the body of sources, must be connected to the specific context of the late tenth century. Rome itself was a city among others, head of its own polity; it was far from being the only one enjoying Romanness, antiquity and prestige. Yet it was absolutely unique as a church, that of St Peter, standing apart both from the universal *ecclesia* and from either empire. Its unquestionable prestige did not mean absolute authority and did not exclude emulation: thus the many narratives of apostolicity; thus the frequent clashing of rulers' and bishops' political agendas with those of the popes; thus the exploitation and biased use of the very prestige, authority and history of Rome by rulers, intellectuals and writers involved in the challenges and debates of the present.

⁶¹ Granier 2007.

Annick Peters-Custot

Between Rome and Constantinople: The Romanness of Byzantine southern Italy (9th – 11th centuries)

Medieval Southern Italy and Sicily hosted the three monotheisms, the two main spheres of Christianity, Roman and Oriental, an Islamic polity, two empires, principalities, and many different kingdoms: the most important political entities and the main communities of the medieval Mediterranean coexisted in a restricted area. It is no wonder that this zone is nowadays considered as a laboratory for the analysis of medieval Mediterranean communities: Norman ethnogenesis, Greek identity and communities, Sicilian 'Mozarabs' and Sicilian Arab-speaking Jews, the concepts of identity and of community. All these themes wove into a complex setting within which there are numerous historiographical novelties:¹ since 'ethnic' identity seems inappropriate, the legal criterion is now considered essential. Besides, the story of the different cultural religious minorities in the Mediterranean world seems now shaped over all by political constructions, particularly the imperial ideology.²

It would be wrong to consider that peoples do not exist for empires: empires often give a historical life to these peoples by giving them names and describing their customs. And the groups that make up the population of an empire are known and recognized by their linguistic, juridical and religious diversities. But all these distinctions are politically neglected, drowned in the imperial ocean, and subordinated to the submission to the emperor. In the medieval Eastern Empire, the so-called 'Byzantine Empire', the *douleia*, that brings together all the *basileus*' subjects, implies that these latter are Romans because their emperor is the heir and successor of the ancient Roman emperors.³ So the nature of imperial power gives the subjects their political identity: a Roman emperor has Roman subjects – and the imperial population is Roman while still being Georgian, Armenian, Greek or Calabrian.

¹ See: Canosa 2009 about the Norman ethnogenesis, Peters Custot 2009a for the Greek of Southern Italy; Colafemmina 1995 for the Apulian Jews, Bresc/Nef 1998 for the Sicilian 'Mozarabian'; Bresc 2001 for the Sicilian Jews. See also Di Carpegna Falconieri 2012b and Nef 2013 on medieval collective identities, minorities and communities. Di Carpegna Falconieri, for example, concludes his remarkable presentation of the Roman *militia* in the seventh and eighth centuries fighting the very notion of identity, that is of a stable and closed cultural awareness: the Roman *miles* hates his Lombard neighbour, certainly knows the Greek language, prays in front of icons that are the same as those found at Constantinople, but his weapons are German ones. It is likely that all the warriors resembled each other more than they certainly would have admitted themselves. About the notion of acculturation, see the online presentation by Peters Custot, 'De l'usage de l'acculturation' (Peters Custot 2013b).

² Nef 2011, 3; Peters Custot 2009b.

³ Guillou 1967.

This perception of people in an empire is not a distinctive feature of the Byzantine world. It appears in the Ottonian Empire,⁴ and even in political constructions that claim an imperial ideology without wearing the name: I refer to the Norman kingdom of Sicily.⁵

So, in the logic that we name with a characteristic but perfectly accepted anachronism, 'Byzantine', the concept of Romanness reflects always something political, implying the belonging to a political construction that claims an imperial identity (if not the name of empire) and the inheritance of ancient Rome's emperors. The medieval Eastern Empire, it is well known, demanded a monopoly over this Romanness, a monopoly that, naturally, the western world denied it and which led, in the ninth and tenth centuries, to the blooming of a well-known polemic literature that we will not discuss in this paper.⁶

Medieval Romanness in the Eastern Empire, however, has nothing to do, theoretically, with peoples. In particular, in the case of the two Byzantine provinces in Italy between the ninth and the eleventh centuries, Apulia and Calabria, Romanness and the consciousness of Romanness should be the same: the Greek populations of Byzantine Italy, concentrated over all in southern Calabria, should not be more 'Roman' than the Lombard, Latin-speaking populations of Byzantine Apulia. Yet, this theoretical vision is not to be seen in the documents.

On the one hand, the sources from Constantinople make a clear distinction, based upon cultural criteria, between the inhabitants of the two provinces. For Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, the Calabrian people is the only 'Roman' one in Italy⁷ and, in the eleventh century, the Byzantine population of Italy is seen as 'mixin-barbarian', a new category made up at Constantinople to indicate the semi-Romans and semi-barbarians on the empire's periphery, which is the mirror of the empire's ever weakening ability to integrate.⁸ Later again, Anna Comnena expresses all the prejudices developed by the Byzantine *élites* against Italo-Greeks when she introduces John Italos, a pseudo-Byzantine Italian, who, according to her, was not fluent in

⁴ So writes Liutprand, bishop of Cremona, when referring to the western emperor and designating his people: *scripsit et de imperio vestro et gente nostra 'nostram' nunc dico omnem quae sub vestro imperio est gentem*. Liutprand of Cremona, *Relatio de legatione*, c. 40, ed. Chiesa.

⁵ See Nef 2011, 145–174; Nef 2012, 236–244; and Nef 2013. The religious and ecclesiastical consequence of the Hauteville imperial ideology, that makes the sovereign the master and chief of his church, is to read in Fodale 1970 and Peters Custot 2009a, 240–246. The absence, in the Norman Realm of Sicily, of a policy having specifically religious communities as objects, is also a feature of Southern Italy under the Byzantine imperial rule: see Peters Custot 2013a.

⁶ See Peters Custot 2014.

⁷ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, c. 27, ed. Moravcsik, trans. Jenkins, 113–119; and Peters Custot 2009a, 136–138.

⁸ About these 'mixin barbarians', categories developed in the eleventh century Byzantine Empire, more particularly at Constantinople among the *élites*, see: Ahrweiler 1976 and, for the presence or the conception of such a category in Byzantine Southern Italy: Peters Custot 2005 and Peters Custot 2006.

the language of the true ‘Romans’, and really poor in the major science of the Byzantine *élite*, that of rhetoric.⁹

On the other hand, the Apulian and the Calabrian sources do not express feelings of Romanness in the same way.

Byzantine Apulia is, paradoxically, the Empire’s Italian province that shows most obviously the administrative criteria for belonging to the Eastern Empire: agents of public administration, above all the *Katepano*, who sit in the main city of Bari, in the *Praetorion*;¹⁰ but also an army, whose military service, from quite early on, was often modified in line with the imperial army in the East; a monetary system that was completely dependent on Constantinople (although Calabria was in the monetary and trade orbit of the Islamic world) and a Byzantine tax system that is well known (the Calabrian sources are silent on that topic).¹¹ Constantinople devoted a great deal of attention to Apulia, and much more than to southern Calabria, which was abandoned to be the prey of the Arab attacks from Sicily. In this region, where integration into the Byzantine *Oikoumene* was an important geostrategic challenge, all the regional Byzantine administrative framework and functions were adapted from the previous Lombard ones. The same individuals or families continued to hold on to local administrative functions, from *gastald* to *tourmarkos*,¹² the law was still Lombard, and the ecclesiastical framework, structured entirely in Latin, was kept under the jurisdiction of ancient Rome.

These smart integrative policies allowed a strong link between the local Lombard *élites* and the Empire, which contrasts with the autonomy, if not almost complete independence, of Calabria: the latter posed a weaker resistance to the Norman conquest than Apulia.¹³ In this framework, all the marks of ‘Romanness’, to be seen in the sources that express some ‘auto-representation’ of the people, are rare and implicit, but evident: on the one hand, the dating of the Latin notarial *acta* by the reign of the *basileis*, called *Sanctissimi imperatores*, is a first sign of political allegiance, even if it does not imply that the authors of the *acta* consider themselves to be ‘Roman’. A similar diplomatic phenomenon can be seen amongst the charters of the Lombard princes. On the other hand, the proud claim of a Byzantine imperial

⁹ Anna Komnena, *Alexias* V, 8 and 9, ed. and trans. Leib, vol. 2, 32–40, for Italos’ detailed story and especially *ibid.* V, 8, 6, ed. and trans. Leib, vol. 2, 35–36, for his lack of skills in Greek language and rhetoric (for a German translation of this extract, see Anna Komnena, *Alexias*, ed. and trans. Reinsch/Kambylis, 185–189). Described as an ‘Italian’ – that is to say, in Byzantine political and administrative terms, as a Latin from *Longobardia* (the Latin province of Byzantine Italy) – John Italos was not a native Greek speaking Italian. However, he became one of Psellos’ students, and his successor as ‘philosophers’ consul’. Anna Komnena’s prejudices toward Italos are well known. Nevertheless, she remains the main source for his biography. On this original and controversial personality, see Magdalino 2017.

¹⁰ Falkenhausen 1986.

¹¹ Martin 1993, 711–715.

¹² Martin 2006.

¹³ Peters Custot 2009a, 225–232.

title or function reflects also an administrative integration linked to the symbolic capital for these *élites*. I have studied the distribution of imperial titles and Byzantine administrative functions to the local Lombard *élites* through the Latin Apulian *acta*, and I have been able to illustrate that this distribution was part of policies of integration that had real success: the use of Byzantine dignities persisted much longer among the Lombard people than among the Greeks of Calabria after the Norman conquest.¹⁴ Again, it could be argued that numerous non-Byzantine sovereigns received Byzantine titles (the so-called dignities) without being considered or considering themselves subjects of the *basileus*. However, this is not the same case in Byzantine Apulia. Here, titles such as *tourmarkoi* and *protospatharioi* were not given to establish diplomatic links, but to maintain the administration of the Italian provinces of a faraway empire.

So the Lombard population of Byzantine Italy, although integrated into the Empire only from the second half of the tenth century onwards, and still exclusively linked to Lombard law and to western culture and religious practices, developed quite quickly the support, albeit only political, of the Eastern Empire and emperor, that meets the notion of ‘Romanness’ in an imperial context: their cultural features were never being rejected or oppressed, so their political support was sincere, even if concealed. This could be possible only because the western world kept an ideology in which empire was the standard of political construction, as the highest degree of the ideal state.

Regarding the population of Byzantine Calabria, their linguistic ‘Greekness’, their Byzantine law, their eastern liturgy and ecclesiology, their onomastic ‘Byzantine-type’ choices put them in the cultural orbit of Eastern Empire.¹⁵ And yet, the perception the Italo-Greeks had of themselves, as visible through the documentary testimonies, such as hagiographical texts or notarial *acta*, is not so clear and evident.¹⁶

On the one hand, the juridical, cultural and religious coherence with the Eastern Roman Empire is never clearly explained and explicit. It never expresses itself in the local documentation, but is deduced from sets of indications, from hints, *a posteriori*. For example, Byzantine notarial *acta* offer a glimpse of contemporary church norms, when they display clearly the name of priests’ children, even though, as a result of ecclesiastical opposition, this practice becomes less and less visible in the sources. In the juridical field, the use of Byzantine law is never expressed, in so far as the notarial *acta* never make precise citation of a law before the end of the twelfth century:¹⁷ Byzantine law can be grasped through the practical evidence, such as those charters that distinguish Byzantine from Lombard law, especially concerning women’s rights, which both are theoretically opposed to. But even in this case, the natural acculturation, emerging spontaneously from the frequent contacts between popula-

¹⁴ Peters Custot 2009a; Peters Custot 2012c.

¹⁵ Peters Custot 2009a, 32–50; Peters Custot 2012b.

¹⁶ Peters Custot 2006.

¹⁷ Peters Custot 2012a.

tions inside Byzantine Italy, where the use of Lombard law is tolerated, was a very complex process that gave birth to highly nuanced realities. For example, behind the word *theorettron*, which indicates the Byzantine matrimonial endowment given to the bride, there is most often, and even for women under Byzantine law, a Lombard *Morgengabe* also called *Quartam partem*, since this endowment is fixed as the quarter part of the man's goods.¹⁸

There is one exception to this silent use of Byzantine law in southern Italy: when the Italo-Greek communities were minorities in a Latin-Lombard landscape. In Byzantine Apulia, in Taranto for example, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, as well as in Salerno, in the Lombard principality, the Greek community is visible through the presence of a 'chorepiskopos' and of a 'judge of the Greeks'.¹⁹ The Salernitan Latin *acta* kept at the Abbey of Cava de' Tirreni, demonstrate for the twelfth century a new need for explicit juridical distinction.²⁰ This phenomenon affects all the local population groups. They require the notary to express that they are acting *secundum legem et consuetudinem gentis nostrae Longobardorum*, or *secundum legem et consuetudinem Romanorum*. The latter is quite ambiguous, as it is used by the members of the Greek community coming from Calabria and Sicily, as well as by those coming from Naples, Amalfi, Atrani, and Gaeta, all Tyrrhenian dukedoms which proudly and constantly claim the use of Roman-Justinian law. Such an ambiguity, that nowadays presents some difficulties of historical interpretation, will emerge again in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when references to 'Roman' law will occur in the private notarial *acta* written down in Southern Italy, either in its Latin-speaking part, or in its Greek-speaking one.²¹

Therefore, the external expression of the cultural, religious and juridical 'Byzantiness' is mostly an implicit one, except when the Greeks became a minority after the Byzantine period.

On the other hand, the members of this Italo-Greek group themselves, and particularly in Calabria, which by this time was wholly Hellenised, claimed a strong support from Byzantine political ideology, and their conception of imperial power is in perfect harmony with Byzantium, which considers the emperor as God's lieutenant on earth: when the great tenth-century Italo-Greek saint Elias Speleotes sees in a dream an imperial procession led by the *basileus*, he concludes that his end is near since, just as the emperor is Christ on earth, the emperor in his dream is nothing but Christ coming to collect him.²² Such complete political integration of Byzantine Italy at this time can be seen also in the notarial *acta*, where any rebellion is presented as the equivalent to apostasy, where the rout of the imperial army signifies chaos, and where the penalty clause defines the violation of a juridical act as disloyalty

¹⁸ Peters Custot 2009a, 146–150.

¹⁹ For Taranto see Martin 1991; for the Greek community of Salerno, Peters Custot 2009b.

²⁰ Peters Custot 2009b, 92–95.

²¹ Peters Custot 2012a.

²² AA SS Sept. III, 878, 73.

‘against God and the emperor’s salvation’.²³ At the same time, the emperor’s agents are sharply criticized, with a disapproval that never affects the *basileus* himself. Iniquitous and cruel *strategoi*, and powerful and jealous bishops are the objects of a strong and common disapproval, and even divine retribution.²⁴ Thus Italian political support of Byzantine political ideology is a sign of approval of a distant emperor. That is probably why geographical remoteness was not the cause for political distance at all. However, this very same remoteness explains why the Greeks coming from southern Byzantine Italy and moving in other regions of the Eastern Empire felt like strangers, *xenoi*.²⁵ The word, claiming the necessary exteriority of the monk from the secular world, sounds deeply spiritual in the monastic hagiographical literature, but not only there. The *xeniteia* is truly effective, and the holy monk who dies in Thessaloniki as in a ‘foreign country’ does not feel at home.²⁶ This *xeniteia* is however true to the original Byzantine type of foreigner. The *xenodocheia* are exactly built to house, in priority, travellers, ‘Roman’ pilgrims, who are outside their normal residency and homeland.²⁷ So, even with the expression of the feeling of *xenos*, the Greeks of Southern Italy are complying with the Byzantine standard of *xeniteia*.

Homeland is the real, true and most deeply rooted base of the Italo-Greeks when travelling abroad or meeting foreigners: they introduce themselves to other people by naming their homeland and the authors of saints’ lives always start their holy narratives by defining the heroes’ fatherland. This homeland is illuminated forever by their glory. Moreover, leaving everything for God meant precisely going so far as leaving the homeland’s soil, according to a sentimental geography that became a hagiographical *cliché*. Linked to this homeland, a *genos* defines the traveller’s identity.²⁸

²³ The most meaningful examples can be seen in the Italo Greek notarial *acta*. In the *acta* of the *dux* Argyros dated 1053, for instance, Basil Chrysogenos, who led a rebellion against the imperial agents in Taranto in the middle of the eleventh century, is named *apostatos* (ἀποστάτος): Robinson 1929–1930, no. 5. Besides, the rout of the imperial army means the emergence of chaos and complete disorder, such as explained in a private document dated 1070–1071 (*ibid.*, no. 8): οὐ μεθου πολὺ δὲ τοῦ ἔθνους τὴν ἅπασαν χώραν ἡμῶν τῶν ἐχθρῶν εἰσεξουσίαν παραλαβόντων. πάντα εἰς ἀφανῆσμον τέλειον γέγωναν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλικὸν στρατὸν φρούδον ἄρδην πεποιήκοτες. πάντα ἀλλειναλλος τα πρᾶγματα γέγωναν (diplomatic transcription of the text).

²⁴ See for example the struggle between Saint Elias Speleotes, and an evil priest sustained by an unfair *strategos* of Calabria: AA SS Sept. III, 853, 14–854, 15.

²⁵ It is, in particular, the case for Saint Elias the Younger, who died, according to the author of his *Life*, ‘in a foreign land’, as he stayed at Thessaloniki, after having felt the same feeling of being a stranger (*The Life of Saint Elias the Younger*, cc. 28, 68, ed. and trans. Rossi Taibbi, 42–45, 108–111).

²⁶ I have briefly analysed this feeling in Peters Custot 2006 without being completely aware, at this time, of the fact that it was a widespread feeling in the Byzantine world. Being affectively bound to one’s region conceived as the motherland and, at the same time, feeling a stranger, if not an alien, in another part of the Byzantine Empire constituted a normal perception of the membership of an empire in the medieval times.

²⁷ See Kaplan 2014.

²⁸ Peters Custot 2006.

That is why the Italo-Greek traveller, when travelling out of his native Calabria, and even if still in the Byzantine Empire, is a foreigner, as well as people coming from other peripheral areas of this Empire.

In the Italo-Greek sources, the idea of 'Roman', beloved in the Byzantine world, remains rare and evanescent. The Greeks and the Lombards from Byzantine Italy never speak of themselves as 'Romans', except for one case: a testament, written down in the Lombard *milieu* of Bari, where a Calabrian woman, living under Byzantine law, frees her slave so that he becomes 'free and a Roman citizen' (*politès Rhômaiôn*).²⁹ This case concurs with the juridical claim among minority communities, as developed above. The other main references to 'Roman' in the sense of 'Byzantine' refer to a military context: in the *Life* of St Elias the Younger, one of the most important Italo-Greek saints of the Byzantine period, Romans are Byzantine soldiers sent to defend the Christians against the Arabs.³⁰

So, again, 'Byzantine' individuals from Italy never describe themselves as 'Roman', although 'Romanness' is supposed to be the political foundation for being part of the Eastern Empire. Byzantine Italy is included in a space which confronts two empires that claim to be called 'Roman', a city called 'Rome' and a bishop who yearns for ruling the 'Roman' Church: this unique, specific situation may explain the lexical weakness of Italo-Greek 'Romanness' bound, in the end, to the polysemy of the word 'Roman'. This word signifies too much to be suitably used.³¹

In the *Life* of St Elias the Younger, already cited, if *basileus* Leo VI the Wise holds the *basileia* of the Romans,³² St Elias, when coming to Rome, encounters Pope Stephen V, who 'holds the tiller of the Roman Church'.³³ One detects how the western way of conceiving Romanness spread into Italo-Greek hagiography. This discourse, which claims the monopoly of the use of *Romanus* for the city of Rome, the popes and sometimes the western emperors, has been most often analysed in its polemic dimension, in the context of struggles between the pope and Constantinople's patriarchate, or of competition between the two emperors,³⁴ as disclosed in the letter written down by Anastasius Bibliothecarius for *Basileus* Basil I in 871.³⁵ In fact, the end of the ninth century is a period during which a polemical rhetoric against the Eastern Empire developed, especially in Rome, but also elsewhere in parts of western Eu-

²⁹ *Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari*, no. 46, ll. 42–43, ed. Nitti, 93.

³⁰ *The Life of Saint Elias the Younger*, cc. 7 and 25, ed. and trans. Rossi Taibbi, 10–13, 36–39.

³¹ Peters Custot 2006.

³² *The Life of Saint Elias the Younger*, c. 66, ed. and trans. Rossi Taibbi, 104–107.

³³ *The Life of Saint Elias the Younger*, c. 36, ed. and trans. Rossi Taibbi, 54–57.

³⁴ See recently: for the eighth century, Gantner 2013a and for the ninth–eleventh centuries, Peters Custot 2014.

³⁵ This letter is included in the *Chronicon Salernitanum* (*Chronicon Salernitanum*, c. 107, ed. Westerberg, 106–121). The huge difference of literary level between this letter and the rest of the *Chronicon* proves that the author certainly copied it, being unable to write down a text of such a high quality. On this letter see further Peters Custot 2014.

rope.³⁶ This rhetoric emerged again with the rebirth of a Western Empire in 962.³⁷ Chris Wickham linked the foundation of such an aggressive rhetoric made up of negative *topoi* with the decline of central Carolingian authority that led to the weakening of a centralized court culture and to the increasing inability of western powers to understand the complexity of the eastern world.³⁸

Now, there can be dispassionate discourse in a peaceful, non-antagonistic context, which occurs less frequently in the sources: yet, in this western discourse, ‘Romanness’ has been seized and carried off by Rome, and by all those who are living there, including those who are bishops, or those who, having been crowned emperors there, had a duty to defend the city.³⁹ The imperial dignity of the Eastern Empire and its sovereign are not diminished or weakened: the *basileus* is ‘Constantinople’s emperor’, and the ‘Byzantine’ people are *Greci*, without that word reducing the Byzantine Romanness to an ethnic dimension.⁴⁰ This term seems to have been used because it was convenient; it was the administrative language and, perhaps, the main liturgical language of the Eastern Empire.⁴¹

This Roman monopoly upon Romanness, which relied on another definition of Romanness bound to the papacy and the city of Rome, does not seem to harm the

³⁶ See, for example, the negative perception in the *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. Mauskopf Deliyannis, as well as in Erchempert, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum*, ed. Pertz/Waitz.

³⁷ About these polemical discourses, see Rapp 2008. While the first mission of Liutprand of Cremona to Constantinople under the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, before 962, went really well and Liutprand returned enthusiastic, if not dazzled – the second one, to visit Nikephoros II Phokas, after 962, was, according to Liutprand’s record, a disaster. The Italian bishop used in the *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana* all the current stereotypes against the Greek (awful food, very bad *Grecorum vinum* and disgusting *garum*, physical ugliness and moral monstrosity, cowardice associated to lowness, etc.) to prove his reconstruction of reality.

³⁸ Wickham 1998, 254.

³⁹ As I demonstrated in Peters Custot 2014. The ‘Romanness’ of the western emperor, who only merited the title of ‘Roman’ because he was crowned by the pope in Rome (as explained by Anastasius Bibliothecarius in his letter written in the name of the western emperor and addressed to *basileus* Basil I, dated 871), implies a duty: to defend the city of Rome when threatened. As soon as a few years later, pope John VIII again expressed this imperial ‘Romanness’ and the implied duties when explaining to emperor Charles the Bald that, once having received the imperial unction, he was begot by the ‘religious womb of Virgin Mary’, as a second birth, a spiritual one. This privilege goes with the duty of defending the pope against the contemporary Arab threat: see Peters Custot 2012d.

⁴⁰ *Chronicon Salernitanum*, ed. Westerbergh, 3, l. 19; and above all *ibid.* c. 11, ed. Westerbergh, 17, ll. 14–19: the *regnum Romanum* is the *regnum Constantinopolitanum*. Constantinople receives the name of *urbs Regia* in the extract of the *Chronicon Salernitanum* that mentions the death of Basil I., ‘pious August’ (*ibid.* c. 129, ed. Westerbergh, 142, l. 14 ff.). Anastasius’ letter, dated 871, addressed Basil, *gloriosissimus et piissimus imperator Nove Rome* (*ibid.*, c. 107, ed. Westerbergh, 107, l. 30).

⁴¹ See Peters Custot 2014. Such a quite neutral, if not positive valuation of the Eastern Empire is to be seen in the *Chronicon Salernitanum*, as well as in Liutprand of Cremona’s record of his first ambassadorship in Constantinople. Even in the 871 letter, the ‘Greekness’ is associated to the high literary production: for an erudite man like Anastasius Bibliothecarius, it is still an evidence.

Italian Byzantine people and their conception of political identity, which is less a vision of a state than a representation of a power. What seems visible is the fact that the most common written use in the Latin sources of Italy had spread in the Italo-Greek sources, from the end of the tenth century onwards. In the end, the Italo-Greek *acta* or hagiographies use the word *Romanos* for Rome, its inhabitants, its army, its pope, precisely in the way the Latin sources do; for all regarding the Eastern Empire, the Latin sources use *Grecus* while, on the contrary, the Italo-Greek documentation prefers *Romanos*, with an external and rare rhetoric fidelity to the Eastern Empire's ideology.

The closeness of the city of Rome is certainly one of the elements that explain how quickly Latin rhetoric about Romanness had been introduced and integrated into the sources written in Byzantine Italy that spoke about old Rome and its popes: the holy Italo-Greek monks, for example, zealously went to Rome in order to perform their devotion to the holy apostles, or for political reasons. There they had one of their most important monastic, aristocratic if not imperial networks⁴² under the Ottonian emperors, while Constantinople always remained a dreamed-of city that none of them ever managed to reach, neither alive nor dead.⁴³

Nevertheless, this geographical proximity cannot explain every single aspect of this 'Roman' influence. The end of the tenth century, a period when Italo-Greek surviving sources were written fully under the influence of the vision of 'Romanness' as developed in the papal and German *entourage*, was also the very moment when all the Greeks coming from Calabria and Sicily largely expanded and spread in the Latin

42 Nilos the Younger's life certainly represents the most valuable example of such a strong and powerful link between a famous and greatly appreciated Italo Greek monk and the city of Rome and its *élites* at the end of the tenth century. This saint is connected either to the Lombard Princes of Capua or to the western emperor, who he met and advised, especially during the case of John Philagathos (*Nilos the Younger's Life*, ed. Giovanelli 89). Even the Latin hagiography of saint Adalbert of Prague, composed shortly after the facts, gives an echo to Nilos' precious network, especially in Rome's monastic *milieu*. The young Adalbert, being disappointed by the monks' life at Montecassino and in search of a more rigorous ascetic life, came to see the wise Greek hermit (in fact, living with disciples) who had been recommended to him, to request the permission to spend time with him, as an initiation to the true monastic life. Nilos was reluctant: being the host of Montecassino, and economically dependent upon the abbey, he would not have liked that this case would lead him into a delicate situation. Therefore, he recommended the young aristocrat to join the monastery of Saint Alexios on the Aventine in Rome, adding that Adalbert should present himself to the abbot as having been sent by Nilos (See *Sancti Adalberti episcopi Pragensis et martyris Vita* 78, c. 15, ed. Karwasinska). About the monastery of Saint Alexios: Hamilton 1961 and Hamilton 1965. In addition to Nilos' specific case, let us mention Saint Sabas, who was told to be assisted for his death in Rome by the Empress Theophano herself (Cozza Luzzi 1893). Sabas' subscription is to be identified with that, in Greek, of a monk Sabas, with his disciple Kosmas, under a Latine notarial document written down in 986 near Salerno: Σάβας ἀμαρτολὸς ἡγούμενος // Ἐγὼ Κόσμος πρεσβύτερος (*Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis* no. 382, ed. Morcaldi et al., 233–234) For the identification, see Da Costa Louillet 1959–1960, 137, and Borsari 1963, 73. See further Peters Custot 2009a, 141.

43 For this symptomatic fact, see Peters Custot 2009a, 141 and n. 281.

areas of the peninsula: Taranto, Salerno, Naples, all the Latium and over all Rome.⁴⁴ No satisfactory reason has ever been given for this quite important migratory phenomenon, which occurred precisely in the 970s and 980s. One can wonder if, after all, Ottonian Rome was not enjoying new powers of attraction bound to the revival of an imperial ideology promoted by the Ottonian authority that intended to make Rome the imperial capital again, while remaining under Byzantine influence, above all after Otto II's wedding to Theophano in 972. At the same time, the papacy developed an insistent rhetoric around Saint Peter's succession, that certainly promoted – or followed – these pious pilgrimages the Italo-Greek people made to Rome.

Renewed imperial presence, combined with papal dynamism revitalized ancient Rome; beyond the controversies, those who represented New Rome were welcomed in the ancient one as the Eastern Empire's delegates. It helped that the emergence of a peripheral version of 'Romanness', between Rome and Constantinople, affected the Italo-Greeks' self-perception.

⁴⁴ About the Greeks of Naples, see Martin 2005 and Granier 2008. About those of Salerno, see Peters Custot 2009b. For the Latium, let us mention the famous monastery of S. Maria di Grottaferrata, near Rome, founded by Saint Nilos the Younger, and also the little monastery of Pontecorvo, and his *regula attica* (Nicosia 1977, 121): *hanc regulam quod dicitur Atticam in Latinam convertere voluerit, mal edictus et excommunicatus fiat a Deo patre omnipotente*, etc. A synthesis of Greek monasticism in medieval Latium can be found now in Falkenhausen 2018.

Francesco Borri

Dalmatian Romans and their Adriatic friends: Some further remarks

The *Chronicle of Salerno* was written in the last decades of the tenth century. Towards its conclusion, it contains a fascinating story that is also one of the very few references to Dalmatia that we possess from the early Middle Ages. The author staged the story at the beginning of the fourth century, when the Emperor Constantine (324 – 337) founded his great city on the Bosphorus. On that occasion, many ships sailed to the new capital. After being surprised by a violent storm, two of them sank in a region that the author described with the words *Slavorum fines*. The expression *Slavorum fines* was perhaps meant to describe a territory (*fines*) bordering on the Slavs.¹ Through the narrative contained within the *Chronicle of Salerno*, we can identify this region as coastal Dalmatia. The crews of the two ships, having escaped the wreck, were rescued by some of the local population, who granted them land to live on. This place was apparently close to Ragusa (today Dubrovnik, in Croatia). It is one of the oldest recorded mentions of the town. The sailors, together with their families, inhabited the region for a long time (*temporibus multis*), but the cohabitation was not easy. Exhausted by the constant mockery of the Ragusians (*Ragusani*), the sailors eventually loaded their relatives and wealth on their ships and navigated west in order to reach the Tyrrhenian Sea. The author concludes that as long as they inhabited the region of Ragusa, they were called Romans, but once in Italy they took the name Amalfitani from the nearby town of Melfi.² In order to reinforce the reliability of this rather forced etymology, the author lectured his reader on the meaning of other ethnonyms, relying on some excerpts from Isidore of Seville's seventh-century *Etymologies*.³

The story presents many suggestive vistas. It is the foundation myth of Amalfi, which the chronicle's author called the *Origo Amalfitanorum*.⁴ Similar stories devel-

Material that eventually merged in this article was presented at the Zadar conference 'The Treaty of Aachen 812' which I attended in September 2012. I dealt with this subject in the contribution Borri 2010a. For the present article, I would like to thank Andreas Fischer, Cinzia Grifoni, Graeme Ward, and Katharina Winckler for help and support. The research behind this article was financed by the FWF Project 24823: 'The Transformation of Roman Dalmatia: Power, Communication and Identity'.

1 Wolfram 1995a, 176.

2 *Chronicon Salernitanum* 88, ed. Westerbergh, 89: *Nam donec Ragusim demorarunt, a iam dictis illius habitatoribus terre Romani sunt vocitati; at ubi Italiam adierunt veneruntque in locum qui Melfis dicitur, ibique multo videlicet tempore sunt demorati, et inde sunt Amalfitani vocati.*

3 *Chronicon Salernitanum* 88, ed. Westerbergh, 89. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* IX, 2, 94 and 98, ed. Lindsay, himself quoting Lucan's *De bello civili*.

4 The passage is briefly commented in: Schwarz 1978, 114–115; Skinner 2013, 194.

oped in other towns of Italy and the Adriatic leaving clues in early and high medieval narratives.⁵ We possess also a fragmentary foundation story from Ragusa where the inhabitants traced their origin back to the Roman *civitas* of Epidaurum (today Cavtat).⁶ This account is attested already in the *Cosmography of Ravenna*, but the source, as is well known, is difficult to date with any precision.⁷ Most important, the *Chronicle of Salerno* may tell us something about the human geography of Dalmatia, which, in the social logic of the narrative, was composed of Slavs and Romans.

The Romans of Dalmatia in early medieval narratives

Early medieval Dalmatia presents us with strikingly poor evidence. After Gregory the Great's letters, containing only a few references to the bishops and governors of the province, we only possess a couple of laconic entries written by authors living distant from the eastern shores of the Adriatic. A relative richness followed the Frankish conquest of Italy and Avaria, when the northern fringes of Dalmatia became part of the Carolingian Empire, ordered under the authority of the dukes of Friuli.⁸ It is in this political and social landscape that we meet Romans in Dalmatia for the first time. The earliest reference comes from the 817 entry of the *Royal Frankish Annals*. In this year a man called Nicephorus, ambassador of Emperor Leo V (813–820), was received by Louis the Pious (814–840) in Aachen to discuss the issue of the Dalmatians (*pro Dalmatinorum causa*). It was necessary to settle some disputes that had arisen between the many Romans and Slavs inhabiting the region.⁹ From the annals, we thus learn that in ninth-century Dalmatia a group of men, important enough to be mentioned in the most official of the Carolingian narrative sources was called *Romani*. Moreover, the Romans shared the soil of the former imperial province with populations labelled as *Sclavi*, a name apparently working as an umbrella-term for many barbarian *gentes*, as the 805 and 822 entries imply.¹⁰ The fact that both the Byzantine and the Carolingian authorities were involved in tracing the boundaries between Slavs and Romans could be interpreted according to Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne*. In chapter fifteen, the author narrated that, after having conquered Dalmatia, Charles left the towns on the sea (the *maritimae civitates*) to the emperor of the Greeks out of

5 Borri 2013.

6 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, c. 29, ed. Moravcsik, trans. Jenkins, 134. Kunčević 2004; Borri 2013, 240–241.

7 *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia* 4, 16, ed. Schnetz, 55: *Epitaurum id est Ragusium*.

8 On the role of Friuli: Gasparri 2001, 115–116; Krahwinkler 1992, 151.

9 *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 817, ed. Kurze, 145: *et quia res ad plurimos et Romanos et Sclavos per tinebat neque sine illorum praesentia finiri posse videbatur*.

10 *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 805, a. 822, ed. Kurze, 120, 159.

courtesy and friendship.¹¹ These *civitates* were, apparently, the homeland of the Romans.

Shortly after, the successive rebellions of Bernard (817) and Ljudevit (818–823) brought chaos and havoc to the south-eastern marches of the Carolingian realm. A few years later, the Bulgarian attacks of 827 added insults to injury.¹² As a result, in 828 the Friulan Duke Balderic was publicly accused of negligence and stripped of his authority, with the territory of Friuli being split among four dukes.¹³ The occurrence was troublesome not only for Balderic, but also for modern historians: it was followed by a dramatic decrease in information on Dalmatia. Writing between 840 and 845, the Astronomer, in his biography of Louis the Pious, could no longer understand the human geography of the region. Summarizing the 817 entry of the *Royal Frankish Annals*, he misunderstood the *pro Dalmatinorum causa* of the annalist, adding a further actor to the agreement between Slavs and Romans: the Dalmatians.¹⁴ A confirmation on the nature of the human settlement in Dalmatia, therefore, comes only after many decades.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his industrious ghost writers worked almost four generations after the troubles just mentioned. Constantine wrote about Dalmatian Romans in the treatise *On the Administration of the Empire*, composed around 950. The story presents many typical features of antique and medieval ethnographies, but also some anomalies.¹⁵ The author told his audience that one of the many groups inhabiting coastal Dalmatia was called Ῥωμᾶνοι, a name otherwise unattested in Greek literature. The emperor explained the origin of the name with the legendary tale of their move from Rome in the age of Diocletian.¹⁶ He continued by narrating the Avar takeover of Dalmatia, the flight of the Romans to safe refuges, and the subsequent migration of the Croats and the Serbs. Afterwards, he added that the Ῥωμᾶνοι still populated Dalmatia in his own day.¹⁷ They inhabited the towns of Split (Ἀσπλάθος), Trogir (Τετραγγοῦριν), Zadar (Διάδωρα), Osor (Ὀψαρα), Rab (Ἄρβη), Krk (Βέκλα), Dubrovnik (Ραούσιον) and Kotor (Δεκατέρα), all centres of modern Croatia except the latter, of Montenegro.¹⁸ An isolated passage seems to suggest

11 Einhard, *Vita Karoli* 15, ed. Holder Egger, 18: *Liburniam atque Dalmaciam, exceptis maritimis civitatibus, quas ob amicitiam et iunctum cum eo foedus Constantinopolitanum imperatorem habere per misit*.

12 *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 827, ed. Kurze, 173. Ziemann 2007, 313–314.

13 *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 828, ed. Kurze, 174. Wolfram 1995b, 247; Krahwinkler 1992, 192–197.

14 Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici Imperatoris* 27, ed. Tresp, 370: *Legatio autem, excepta amicitia et societate, erat de finibus Dalmatinorum, Romanorum et Sclauorum*.

15 A different opinion is offered by Kaldellis 2013, 90–91, who challenges the general assumption that *On the Administration of the Empire* contained much ethnography.

16 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, c. 29, ed. Moravcsik, trans. Jenkins, 122.

17 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, c. 29, ed. Moravcsik, trans. Jenkins, 124.

18 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, c. 29–30, ed. Moravcsik, trans. Jenkins, 134–138, 144–146.

that the Ῥωμᾶνοι lived in Durrës too.¹⁹ According to Constantine, the Ῥωμᾶνοι were proud of their beautiful churches and paid taxes to the empire, although since the reign of Basil I (868–886) they transferred the same levy to the lords of the Croats and the rulers of other barbarian polities.²⁰ Though a relationship between Ῥωμᾶνοι and Ῥωμαῖοι is suggested in one occurrence, it seems that the Ῥωμᾶνοι were, in the context of the treatise, considered different from the population of the Byzantine Empire.²¹ We do not know the origin of Constantine's narrative, but the name Ῥωμᾶνοι seems to be a transliteration of the Latin *Romani*, a possible clue to figure out Constantine's sources.²² Historians tried to solve the problem, the late Tibor Živković among them, by locating the origin of the name and story of the Ῥωμᾶνοι's arrival from Rome in Constantine's use of classical narratives.²³

The very last author to mention the Romans of Dalmatia is John the Deacon, who wrote his *History of the Venetians* shortly after the death of Duke Peter II Orseolo in 1009.²⁴ Hence, while his narrative becomes more focused on the Adriatic from the second half of the eighth century onwards, it is only towards the end that the Dalmatian Romans are introduced. John wrote that around 1000 all the Dalmatians (*Dalmatianorum populi omnes*), exhausted by the hardship of the neighbouring Slavs (*Scavorum severitate* [sic]), sent embassies to Peter requesting help, which led the duke to conquer Dalmatia.²⁵ In the context of the *History of the Venetians*, Slavs and Dalmatians were different peoples, and the latter were somehow to identify with the Dalmatian Romans, who, however, are explicitly mentioned only in a brief description of Osor, a town on the island of Cres, which they inhabited together with the Slavs.²⁶

In John's narrative, therefore, the population of Dalmatia was also split between the Slavs, organized in ethnic groups like Mariani, Croats, Narentans, and Romans, perhaps labelled according to their towns of origin. This impression is backed up by John's description of the boundaries between these groups. Recounting the adventures of Duke John Particiacus (829–836), he reported that the duke reached the *Sclavenia* from the coastal town of Zadar. The Dalmatian town was apparently a gate-

19 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, c. 32, ed. Moravcsik, trans. Jenkins, 152: ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖσε γὰρ Ῥωμάνους τοὺς νῦν Δελματίαν καὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον οἰκοῦντας ἀπέλασαν.

20 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, c. 29, ed. Moravcsik, trans. Jenkins, 134–148. On taxes: *ibid.*, c. 30, ed. Moravcsik, trans. Jenkins, 146.

21 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, c. 33, ed. Moravcsik, trans. Jenkins, 160: Ὅτι ἡ τῶν Ζαχλούμων χώρα παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρότερον ἐκρατεῖτο, Ῥωμάνων δὲ φημι, οὓς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης Διοκλητιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς μετέκτισεν.

22 Kaldellis 2011, 43, 340.

23 Živković 2010. See also: Basić 2013.

24 John the Deacon, *Chronicon Venetum* 4, 45–54, ed. and trans. Berto, 186–194. On the episode: Štih 2001; Ortalli, 2002; Margetić 1983. See further: Sestan 1965.

25 John the Deacon, *Chronicon Venetum* 4, 45, ed. and trans. Berto, 188.

26 John the Deacon, *Chronicon Venetum* 4, 48, ed. and trans. Berto, 188. All occurrences of ethnonyms and other labels are collected in Berto 2013, 236.

way to the regions of the Slavs.²⁷ A very similar picture was presented for the eighth-century Peloponnese in the *Hoedoporicon* of Willibald, where Monemvasia was described as an imperial stronghold surrounded by Slavic lands.²⁸

A change of perspective

If four authors recorded the presence of Dalmatian Romans between the ninth and the eleventh centuries, the situation seems to have changed afterwards. The name *Romani*/*Ῥωμαῖνοι* is in fact impossible to find after John the Deacon. Two late medieval authors, while retelling older stories featuring the Romans of Dalmatia, attested to the drop of the label. Writing his *Long History* in the middle of the fourteenth century, Andrea Dandolo quoted substantial sections of John the Deacon's *History of the Venetians*. When relating John's account of Peter II Orseolo's expedition to conquer Dalmatia, Andrea did not alter his source, leaving the Romans where John had put them in the eleventh century.²⁹ Yet, he never mentioned Dalmatian Romans in the remaining sections of his history: Romans were the ancient inhabitants of the empire or the medieval citizens the Eternal City. More revealing is the thirteenth-century *Chronicon Amalfitanum*, a text recording a very similar story to the one we saw in the *Chronicle of Salerno*. Here the author's perplexity with the older material becomes evident. He did not make any substantial changes to the episode, but he wanted to make clear that the people sailing to Constantinople after its foundation were already a *Romana gens* and did not become so because of their staying in Dalmatia. Having landed there, they presented themselves to the Ragusians: *Nos enim Romani pacifici sumus*.³⁰ In the chronicler's milieu, any relationship between Dalmatia and Roman identity was irreparably gone.

According to this evidence, I shall suggest that Dalmatian Romanness faded away between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. It is very difficult to trace this process in more detail because it occurred while the narrative representation of Dalmatia was undergoing major transformations. The eastern Adriatic coast became in fact the interest of many historiographers of the crusades, who left utterly negative descriptions of the region, which are strongly biased as far as its human geography is regarded.

Raymond, the bishop of Aguilers, narrated in his *History of the Franks who Conquered Jerusalem* the journey of the Provençal army lead by Raymond of Toulouse to

²⁷ John the Deacon, *Chronicon Venetum* 2, 31, ed. and trans. Berto, 114. Borri 2010a, 13–14.

²⁸ Huneberc of Heideheim, *Vita Willibaldi episcopi Eichstetensis* 4, ed. Holder Egger, 93: *venerunt ultra mare Adria ad urbem Manafasiam in Slawinia terrae*. On Willibald's journey: McCormick 2001, 131–134; Kislinger 2008, 121–122. Moreover: Curta 2011, 119, who doubts the term *Slawinia* to be descriptive of the ethnic origin of its inhabitants. Finally: Kalligas 1990, 42.

²⁹ Andrea Dandolo, *Chronica per extensum descripta* 8, 15, 18, ed. Pastorello, 198.

³⁰ *Chronicon Amalfitanum* 1, ed. Schwarz, 195.

Constantinople as part of the First Crusade. In Raymond's narrative, the Provençals progressed along an unusual route via Italy, Dalmatia and Durrës before joining the *Via Egnatia*. This route is seldom attested among both early and high medieval travel reports and the reasons for Raymond's choice are a matter of debate.³¹ Raymond called the region *Sclavonia*, a name already mentioned before and destined to have widespread and enduring success.³² The author concentrated on the harshness of the territory and the savagery and treachery of its inhabitants. The chronicler wrote:

Following its departure, the army entered Slavonia and underwent many privations during the winter season. Truly Slavonia is a forsaken land, both inaccessible and mountainous, where for three weeks we saw neither wild beast nor birds. The barbarous and ignorant natives would neither trade with us nor provide guides, but fled from their villages and strongholds and, as though they had been badly injured by our infirm stragglers, slew these poor souls – the debilitated, the old women and men, the poor, and the sick – as if they were slaughtering cattle. [...] For almost forty days we journeyed in this land, at times encountering such clouds of fog we could almost touch these vapours, and shove them in front of us with our bodies.³³

Notwithstanding the presence of the author among the crusaders, the narrative is hardly a plain transcription of the experience of travelling. The forty days spent in anguish in order to reach the Holy Land must have triggered easy associations in the readers' minds.³⁴ Raymond aimed to communicate the asperity with which the lost knights were met travelling between the Adriatic and the Dinaric Alps. The complete lack of towns and other signs of civilization must also have been a literary device serving similar purposes. Laurita and John Hill suggested that the Provençal army paused in the coastal cities while travelling, but that the author avoided mentioning these stops.³⁵ In this context, the inhabitants of the region are all described under the label, apparently derogatory, of Slavs. Furthermore, the very name of the region, *Sclavonia*, is revealing in terms of the perceived identity of its inhabitants. The deceitful nature of the Slavs, their familiarity with the territory, and the easiness with which they could overcome the better armed Provençal knights were all highlighted. The barbaric nature of the region was stressed once more through the sinister reference to the Turks, Cumans, Uzes, Petchenegs, and Bulgars waiting for the crusaders on their perilous journey.³⁶ Through all its pitfalls, Raymond's narrative

³¹ Curta 2006, 366–368. France 1994, 104–105, suggested that the dangers of the winter sea forced the crusaders to take an inland route; Frankopan 2012, 115–116, suggested that Raymond's aim was to retaliate against Constantine Bodin, the ruler of Duklja, a territory roughly corresponding to present day Montenegro.

³² See the rich evidence collected in: Ilieva/Delev 1998; Dujcev 1986.

³³ Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* 1, ed. Hill/Hill, 36; trans. Hill/Hill 1968, 16.

³⁴ Dall'Aglia 2010, 408.

³⁵ Hill/Hill 1962, 44–46.

³⁶ Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* 1, ed. Hill/Hill, 36.

seems to inaugurate an important change to the discourse on the inhabitants of Dalmatia, with the harshness of the region, and the savage nature of Dalmatia becoming a centuries-long topos.³⁷ In this context, the omission of the Dalmatian towns of imperial tradition may have been symptomatic of this changed perspective. They may have damaged the coherence of this picture.

This change is confirmed in the following centuries. William of Tyre (1175–c. 1184), as his predecessors had done, narrated Raymond's journey through Dalmatia.³⁸ Like the bishop of Aguilers, William underlined the harshness of the region and the dangerous and evil ways of its inhabitants (*populo ferocissimo, rapinis et caedibus assueto inhabitata*). They were *Delmatae Sclavi*, savages with barbarian habits speaking a Slavic language. William enriched the picture of his forerunners by incorporating many of his own personal experiences.³⁹ The chronicler, in fact, was part of the delegation sent by king Amaury I of Jerusalem (1163–1174) to the Emperor Manuel Comnenus (1141–1180) in 1168. William and his fellow travellers had to go as far north as Serbia to finally meet the emperor. The country was pictured as an inaccessible mountainous woodland inhabited by Slavs, a description clearly echoing the contemporary accounts of Dalmatia.⁴⁰ However, William also introduced a narrative element absent from his predecessor's account. He pointed out that the inhabitants of the metropolises of Zadar, Split, Bar and Dubrovnik were different in customs and language, being more civilized and speaking Latin (*exceptis paucis, qui in oris maritimis habitant, qui ab aliis et moribus et lingua dissimiles, Latinum habent idioma*).⁴¹ The stress on the barbarity of Dalmatia is still dominant, reflecting a new discourse about the region, but a distinction is made.

Therefore, the transformed discourse on the nature of Dalmatia does not itself explain the drop of the label *Romani*. The presence of Latin or Romance-speaking groups around the major coastal cities was still acknowledged for centuries, but the name Romans did not appear anymore after the eleventh century. Thomas the Archdeacon, a native of Split writing in the middle of thirteenth century, while referring to the mythical past of Dalmatia, recorded the antagonism between *Latini* and *Sclavi*, but he never used the label *Romani* to refer to the inhabitants of the eastern Adriatic shore.⁴² Being concerned with the history of his own fellow citizens and

³⁷ L. Wolff 2001.

³⁸ William of Tyre, *Chronicon* 2, 17, ed. Huygens, 182–184.

³⁹ Edbury/Rowe 1988, 44–58.

⁴⁰ William of Tyre, *Chronicon* 20, 4, ed. Huygens, 916: *Detinebatur porro eo temporis articulo imperator in Servia quae regio montosa et nemoribus obsita, difficiles habens aditus, inter Dalmatiam et Hungariam et Illyricum media jacet, rebellantibus Serviis et confidentibus de introitu ad se angustiis et de impervia eorum regione*. The lengthy description continues along the same tropes of savagery and wildness.

⁴¹ William of Tyre, *Chronicon* 2, 17, ed. Huygens, 183.

⁴² Thomas Archdeacon, *Historia Salonitana* 7, ed. Perić, 38.

bishops, Thomas' omission of Dalmatian Romans is the most conspicuous absence we possess.

The reasons for the disappearance of the Romans, therefore, have to be searched for elsewhere. As far as I am concerned, two changes of circumstance, which could possibly explain the loss of significance invested in the name 'Romans' in a Dalmatian context, occurred in the final decades of the eleventh century. First, we notice the appearance of the ethnonym Vlachs, attested in various forms. Cecaumenus, an eleventh-century historian, is among the first authors to preserve that label.⁴³ Although the coincidence is tempting, it would be unwise to claim that the term Vlachs was used to describe the population once labelled as Romans. In fact, the contrary seems probable. The only direct association between Vlachs, in this case the Morlachs, and *Romani* comes from the odd *Chronicle of Duklja*, when outlining the Bulgarian conquest of Macedonia.⁴⁴ The reliability of the chronicle is highly debated due to its troublesome manuscript tradition.⁴⁵ It is however thought provoking that at the turn of the twelfth century, the Vlachs of Bulgaria shared an origin myth quite similar to the one that Constantine Porphyrogenitus attributed to the *Ῥωμᾶνοι* in the tenth century. Pope Innocent III (1198–1261) recorded that the Vlachs of Tsar Kalojan (1197–1207) claimed to be descendants of the noblest families of Ancient Rome.⁴⁶

Secondly, we notice that, from the late eleventh century onwards, Latin authors began to call the empire of Constantinople *Romania*. Already Pope Martin (649–655) used the name in one of his letters, but this usage spread only in the final decades of the eleventh century.⁴⁷ The name *Romania* went through fascinating semantic transformations: initially used to describe the European or Anatolian fringes of the empire, it eventually began to designate the whole empire of Constantinople.⁴⁸ This seems to have been a novelty: in the tenth and eleventh centuries, *Romania* was mainly the region roughly corresponding to present-day Lazio, Umbria, Marche and Romagna.⁴⁹ Even for pilgrims coming from afar, such as the Frank Bernard, together with the readers of his journeys, it was clear that, in the second half of the ninth century, *Romania* was an Italian territory notorious for the treacherous nature

⁴³ Cecaumenus, *Strategikon* 173–188, ed. Dora Spada, 208–228. Holzer 2017.

⁴⁴ *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* 5, ed. Šišić, 298: *post haec totam provinciam Latinorum qui illo tempore Romani vocabantur, modo vero Morovlachi, hoc est Nigri Latini vocantur.*

⁴⁵ Bujan 2008.

⁴⁶ *Register of Innocent III* 114, ed. Hageneder et al., 225: *[archypresbiter Brundusinus] reduxit nos ad memoriam sanguinis et patrie nostris, a qua descendimus.* Ibid. 115, ed. Hageneder et al., 227: *qui ex nobili Romanorum prosapia diceris descendisse.* Curta 2006, 379–380; R. Wolff 1949, 190–191.

⁴⁷ Martin, *Epistolae* 4, col. 601: *ex naviculis, quae veniunt ex partibus Romaniae.* On Martin's letter: R. Wolff 1948, 17–18.

⁴⁸ R. Wolff 1948, 14–19.

⁴⁹ Vespignani 2001.

of its inhabitants.⁵⁰ The convention of referring to the empire of Constantinople (or some of its regions) as *Romania* may have triggered the dismissal of the label *Romani* for the romance-speaking inhabitants of the Dalmatian towns. *Romania* was a land populated by Greeks. In this context, as it was in the context of Thomas' chronicle, the single designations stemming from their specific towns of origin, or the name Latins may have seemed more convenient for describing some peoples of Dalmatia.

Making sense of Dalmatian Romanness

Following Constantin Jireček, himself influenced by the seminal work of Jakob Fallmerayer, scholars have interpreted the Dalmatian Romans (and in rare cases still do) according to the pattern of migration, destruction and survival that was adopted in many master-narratives of the barbarian invasions.⁵¹ The Romans were, according to many views, a residual population (the German word *Restbevölkerung* is much more threatening) of the former provinces of the Roman Empire.⁵² The Romans of Dalmatia were, therefore, believed to be the successors of the glorious Roman inhabitants of Illyricum.

Nowadays these ideas have lost much of their appeal and change is read through less dramatic lenses. It is of course possible that prominent families based on the coastal towns maintained their authority within the surrounding territories after the collapse of the state, but one form of continuity does not imply others.⁵³ The resources of the elites' power, together with their role in local society, inevitably must have changed, as in the rest of the Byzantine world.⁵⁴ In this situation, it is difficult that the name *Romani*/*Ῥωμαῖνοι* and the identity that it represented was continuously used since Late Antiquity. Between Roman rule in Dalmatia and the entry of the *Royal Frankish Annals* there is much silence, with clues being few and open to multiple interpretations. In the *Cosmography of Aethicus*, which Michael Herren recently dated to the second quarter of the eighth century, an idea of Romanness could have been linked to the tale of the wars fought around Istria and Albania between Numitor, Romulus, Francus, and Vassus.⁵⁵ In the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, a *Romana prouincia* was mentioned apparently close to the *Traciana prouincia*, although it

50 *Itinerarium Bernardi Monachi* 24, ed. and trans. Ackermann, 127: *In Romania vero multa [mala] fiunt, et sunt homines mali, fures et latrones*. On Bernard's travel: McCormick 2001, 134–138.

51 Jireček 1903–1904; Fallmerayer 1830–1835.

52 Similar concern was expressed by Bryan Ward Perkins on Alexander Demandt's causes for the fall of Rome: B. Ward Perkins 2005, 33.

53 Wickham 2005a, 11; Giardina 2007, 125.

54 Haldon 1990, 397–399.

55 Aethicus Ister, *Cosmographia* 102f, ed. and trans. Herren, 202–206.

seems very speculative to interpret this passage as referring to western Illyricum.⁵⁶ Therefore, although we can never disprove the continuity of the use of the label *Romani* to describe some eastern Adriatic groups, we have no actual evidence for it.

On the other hand, Roman identity was, from the ninth century, interdependent with the neighbouring identities of early medieval Dalmatia.⁵⁷ It was the confrontations between different populations that contributed to the organization of differences behind the ethnonyms we encounter on the Dalmatian shores from the Carolingian Age onwards. We actually do not know the degree of closure within the boundaries between Romans and other Dalmatian groups. We may speculate that bilingualism, marriages and shifting alliances could have been potential ways for changing one's identity. Yet, the boundaries were stable enough to resist change for at least two centuries. In my opinion, the Romans of Dalmatia, like their Adriatic neighbours, came to light in the aftermath of the intensification of the exchange along the Adriatic Sea route between central Europe and the eastern Mediterranean in the last quarter of the eighth century.⁵⁸ Wealth and interest was focused on this once neglected area, triggering the formation of aristocracies and the production of textual evidence that now nourish the modern historian.⁵⁹

It seems that contemporaries described the Romans of Dalmatia as romance-speaking subjects of the Greek empire. A ninth-century traveller, who has left us with one of the most obscure and exciting accounts of a journey across the Adriatic, described himself to be *in partibus Grecorum* while docked in Zadar.⁶⁰ Decades later, Godescalc of Orbais referred to the Dalmatians as the Latin-speaking subjects of the Greek emperor.⁶¹ These brief statements could be enriched by the voice of an important Dalmatian Roman himself. The source is the 918 will of Andrew, the *prior* of Zadar, which is a striking piece of evidence, though its value is contested.⁶² The document, like so many from the region, was poorly transmitted, which has divided the opinions of many scholars. Nada Klaić notably advocated that the oldest charters

⁵⁶ Fredegar, *Chronicae* 4, 81, ed. Krusch, 162: *Constantinopolis tantum cum Traciana provincia et e paucis insolis, etiam et Romana provincia imperiae dicione remanserat*. Wallace Hadrill 1960, 69, sees the mention to the *Romana prouincia* as referring to the *ducatus Romae*. On Romanness in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* see now: Fischer 2014a.

⁵⁷ Barth 1969. Moreover: Wimmer 2008.

⁵⁸ McCormick 2001, 523–532; Hodges 2012, 215–221. See also: Gelichi 2007, whose excavation in Comacchio shed light on the networks of exchange in the Adriatic. On the political background: Borri 2010b.

⁵⁹ Wickham 2005b.

⁶⁰ Amalarius of Metz, *Letter to Abbot Hiluin*, ed. Hanssens, 342. Vedriš 2005; McCormick 2001, 138–143.

⁶¹ Godescalc/Gottschalk of Orbais, *On the Predestination* 9, 6, ed. Lambot, 208: *Item homines Dalmatini, perinde id est similiter homines Latini Graecorum nihilominus imperio subiecti*. On the romance language of some Dalmatian enclaves literature is vast. See now Vuletić 2010, 382; Ursini 2003.

⁶² *Testament of Andrew of Zadar*, ed. Kostrenčić. On the charter Katičić 1999, 386–392; Ferluga 1978, 188–190.

from Zadar were forgeries (albeit elegant ones).⁶³ On the other hand, historians believed that the forger might have relied on the original document that he falsified in order to secure the rights of the church of Saint Chrisogonus.⁶⁴ The charter, dated by the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, reflects a world where the local aristocracy prided itself in holding Byzantine military offices, probably forming the army and controlling the exploitation of resources, maritime commerce amongst them.⁶⁵ According to a problematic passage, they may have had a characteristic appearance, but how their fashion could have echoed a perceived *romanitas* is unclear.⁶⁶ They apparently called their children with names taken from the Christian Roman past, something which was rather uncommon among the military elites of Western Europe at this time but is to be found in Istria, Venice, and few other regions of strong imperial traditions. In the will of Andrew we see also Slavic personal names, but they formed only a small minority.⁶⁷

Men like Andrew inhabited a discontinuous region spreading like a leopard pattern on the fringes of various barbarian polities. Maritime communication connected coastal cities many sea-miles apart from each other, while creating differences with the inland regions. Similar enclaves were to be found in Istria and the north-eastern shores of Italy. There, labels like *Venetici* or *Histrienses* served the function of designating the speakers of a romance language, politically or culturally linked to Byzantium and, by extension, to a Roman heritage. The name *Romani*/*Ῥωμαῖνοι* gained salience only in Dalmatia between the ninth and eleventh centuries, losing its meaning as the political landscape changed.⁶⁸ It seems to have been a self-designation. The evidence is of course scant, but the fact that authors writing so distant from one another shared consensus on the usage of this label, may signify that it originated from Dalmatia itself, and it was afterward received in Venice, Aachen, Constantinople and Salerno. Moreover, Constantine Porphyrogenitus' transliteration of the name in a form otherwise unattested in Greek, may have reflected the emperor's de-

⁶³ Klaić 1968, 90–91.

⁶⁴ Katičić 1999, 387–388; Bralić/Vuletić 2013, 280–281.

⁶⁵ I discuss this topic at length in Borri 2010a, 21–24.

⁶⁶ Constantine Porphyrogenitus writes that in the past the Avars dressed like the soldiers of the *Ῥωμαῖνοι*. Was this a reflection of a distinctive style of dress of his own days? Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, c. 29, ed. Moravcsik, trans. Jenkins, 140–142: καὶ ἐνεδύσαντο τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν, καθὰ ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ δὴ τοὺς ἵππους ἀναβάντες, (λαβόντες) ἐπὶ χειρὰς τὰ τε φλάμμουλα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ σημεῖα, ἃ ἐπέφεροντο μετ' αὐτῶν, ἀπῆραν πάντες φοσσατικῶς καὶ κατὰ τῆς Σαλῶνος ὥρμην. Curta 2013, 211. See also Milošević 2008, who attributes certain grave goods to a population of Roman origin, although without explicitly relating them to the medieval *Romani*/*Ῥωμαῖνοι*. Yet on the troubles in linking material culture with identity, see Halsall 2011. Moreover on the look: von Rummel 2007, 231–245; Conant 2012, 60–61.

⁶⁷ *Testament of Andrew of Zadar*, ed. Kostrenčić, 26: *ut habent filii mei Niceforus, Petrus et Dobrosia*. Katičić, 1999, 389: 'Dobruša, eine Koseform von Dobroslava, Dobromira o.ä.' Jakić Cestarić 1973.

⁶⁸ On the concept of 'ethnic salience' or 'identity salience': Pohl 2013a, 51–52; Wimmer 2008, 976–979.

sire to differentiate the real Romans, the Ῥωμαῖνοι, from other individuals claiming a Roman identity for themselves.

Embracing the name Romans carried strong implications. The label served the role of further boasting the ideological significance of the customs adopted elsewhere in the Adriatic. The reason for this usage should be sought out in the specific landscape of early medieval Dalmatia. From the seventh century onwards, we have clues of massive social turmoil and a dramatic drop in surviving material culture. Outside the coastal towns discussed here, Roman markers of identity and status were swept away. New forms of social and economic organization replaced the Roman order, and new languages spread.⁶⁹ The identity of the elites changed and was shaped outside of a Roman blueprint. Between the ninth and tenth centuries, when Frankish and Byzantine authors finally shed some light on this corner of the Mediterranean, they described new polities where the Roman background seems to have been very feeble. It was living in constant contact with men speaking a different language, claiming Slavic or barbarian identities and giving their children names rather distant from the pool of classical, Christian and Germanic names that made the Byzantine and Adriatic habits of some Dalmatian elites more pronounced.

Conclusions

We have seen that the imperial customs of the elites inhabiting certain Dalmatian towns from the ninth century onwards could be understood in relation to their counterparts in Istria and Venice, with whom they shared styles and fashions, ideology, identity and, from time to time, political affiliation. Yet, in order to understand the emergence of their Roman name we have to look at their Dalmatian neighbours. It was their perceived barbarity that culminated in the labelling of some of their distinctive social practices and cultural habits as Roman.

⁶⁹ Curta 2013, 196–201; Wickham 2005a, 534–535. A situation apparently paralleling fifth century Britain: Esmonde Cleary 1989, 162–187. I will discuss the topic at length in forthcoming publications.

Ralph W. Mathisen

‘Roman’ identity in Late Antiquity, with special attention to Gaul

In recent years, a great amount of attention has been given to the nature of barbarian identity, often packaged as barbarian ‘ethnogenesis’.¹ But the topic of ‘Romanness’, that is, what Roman identity was based upon and what it meant to be Roman, has been approached only rarely.² Romanness is a very slippery issue. Just what did it mean to be ‘Roman’ in the late Roman world, when Roman citizenship had become virtually universal and when other means of manifesting personal identity had come into general use? And after the barbarian successor kingdoms had been created, just how ‘Roman’ did the previously ‘Roman’ population remain? To what extent did the term *Romanus* continue to designate personal identity? And if it was used, what did it mean?

Before one can begin to discuss the effects that ‘big picture issues’, such as political relations between Romans and barbarians, the continued role of Romans in holding church offices, the role of literary pursuits in Roman self-consciousness, and Roman legal identity, might have had in determining ‘Romanness’, one first must establish whether such a concept even existed. Yes, it certainly pervades our own modern models of post-Roman society, but did the people living at the time feel the same way?

Geographical and ethnic identity in the primary sources: *Natio* and *gens*

During the Principate, Roman citizens often identified themselves as ‘Romans’ in epigraphs and other inscriptions.³ In 212 CE, the Antonine Constitution made all free persons in the Roman Empire into Roman citizens. These would have included not only provincial populations that had lived under Roman authority for centuries, but also barbarian immigrants, large numbers of whom had been settled on Roman soil as

1 Going back to Wenskus 1961, also Reynolds 1983; Pohl 1985; Wolfram 1994; Hedeager 1993; Chappell 1993; Pohl 1994; Durlin 1994; Romanucci Ross/DeVos 1995; Bowlus 1995; K. Müller 1972; Murray 1983; Pohl 1998b; Geary 1999.

2 E.g., Mathisen 1993, 4: ‘The social and cultural interactions between Romans and barbarians, and the changes which resulted from them, will be investigated not, as usually is done, from the point of view of the barbarians, but from that of the Romans’; see also Mathisen 2013b.

3 E.g., AE (1939), 310 = AE (1952), 233 (103 CE): *c(ivis) R(omanus)*; CIL 13.7222 (198 CE): *L(ucius) Senilius / Decmanus q(uaestor) / c(urator) c(ivium) R(o)m(anorum) neg(otiatorum) Mog(ontiacensium) / c(ivis) T(aunensis)*.

part of a massive, and continuing, Roman policy of resettling defeated or suppliant barbarians within the Roman Empire. For example, Augustus settled 50,000 Getae on the Danube;⁴ Tiberius 'transferred forty thousand captives from Germany and settled them on the banks of the Rhine in Gaul';⁵ Nero granted land in Moesia to over a hundred thousand Transdanubians;⁶ Trajan settled multitudes of Dacians and Marcus Aurelius large numbers of Quadi, Vandals, Iazyges, Naristae, and Marcomanni;⁷ under Constantius I, 'captive processions of barbarians' were 'distributed to the provincials and conducted to the cultivation of deserted land';⁸ Constantine I settled more than 300,000 Sarmatians 'throughout Thrace, Scythia, Macedonia, and Italy';⁹ in the 360s and 370s Alamanni were relocated to Gaul and Italy;¹⁰ in 377 defeated Goths and Taifals 'were settled around the towns of Mutina, Rhegium, and Parma in Italy as cultivators of the fields';¹¹ and in 386, 'the nation of the Greuthingi was brought as captives onto Roman soil'.¹² All of these persons were 'Romans' in the eyes of Roman law. Other barbarian immigrants also became Roman citizens simply by living under Roman *ius civilis*.¹³ But that says nothing about how these newcomers identified themselves. To what degree did individual persons consider themselves to be 'Roman'?

One way to approach this is by looking at epitaphs, many thousands of which provide in just a few words a glimpse of how individual persons manifested their own sense of identity. The most prevalent kinds of self identification that were used during Late Antiquity involved geographical or ethnic, or geographical-cum-ethnic, terms, such as *Hispanus* or *Gallus*, a phenomenon that went back to the Roman Republic but became more prevalent as of the third century.¹⁴ These terms

⁴ Strabo 7.3.11, ed. Jones 213.

⁵ Eutropius, *Breviarium ab urbe condita* 79.10–11, ed. Santini, 44: *XL captivorum milia ex Germania transtulit et supra ripam Rheni in Gallia conlocavit*.

⁶ ILS 986: *Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus legat(us) pro praet(ore) Moesiae, in qua plura quam centum mill(ia) ex numero Transdanuvianor(um) [...] transduxit*.

⁷ Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana*, 71.11.4–5, 71.12.1–3, 71.16.2, 71.31 ed. Cary 15–17, 37 and 53; *HA Marcus Aurelius* 22.2, ed. Magie, vol. 1, 186; 24.3, ed. Magie, vol. 1, 192.

⁸ *Panegyrici Latini* 8/5.9.3, ed. Nixon/Saylor Rodgers, 121–122.

⁹ *Anonymus Valesianus 1: Origo Constantini* 6, 32, ed. König 48, 18: *Amplius trecenta millia hominum mixtae aetatis et sexus per Thraciam, Scythiam, Macedoniam, Italiamque divisit*.

¹⁰ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, 20.4.1, ed. Rolfe, vol. 2, 16 and 28.5.15, ed. Rolfe, vol. 3, 168.

¹¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, 31.9.4, ed. Rolfe, vol. 3, 442–444.

¹² *Consularia Constantinopolitana* s.a. 386, ed. Mommsen, 214.

¹³ See Mathisen 2006 and Mathisen 2009b.

¹⁴ For this usage as 'äußerst selten' during the Roman Republic, see Witzmann 2003, 297. For the Principate, see, without documentation, Williamson 2005, 21: 'In their appearances before governors Roman subjects typically described themselves in official terms, naming the city in which they held citizenship, or referring to their province.' For the suggestion that this practice began in Byzantine times, see Roueché 2000, 572: 'Many people chose to describe themselves as inhabitants of their province as "the Lydian" or "the Cappadocian" rather than as citizens of particular towns.'



Fig. 1: A lead proof of a non-extant gold medallion depicts barbarian families crossing the Rhine River ('RHENUS') at Mainz ('MOGVNTIACVM') c. 297/298 and entering the Roman Empire for resettlement.

usually were accompanied by words such as *natio* or *gens*.¹⁵ Thus, geographically, one could be described as *natione Gallus*¹⁶ ('by nation, Gallic'), and so on. Or ethnically, one could be 'by nationality Sequanian'.¹⁷ On the frontier, one could be described as 'by nationality Frisian'.¹⁸

Peoples from the other side of the frontier, however defined, in like manner could be described in the second century as 'by nationality Hermundurur',¹⁹ or, in the later fourth century, as 'by ethnicity Burgundian'.²⁰ In addition, *natio* could be

¹⁵ For reasons of economy, the following study is limited to Latin terminology. Test soundings suggest that the same results obtain for the use of Greek terminology such as *genos*, *ethnos*, and *politēs*.

¹⁶ CIL 2 (2nd ed.) 7.35: *Alipus [...] natione Gallus* from Córdoba.

¹⁷ CIL 5.907: *Catalus Callaei f(ilius) / natione Sequ(anus) / equ(es) ala(e) Scub(u)l(or)um / sesquip(iciarius) milit(avit) / annos XXII / h(ic) s(itus)*, from Aquileia.

¹⁸ CIL 13.8040: *f(rum(entarius?) m(iles) / [le]g(ionis) I M(inerviae) P(iae) F(idelis) n[a]/[ti]one Fr/i/sav/[us]*.

¹⁹ AE (1900), no. 221: *Vibius Cn(aei) l(ibertus) / Lo(n)gus / an(norum) XIX nat(ione) / [Er]mundur(us)*, from Carnuntum.

²⁰ CIL 13.3682: *Hariulfus protector / domesticus filius Han/havaldi regalis genti/s Burgundionum qui / vixit annos XX et men/sis nove(m) et dies nove(m). Reutilo avunculu/s ipsius fecit*; found in Trier in 1877. See Cüppers 1984, 349–350: *Hariulfus protector domesticus filius Hanhavaldi regalis gentis Burgundionum*.

used to show residence in a city, a sort of ‘civic nationality’, as ‘by nationality, from Cologne’.²¹ It also could be used to describe ill-defined geographical locations, such as ‘by nationality, from the mountains’,²² or ‘by nationality, from the other side of the river’, an apparent reference to the Tigris River.²³ And even ‘by nationality, a provincial’.²⁴ In the epigraphic record, the terms *natione* and *gente*, therefore, were used in a very wide range of contexts for the purpose of personal self-identification.



Fig. 2: The epitaph of Vibius Longus, ‘by nationality Hermundurus’ (AE [1900], no. 221), from Carnuntum.

²¹ CIL 6.36325: *M(arco) Sennio M(arci) f(ilio) / Vero nat(ione) Agrip(pinensi)*, (Rome).

²² CIL 13.7684: *[F]irmus / Ecconis f(ilius) [...] natione m(ontanus)*, (Andernach).

²³ AE (1896), no. 21: *C(aius) Fabullius Macer optio classis praetor(iae) Misenatium III(triere) / Tigride emit puerum natione transfluminianum*, (Seleucia in Pieria).

²⁴ CIL 10.3646: *Nat(ione) verna Valerius / Fortunalis*, (Misenum); CIL 6.14208: *Calpurnia natio/ne vernacula*, (Rome).

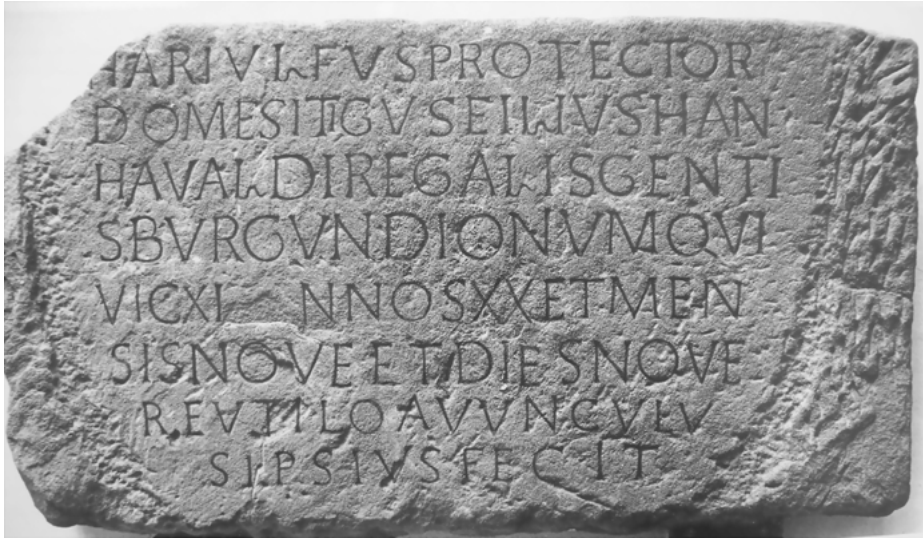


Fig. 3: The epitaph of Hariulfus, 'by ethnicity Burgundian' (CIL 13.3682), from Trier, late fourth century CE.

The same method of identification was used in textual sources. For example, in the 390s the *Historia Augusta* used both the *gente* and *natione* form of identification²⁵ but its preference was for *oriundus*. It described Septimius Severus as *Africa oriundus*; Clodius Albinus as *Hadrumetinus oriundo*; and Probus as *oriundus e Pannonia*.²⁶ Two emperors, Pescennius Niger and Carus, were described as *Romanus*, but the author is clear that this meant 'originating in the city of Rome'.²⁷ Thus, in this case the term *Romanus* referred to municipal origin, as in *Hadrumetinus*, not to Roman citizenship or Roman identity in some broader sense. At the same time, Ammianus Marcellinus used the terms *natus*, *ortus*, *origine*, and *apud*.²⁸ No one ever was identified as *Romanus*.

25 HA *Quadrige Tyrannorum* 29.7.1, ed. Magie, vol. 3, 396: *Saturninus oriundo fuit Gallus*; HA *Triginta Tyranni Trebellianus* 26.4, ed. Magie, vol. 3, 128: *Camsisoleum, natione Aegyptium*. Also by *civitas*, e.g., HA *Quadrige Tyrannorum* 9.2, ed. Magie, vol. 3, 402: *Vir sapiens de Alexandrina civitate*.

26 HA *Septimius Severus* 1.1, ed. Magie, vol. 1, 370; HA *Clodius Albinus* 4.1, ed. Magie, vol. 1, 466; HA *Probus* 3.1, ed. Magie, vol. 3, 340.

27 HA *Pescennius Niger* 7.5, ed. Magie, vol. 1, 446: *Nemo administraret, nisi Romae Romanus, hoc est oriundus urbe*; HA *Carus, Carinus et Numerianus* 5.3, ed. Magie, vol. 3, 424: *Hoc quoque loco satis clarum est illum voluisse intellegi se esse Romanum, id est Roma oriundum*.

28 Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* 26.6.1, ed. Rolfe, vol. 2, 596: *In Cilicia natus*; 29.1.8, ed. Rolfe, vol. 3, 192: *In Galliis natus*; 29.2.5, ed. Rolfe, vol. 3, 216: *Procerum genere natus*; 14.11.27, ed. Rolfe, vol. 1, 104: *Natus apud Tuscos*; 15.3.4, ed. Rolfe, vol. 1, 120: *Hic origine Persa, ille natus in Dacia*; 16.7.5, ed. Rolfe, vol. 1, 226: *Natus in Armenia*; 18.6.16, ed. Rolfe, vol. 1, 442: *Apud Parisios natus in Galliis*; 23.6.19, ed. Rolfe, vol. 2, 358–360: *Natus prope oppidum Tyana*; 25.3.23, ed. Rolfe, vol. 2, 502: *Natus apud Constantinopolim*; 27.3.2, ed. Rolfe, vol. 3, 12: *Humili genere in urbe natus*; 28.1.5, ed. Rolfe,

A century later, circa 490 CE, Gennadius of Marseille used the *natio* type of identifier in his *De viris illustribus*, mentioning, for example, *Vigilantius [...] natione Galus*; *Cassianus natione Scythia*, and *Pomerius, natione Maurus*.²⁹ These forms of identification used both geographical and ethnic terminology to identify the subject characters. Again, no one was described as *Romanus*. The designator *Romanus* even as a generic as opposed to a personal descriptor of ethnicity occurs only very rarely. For example, in a Novel against simoniac ordinations issued in 473 by the shortlived emperor Glycerius (473–474), the Roman people is described as the *Romana gens*.³⁰

Changing concepts of citizenship identity

Metaphorical concepts of non-legal regional and ethnic ‘citizenship’ became especially popular in Late Antiquity after Roman citizenship ceased to be a meaningful differentiating aspect of personal identity. An ex-protector buried at Cologne during the fourth century, for example, was described as ‘Donatus, an African citizen’.³¹ Maximilla, buried in 389 CE at Rome, was referred to as a ‘Pannonian citizen’.³² And in the fourth or fifth century Eustasius, a ‘Syrian citizen’, was buried at Trier.³³

In addition, as with the *natio* form of identification, the concept of citizenship also was applied to ethnic designations. Eusebius, a ‘German citizen’ from the otherwise unknown village of Abdarmisus, was interred at Viminacium on the Danube c. 300–450.³⁴ Bassus, an ‘Arab citizen’, was buried in Rome.³⁵ In Gaul, Pompeius Catussa, a ‘Sequanian citizen’, buried his wife Blandinia Martiola at Lyon.³⁶ And c. 100 CE

vol. 3, 90: *Apud Sopianas Valeriae oppidum obscurissime natus est, patre [...] orto a posteritate Carporum*; 30.7.2, ed. Rolfe, vol. 3, 352: *Natus apud Cibalas Pannoniae oppidum*; 14.5.6, ed. Rolfe, vol. 1, 32: *Ortus in Hispania*; 21.6.9, ed. Rolfe, vol. 2, 120: *Ortus in Paphlagonia*.

29 Gennadius Massiliensis, *De viris illustribus* 36, ed. Richardson 74, 22: *Vigilantius presbyter, natione Gallus*; 62, ed. Richardson 82, 7: *Cassianus natione Scythia*; 99, ed. Richardson 96,9: *Pomerius, natione Maurus*.

30 *Unde factum credimus, ut offensa divinitas, quod tot malis probamus experti, favorem suae maiestatis averteret, et Romanam gentem tantis, quae transacta sunt, infortuniis fatigaret.* (‘Whence, because we acknowledge that we have suffered so many evils, we believe that it has happened that the offended divinity has averted the favor of its majesty and troubles the Roman “gens” with such great misfortunes that have occurred’); Codex Vaticanus Reginae 1997, PL 56.896–898; Haenel 1857, no. 1226, 260.

31 AE 1995, no. 1115; Nesselhauf 1937, 203, no. 226: *[Hic iac]et Donatus ex pro/[tectorib]us civis Afer qui / [vixit a]nnos XLV*.

32 CIL 6.41342; ICUR n.s. 13355: *civis Pannonia*.

33 AE 1923, no. 37: *Eustasius hic / bene pausat in / pace civis Surus / qui vixit an(nos) XL / Ced/bius et Iliodo[r]us / parenti posuer[unt]*.

34 AE 2000, no. 1262: *Eusebius filiu[s] / Antianu(s) civis Germaniceu(s) / ex vico Abdarmisu*.

35 AE 1975, no. 121: *Bassus bixit annus XXV / civis Arabus*.

36 CIL 13.1983 = ILS 8158: *Pompeius / Catussa civis Sequanus*.

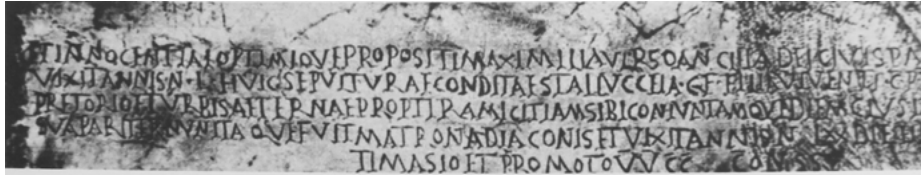


Fig. 4: The epitaph of Maximilla, *civis Pannonia*, buried at Rome in 389 CE (CIL 6.41342).

Sextus Valerius Genialis, a 'citizen of the Frisiavones', was buried at Corinium in Britain.³⁷ One even encounters citizens of barbarian peoples, such as a *civis Alamanna*, that is, an 'Alamannic citizen', in Florence in 423 CE,³⁸ or a soldier buried near Budapest whose epitaph read, 'I am a citizen of the Franks and a Roman soldier in arms'.³⁹

USI I M V I
CIVIS ALAMANNA VIXIT ANNIS .
XXXIII RECESSIT IN PACE DIE II NONAS DEC . . .
MARINIANO ET ASCLIPIO DOTO CONSS
5 FLs FAVSTINIANVS VDDOMTs CONPAR EIVS
HVNC TITVLVM AMANTs CONIVCIs FFs
P
A W P
A W P
A W

Fig. 5: The epitaph of 423 CE of an unnamed *civis Alamanna* ('Alamannic citizen') from Florence. CIL 11.1731.

The concept of ethnic citizenship also is found in literary sources, with 'citizens' of Gaul, Africa, and Italy.⁴⁰ In Gaul, Sidonius Apollinaris made particular use of the

37 RIB 109: *Sextus Vale/rius Genialis / eq(u)es alae Trha{e}c(um!) / civis Frisia(v)us tur(ma)*; the Frisiavones were a people of Belgica.
38 CIL 11.1731: *Civis Alamanna vixit annis / XXXIII [...] / Fl(aviu)s Faustinianus v(ir) d(evotissimus) dom(es)t(icu)s [...] / hunc titulum amant(i)s coniucis ffs*. See Conti 1971.
39 CIL 11.3576 = ILS 2814: *Francus ego cives, Romanus miles in armis*.
40 Hydatius, *Chronica* 217, s.a. 462, ed. Tranoy 168: *Agrippinus Gallus comes et civis*; ibid. 163, s.a. 455, ed. Tranoy 150: *In Galliis Avitus Gallus civis*; *Vita Marcellini*, AA SS, Apr. XX, I, 749 (cf. Gregory of

concept of barbarian citizenship, describing, for example, the homoian debater Modaharius as a *civis Gothus* ('citizen of the Goths').⁴¹ Sidonius also referred to Horidac, a rebellious barbarian leader of the 460s, as a 'citizen' of the Huns,⁴² and poetically said, 'you, the fierce Alaman, were drinking the Rhine on the Roman bank and were proud to be on either side as both a citizen [of the Alamanni] and a victor [over the Romans]'.⁴³ Sidonius further demonstrated how concepts of citizenship had become blurred by contrasting his friend Lampridius, described as a 'citizen' [of the Visigoths], to himself, an 'exile' lacking a homeland.⁴⁴ In this extended sense, in the case of both Romans and barbarians, metaphorical citizenship was a descriptor of personal identity rather than of legal status. During the Principate, this kind of figurative citizenship could be juxtaposed with Roman citizenship. In an inscription of c. 100 CE from Vienna, for example, Titus Flavius Draccus, an *eques* of the *ala* Prima Flavia Domitiana Britannica Milliaria is described as both a *civis Romanus* and a citizen of the Sequani.⁴⁵ But in Late Antiquity, geographic or ethnic metaphorical citizenship was the only kind of citizenship thought worth mentioning.

Indeed, for Late Antiquity, a diligent search turns up only one example, from the first half of the fourth century, of anyone calling themselves a *civis Romanus*, Aurelius Felix, an *ingenuus* (freeborn person) of Carteia in Spain.⁴⁶ Felix's gentilic name would suggest that he was descended from someone who had gained Roman citizenship as a result of the Antonine Constitution.⁴⁷

This is just enough evidence to prove that people still could identify themselves as Roman citizens – they just did not do so very often. Late Roman law codes make it clear that Roman citizenship still could mean a great deal from a legal perspective,⁴⁸

Tours, *Liber in gloria confessorum* 68, 1, ed. Krusch 338, n. 1): *Marcellinus [...] Africanae provinciae civis*; Heraclides Paradisus 33, PL 74, 320: *Rufinus [...] civis Italus ex Aquileiensi oppido*.

41 Sidonius, ep. VII 6, 2, ed. Lütjohann 108, 28: *Modaharium, civem Gothum, haereoseos Arianae iacula vibrantem*.

42 Sidonius, carm. II 239–242, ed. Lütjohann 179: *Sed Scythicae vaga turba plagae, feritatis abundans / dira, rapax, vehemens, ipsis quoque gentibus illic / barbara barbaricis cuius dux Horidac atque / civis erat*. The translation of Sidonius, trans. Anderson 1, 29, 'A man of their own nation', loses the flavor of *civis*.

43 Sidonius, carm. VII 373–375, ed. Lütjohann 212: *Rhenumque ferox Alamanne, bibebas / Romani ripis et utroque superbus in agro / vel civis vel victor eras*. Sidonius clearly means a citizen of the Alamanni, not of the Romans, as Sidonius, trans. Anderson 1, 151: 'Civis does not here mean "Roman citizen".'

44 Sidonius, ep. VIII 9, 3, ed. Lütjohann 135, 17: *Ago adhuc exulem, agis ipse iam civem*; see Sidonius, trans. Anderson 2, 443: 'Surely this means a Gothic citizen at the court of Euric.'

45 CIL 13.1983 = ILS 8158: *T(itus) F(lavius) Draccus / eq(u)es alae I F(laviae) D(omitianae) / Brit(an)icae m(illariae) c(ivium) R(omanorum) civi/s Sequanus an(norum) XXXXV / st<i>pendiorum XXII*.

46 ICERV 138: *Aurelius Felix ingenuus civis Romanus / Carteiensis vixit annis / XXXI m(ensibus) VII d(iebus) XVI om(nibus) sui(s) ani(ma) dulcis [ac]ceptus in pace*.

47 See Keenan 1973–1974.

48 CTh 1.32.1 (333): *Numero civium romanorum exempti gladio feriantur*; CTh 2.22.1: *Dignitate romanae civitatis amissa latinus fuerit effectus*; CTh 3.30.4 (331): *Desinant cives esse romani*; CTh 4.71.1 = Brev.

but in the late 430s, Salvian of Marseille also could claim that many people abandoned their Roman citizenship and preferred to live under barbarian rule because of Roman maladministration, claiming, 'Therefore the name of Roman citizens, which at one time not only was considered to be of great value but also was purchased at a great price, now is freely repudiated and eschewed'.⁴⁹ If Salvian is to be believed, one might suggest that Roman citizenship no longer created the same sense of political solidarity with the Roman state that it had in the past.⁵⁰ People no longer identified themselves in terms of Roman citizenship, preferring to advertise their regional or ethnic 'citizenship'.

The significance of self-descriptive terminology

In fact, in no attested contemporary case did anyone describe her/himself as *natione* or *gente Romana/us*. So just where are the 'Romans' of Late Antiquity? Did they even exist? Or did the late antique world consist only of 'Gauls', 'Batavians', and so on? And what, one might ask, did it mean to be described as a 'Gaul' or a 'Batavian'. Were these names purely geographical? The use of the accompanying and explanatory terms *natio* and *gens* could seem, on the surface, to imply something more than mere geography, that is, a geographical identification presented as if it were somehow ethnic. So, did being identified as *Gallus* carry with it any stereotypical identifying characteristics? For example, a person described as *Gallus* would surely be associated with the particular region from which Gauls were known to come, that is, from Gallia.

For contemporaries, the geographical region and the customs of the people who came from that region would have been interchangeable, just as in the modern day to describe someone as 'Austrian' or 'American' carries with it connotations not only of a geographical region but also of stereotypical characteristics of people who come from that region. Indeed we probably should be careful not to attempt to distinguish

4.7.1.1 (506): *Suscepta libertate cives esse romanos [...] manebit, sicut civibus romanis, integra et plena libertas*; CTh 4.12.2 *interpretatio* (506): *Septem testibus civibus romanis*; CTh 8.13.1 (349): *Cui scilicet civitatis romanae iura quaesita sunt [...] cives pari condicione romanos*; CTh 9.21.2.1 (321): *Servos etiam, qui hoc detulerint, civitate romana donamus*; CTh 9.24.1 4: *Si quis vero servus [...] latinitate donetur, aut, si latinus sit, civis fiat romanus*; CTh 14.17.5 (369): *Civis romanus*; CTh *Novellae* 16.2: *Civibus romanis pu beribus omnibus*.

⁴⁹ Salvian, *De gubernatione Dei* 5, 22, ed. Lagarrigue 328, 35: *Itaque nomen civium Romanorum, ali quando non solum magno aestimatum, sed magno emptum, nunc ultro repudiatur ac fugitur*.

⁵⁰ See W. Liebeschuetz 1998, 136–137: 'A sense of Roman identity survived but it had been depoliticised.'

too closely between 'geographical' and 'ethnic' terms as it well may be that in antiquity no such distinction was made.⁵¹

Late antique examples of such stereotypes can be found in the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, written c. 400 CE, in which the characteristics of different regions, including their inhabitants, are briefly described. For example, Egypt had 'noble men, who wonderfully worship the gods'; Thrace had 'the greatest men, brave in war'; and Spain had 'men learned in all kinds of businesses'.⁵²

Gaul, too, had special identifying characteristics. According to the *Expositio*, Gaul not only had 'brave and noble men', but 'it always has need of an emperor: it makes one of its own'.⁵³ The *Augustan History* also mentioned this presumed Gallic predilection. In one place, it spoke of 'the Gauls, whose nature it is not to tolerate feeble and luxury-loving emperors who have degenerated from Roman virtue', and in another it referred to 'that custom, whereby the Gauls always are desirous of revolution'.⁵⁴ More specifically, regarding the usurper Saturninus it said, 'Saturninus was by origin a Gaul – *oriundo Gallus* – from a most restless *gens* – *ex gente* – of men, one always desirous of rule and of making an emperor'.⁵⁵ Another aspect of Gallic 'identity' was a high opinion of Gallic culture: Claudian referred to its 'learned citizens', and Symmachus praised 'Gallic eloquence'.⁵⁶ But the most famous late antique description of the Gauls comes from Ammianus Marcellinus, who portrayed them as 'fond of quarrelling, and of overbearing insolence'.⁵⁷ In these cases, 'a certain unique "Gallic" identity was assumed, which was shared by all inhabitants of

51 Ethnic stereotypes within the Roman Empire have been very little studied. For example, in Guy Halsall, chapter 'Ethnicity' in Halsall 2007a, 35–62, 'ethnicity' is implicitly assumed to apply only to barbarians, not to Romans, and there is no discussion of 'Roman' ethnicity or ethnic stereotypes.

52 *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* 34, ed. Rougé 166–168: *Habes ergo omnem Aegypti regionem [...] viros similiter nobiles, deos colentes eminenter*; 45, ed. Rougé 180: *Partes propinquantes mari [...] Cilicia [...] et Isauria, quae viros fortes habere dicitur, et latrocinia aliquando facere conati sunt*; 50, ed. Rougé 186: *Thracia provincia [...] maximos habens viros et fortes in bello*; 59, ed. Rougé 198: *Spania, terra [...] dives viris doctis in omnibus negotiis*. Here, the words *pars*, *provincia*, *regio* and *terra* all are used to describe geographical regions of the empire.

53 *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* 58, ed. Rougé 196–198: *Post Pannoniam Galliam provinciam [...] quae [...] imperatorem semper egeat: hunc ex se habet [...] omnis autem regio viros habet fortes et nobiles*; see Mathisen 1993, 18.

54 HA *Gallieni Duo* 4.3, ed. Magie, vol. 3, 22–24: *Galli, quibus insitum est leves ac degenerantes a virtute Romana et luxuriosos principes ferre non posse*; HA *Triginta Tyranni*, *Postumus* 3.7, ed. Magie, vol. 3, 70: *More illo, quo Galli novarum rerum semper sunt cupidi*.

55 HA *Quadruga Tyrannorum*, *Saturninus* 7.1, ed. Magie, vol. 3, 396: *Saturninus oriundo fuit Gallus, ex gente hominum inquietissima et avida semper vel faciendi principis vel imperii*. The only example of the *ex gente* terminology in the HA.

56 Claudianus, *Panegyricus dictus Honorio Augusto quartum consuli* 582–583, ed. Hall 82: *Doctis civibus*; Symmachus, *Opera quae supersunt: Epistulae* IX 88, ed. Seeck 260, 30: *Gallicanae facundiae*; see Mathisen 1993, 172.

57 Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* 15.12.1, ed. Rolfe, vol. 2, 194: *Avidi iurgiorum et sublatius inso-lentes*.

Gaul, and which set them apart from inhabitants of other areas of the empire'.⁵⁸ Other regions likewise would have lists of stereotypes associated with them.

Words such as *natio*, *gens*, and *oriundus* used with places of origin thus would seem to represent, by extension, characteristics that were stereotypically associated with people who came from those places. But there was no such description for 'Romans'. Indeed, in the *Expositio* the only use of the term *Romanus* is when it is used in a political sense, to differentiate Roman territory from barbarian territory.⁵⁹ All this suggests that, from the perspective of personal identification, people whom we in the modern day might consider to be Roman did not call themselves 'Romans'. They rather identified either geographically, with a particular region, or ethnically, with a particular group of people. Any continued use of the term *Romanus*, as in the *Liber Pontificalis* (LP), often thought to have been composed in the sixth century,⁶⁰ which uses the *natione* formula to identify the origins of bishops of Rome,⁶¹ refers not to an ethnicity or to Roman citizenship but to an inhabitant of the city of Rome. In these cases, additional descriptors were added to indicate which region in the city of Rome a person came from.⁶²

Roman identity in post-Roman Gaul

In light of these observations on how the peoples of western Late Antiquity self-identified, we now can focus more narrowly on Gaul. In a quest for just what it meant to be Roman 'on the ground', so to speak, in Gaul, we might turn to some well-known authors. Sidonius Apollinaris certainly used the term *Romanus*, but, as in the *Expositio*, it almost always was used in juxtaposition with something barbarian and in a political sense.⁶³

⁵⁸ 'Gallic identity' in Mathisen 1993, 18–20.

⁵⁹ *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* 21, ed. Rougé 154: *Et haec quidem de praedictis gentibus historicus ait. Quoniam vero necessarium est et nostram terram, hoc est Romanorum, conscribere, experiar exponere, ut possit legentibus prodesse*; 62, ed. Rougé 204: *Et haec quidem orbis terrae, Romanorum quoque et barbarorum terram, quod ex parte dicere potuimus*.

⁶⁰ Davis 2000.

⁶¹ LP 5: *Aneclitus, natione Grecus*; 6: *Euvaristus, natione Grecus*; 11: *Pius, natione Italus*; 12: *Anicitus, natione Syrus*; 13: *Soter, natione Campanus*; 15: *Victor, natione Afer*; 28: *Eutycianus, natione Tuscus*; 29: *Gaius, natione Dalmata*; 39: *Damasus, natione Spanus*; 42: *Innocentius, natione Albanense*; 45: *Caelestinus, natione Campanus*; 47: *Leo, natione Tuscus*; 48: *Hilarus, natione Sardus*; 49: *Simplicius, natione Tiburtinus*; 51: *Gelasius, natione Afer*; 56: *Felix, natione Samnium*.

⁶² LP 3: *Cletus, natione Romanus, de regione Vico Patricii*; 4: *Clemens, natione Romanus, de regione Celiomonte*; 7: *Alexander, natione Romanus [...] de regione Caput tauri*; 8: *Xystus, natione Romanus [...] de regione Via Lata*; 49: *Bonifatius, natione Romanus*; 46: *Xystus, natione Romanus*; 50: *Felix, natione Romanus*; 52: *Anastasius, natione Romanus [...] de regione V caput Tauri*.

⁶³ Sidonius, ep. II 1, 3, ed. Lütjohann 21, 17: *Seronatus as exsultans Gothis, insultansque Romanis*; VII 1, 1, ed. Lütjohann 103, 1: *Rumor est Gothos in Romanum solum castra movisse*; VII 5, 3, ed. Lütjohann 108, 9: *Solum oppidum Arvernum Romanis reliquum partibus bella fecerunt*; VII 6, 6, ed. Lütjohann 109,

Equally instructive is Gregory of Tours. In his *Histories*, all but one of his references to *Romani* occur in the fifth century, with *Romani* juxtaposed with *Franci* and other barbarian peoples. Here, again, the term *Romani* was used in a political sense, to refer to the Roman government and officials and to the lands and peoples under Roman authority.⁶⁴ Once the political authority of the Roman Empire had vanished, Gregory no longer used the designator *Romanus*. Not surprisingly, the *Liber historiae Francorum* (hereafter *LHF*), drawn largely from Gregory, is much the same: the term *Romanus* was used only in a political sense, to refer to the Roman Empire. After the defeat of the *rex Romanorum* Syagrius in 486 CE, no more *Romani* were mentioned.⁶⁵

Gregory, like Sidonius and the *LHF*, never used *Romanus* as a term of personal identification. Indeed, when Gregory gave someone an identity, it was by using the other forms of identification already discussed. For example, Eparchius Avitus, who seized the throne in 455, was described not as a *Romanus* but as a *civis Arvernus*, a citizen of the Auvergne,⁶⁶ just as a certain Lupus was described as ‘a citizen of the city of Tours’.⁶⁷ Several of the bishops of Tours were described in a similar manner, much as in the *Liber Pontificalis*. Litorius, was ‘from among the citizens of Tours’; Martin was ‘from the region of Pannonia, the city of Sabaria’; Brictius was ‘a citizen of Tours’; Licinius, was called a ‘citizen of Angers’; Dinifius was ‘from Burgundia’;

23: *Regem Gothorum [...] non tam Romanis moenibus quam legibus Christianis insidiaturum pavesco*. Or, as in the *Liber Pontificalis*, to refer to the city of Rome, Sidonius, ep. I 10, 2 ed. Lütjohann 16, 4: *Vereor autem ne famem populi Romani theatralis caveae fragor insonet*.

64 Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 2, 9 (380s), ed. Krusch/Levison 53, 2: *Rhenum transierunt, pluribus suorum in Romano relictis solo [...] cum quibus congressus Romanis adcommodus fuit, multis Francorum [...] perimptis*; (410 CE), ed. Krusch/Levison 55, 16: *Interea Respendial rex Alanorum, Goare ad Romanos transgresso, de Rheno agmen suorum convertit*; (c. 440), ed. Krusch/Levison 58, 4: *Habitabant Romani usque Ligerim fluvium. Ultra Ligerim vero Gothi dominabantur. Burgundiones quoque [...] habitabant trans Rhodanum [...] Chlogio [...] Romanus proteret*; 2, 11 (456), ed. Krusch/Levison 60, 22: *Avitus enim unus ex senatoribus et [...] civis Arvernus, cum Romanum ambisset imperium [...] Egidius ex Romanus magister militum datus est*; 2, 18 (c. 464/468), ed. Krusch/Levison 65, 11: *Paulos vero comes cum Romanis ac Francis, Gothis bella intulit*; 2, 19 (c. 470), ed. Krusch/Levison 65, 15: *Inter Saxones atque Romanos bellum gestum est: sed Saxones terga vertentes, multos de suis, Romanis in sequentibus, gladio reliquerunt*; 2, 27 (486), ed. Krusch/Levison 71, 12: *Siacrius Romanorum rex, Egidi filius, apud civitatem Sexonas [...] sedem habebat*.

65 *Liber historiae Francorum* 2, ed. Krusch 242, 10: *Valentinianus imperator imperium Romanorum regbat [...] cum reliquo exercitu Romanorum*; 3, ed. Krusch 243, 9: *cum Primario duce de Romano senatu [...] imperator cum exercitu Romanorum*; 4, ed. Krusch 243, 25: *In hostem Romanorum*; 5, ed. Krusch 245, 10: *Citra Rhenum usque Ligere fluvio habitabant Romani, ultra Ligere autem Gothi dominabantur [...] multo populo Romanorum prostrato [...] Romanos, quos ibi invenit, interfecit [...] ex Romanis Ae gidius rex militiae Romanorum*; 7, ed. Krusch 248, 29: *ejecerunt Romani [...] imperatorem Romanorum*; 8, ed. Krusch 250, 18: *Egidius Romanorum rex*; 9, ed. Krusch 251, 13: *Syagrius [...] rex Romanorum*.

66 Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 2, 11, ed. Krusch/Levison 60, 22: *Avitus enim unus ex senatoribus, et, ut valde manifestum est, civis Arvernus, cum Romanum ambisset imperium*.

67 Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 6, 13, ed. Krusch/Levison 283, 5: *Lupus vero urbis Turonicae civis*.

Ommatius, was 'from the senators and citizens of the Auvergne'; Francilo was a 'citizen of Poitiers'; and Injuriosus was another 'citizen of Tours'.⁶⁸

Likewise, in the *LHF*, the few persons generally identified as Romans from the sixth century and later are not acknowledged as such. Aurelianus, the *consiliarius* of Clovis, is merely portrayed as Clovis' messenger, and Aridius, the *consiliarius* of Gundobad, is described as *sapiens*, a word that could serve as a code-word for 'Roman'.⁶⁹ And the senators who accompanied Apollinaris, the son of Sidonius, at the Battle of Vouillé in 507 were described not as 'Romans' but as 'senators' and the *Arvernorum populus*.⁷⁰ In other seventh-century sources, Bonitus of Clermont was described as *progenie Arvernicae urbis oriundus*⁷¹ and Desiderius of Cahors was portrayed as *Obrege Galliarum oppido horiundus*.⁷²

So what happened to the Romans in post-Roman Gaul? Did they simply disappear? Was the topic too delicate to discuss? Or, for Gregory's purposes, did Romans simply become integrated – politically, legally, socially – as citizens of barbarian successor kingdoms? Did they all become *Franci*, a word that appears in various forms 160 times in Gregory's *Histories*? Indeed, in later centuries, some contemporary writers had a hard time explaining what happened to the Romans, and came up with some fanciful explanations. In the *Vita Sigismundi*, the lack of 'Romans' in Burgundia was attributed to the slaughter of any Romans who had not fled.⁷³ And according to a fifteenth-century gloss on the murder of Syagrius in the *LHF*, 'Clovis exterminat-

⁶⁸ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 10, 31, ed. Krusch/Levison 526, 16: *Litorius [...] ex civibus Turonicis*; ed. Krusch/Levison 527, 6: *Martinus [...] de regione Pannoniae, civitate Sabariae*; ed. Krusch/Levison 528, 5: *Brictius [...] civis Turonicus*; ed. Krusch/Levison 531, 14: *Licinius, civis Andegavus*; ed. Krusch/Levison 532, 7: *Dinifius episcopus, et ipse ex Burgundia*; ed. Krusch/Levison 532, 12: *Ommatius de senatoribus civibusque Arvernīs*; ed. Krusch/Levison 532, 22: *Francilo ex senatoribus [...] civis Pictavus*; ed. Krusch/Levison 533, 3: *Injuriosus, civis Turonicus*.

⁶⁹ *Liber historiae Francorum* 11, ed. Krusch 254, 17: *Aurilianum legatarium suum*; 12, ed. Krusch 256, 2: *Aurilianum legatarium suum*; 16, ed. Krusch 264, 28: *Consiliarium suum sapientem, Aredium nomine [...]*; cf. Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 2, 32, ed. Krusch/Levison 79, 8 as *Aridium, strenuum atque sapientem* (erroneously translated by Bachrach, *Liber Historiae Francorum* 47, as 'a Roman of the senatorial class'). For *sapiens* as a Roman identifier, see Mathisen 2012b.

⁷⁰ *Liber historiae Francorum* 17, ed. Krusch 270, 2: *Maximus autem tunc ibi Arvernorum populus, qui cum Apollinare duce venerat, corruit [...] cum multis senatoribus*; cf. Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 2, 37, ed. Krusch/Levison 88, 4: *Maximus ibi tunc Arvernorum populus, qui cum Apollinare venerat, et primi qui erant ex senatoribus corruerunt*.

⁷¹ *Vita Boniti* 1, ed. Krusch 119, 21.

⁷² *Vita Desiderii* 1, ed. Poupardin 1; also *Vita Desiderii* 17, ed. Poupardin 39: *Amanus ex genere Scotorum*. And note Venantius Fortunatus, *carm.* III 8,22, ed. Reydellet, vol. 1, 98: *Te contenta suo Gallia cive placet*; *carm.* V 3, ed. Reydellet, vol. 2, 16: *Ad cives Turonicos de Gregorio episcopo Turonsi*.

⁷³ *Passio s. Sigismundi* 1, ed. Krusch, 333: (Gundioc) *Romanos Galliarum, quos ab ipsorum conspectibus fuga non celavit, gladiatorum manus interfecit, paucisque relictis suis dicionibus subiugatis ipsi que eorum dominationi contempti sunt*, perhaps a result of the report that Gundobad had executed the supporters of Godegisel (Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 2, 33, ed. Krusch/Levison 81, 10: *interfectis senatoribus Burgundionibus, qui Godegiselo consenserant*; cf. Marius Aventicensis, *Chronica* s.a.500, ed. Mommsen, 234). Note also Mathisen 1984.

ed all the Romans who then lived in Gaul, so that scarcely one could be found.⁷⁴ Given all the evidence for the lack of *Romani*, one might ask whether Roman identity continued to have any special meaning at all. Well, yes, sometimes it did.

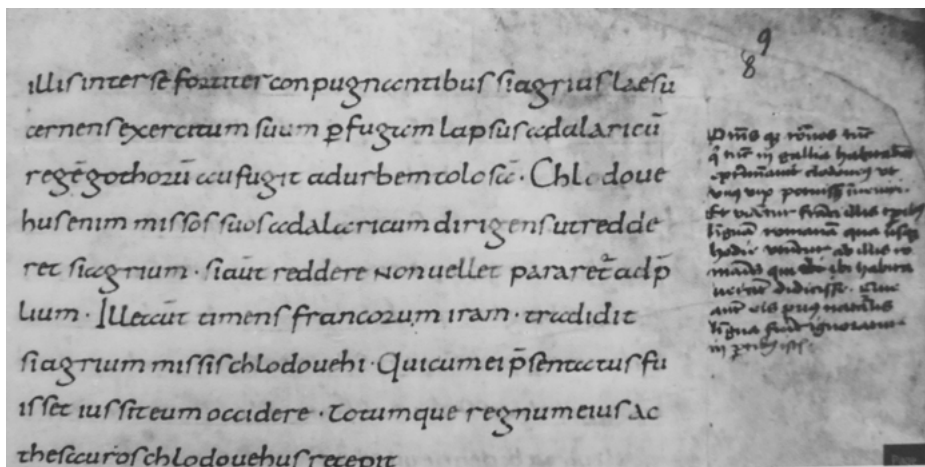


Fig. 6: A fifteenth-century gloss on a ninth-century manuscript of the *Liber historiae Francorum* reprises the commonplace that after the establishment of the barbarian kingdoms, the Romans simply disappeared.

Out of nowhere, the term *Romanus* as a personal designation reappears in the early seventh century in Fredegar using the old *genere* formula. In a group of passages narrowly dated between 604 and 607, one encounters three high-ranking officials, Protadius, Claudius, and Richomer, described as *genere Romanus*.⁷⁵ What does the designation *Romanus* mean here, and how was it determined? Clearly it was not done solely on the basis of nomenclature, for Richomer certainly is not a typical Roman name. The only other such designation in Fredegar appears under the year 635, where ten *duces* are described as *ex genere Francorum*, *ex genere Romano* (Chramnelenus, again, not a Roman-appearing name), *ex genere Burgundionum*,

⁷⁴ *Liber historiae Francorum*, Appendix, ed. Krusch, 773, a marginal note to the ninth century ms. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat.10911, f. 8r: *Omnesque Romanes tunc, qui tunc in Gallia habitabant, exterminavit Chlodoveus, ut unus vix potuisset inveniri, et videntur Franci illis temporibus linguam Romanam, qua usque hodie utuntur, ab illis Romanis qui ibi habitaverunt, didicisse* (<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9078401h/f10.item.zoom>). The note glosses *Liber historiae Francorum* 9, ed. Krusch 251, 20: *Chlodovechus enim missos suos ad Alaricum dirigens ut redderet Siagrium [...] iussit eum occidere*.

⁷⁵ Fredegar, *Chronicae* 4, 24 (604), ed. Krusch 130, 8: *Protadius genere Romanus [...] patricius*; 4, 28 (606), ed. Krusch 132, 7: *Major domus Claudius, genere Romanus*; 4, 29 (607), ed. Krusch 132, 17: *Richomeris, Romanus genere*. Also 4, 34 (607), ed. Krusch 133, 18: *Teudelendae, ex genere Francorum*.

and *ex genere Saxonum*.⁷⁶ In this case, it would appear that the term *Romanus* is just one more form of ethnicity, along with Frank, Burgundian, and Saxon.

The same phenomenon appears in the life of Eligius of Noyon in the late seventh century: 'He set free equally those from diverse *gentes*, Romans of course, Gauls and Britons, Moors as well, and especially those from the *gens* of the Saxons'.⁷⁷ Romans are just one more ethnicity, and have no special status. Indeed, the same source also notes, 'If any persons prepared to come to the palace of the Frankish king from a Roman, Italian, Gothic, or any sort of province on a diplomatic legation [...] they did not meet the king before they had encountered Eligius'.⁷⁸ Once again, the term *Romanus* is parallel with other terms relating to ethnicity or geography.

A like usage is seen in a poem of Venantius Fortunatus from the late sixth century, where he tells of a certain Launebaudis, who built a church on spot where Saturninus of Toulouse had been martyred: 'That which no one coming from the Roman people (*Romana gente*) built, this work a man of barbarian origin (*barbarica prole*) saw through'.⁷⁹ Here, Romans belong collectively to a *gens* in the same sense that barbarians do. So post-Roman Gaul was populated by Romans, Franks, Goths, Saxons, and other *gentes*. There was nothing to indicate that any of them had any special status vis-à-vis the others. The designation *Romanus* survived, but divorced, it seems, from any political associations with the old Roman Empire. It now was just one of the many ethnicities that spattered post-Roman Gaul.

Romani also make other occasional appearances in post-Roman Gaul. Under the year 742, the *Continuationes Fredegarii* note that the *Romani* of Orléans were defeated by Carloman and Pippin.⁸⁰ In addition, on occasion, individual persons were described as *Romanus*, indicating that the designation still meant something. The concept of being a Roman senator also survived well into the seventh century: the life of Desiderius of Cahors mentions *Bobila senatrix Romana*,⁸¹ and Bonitus of Clermont was

⁷⁶ Fredegar, *Chronicae* 4, 78 (635), ed. Krusch 160, 1: *cum decem docis cum exercetibus, id est, Arimburtus, Amalgarius, Leudebertus, Wandalmarus, Waldericus, Ermenus, Barontus, Chairaardus ex genere Francorum, Chramnelenus ex genere Romano, Willibadus patricius genere Burgundionum, Aigyna ex genere Saxonum*.

⁷⁷ *Vita Eligii* I 10, ed. Krusch 677, 8: *Ex diversis gentibus venientes pariter liberabat, Romanorum scilicet, Gallorum, atque Brittannorum necnon et Maurorum, sed praecipuae ex genere Saxonorum*.

⁷⁸ *Vita Eligii* I 10, ed. Krusch 676, 8: *Flagrabat eius ubique fama, in tantum, ut si qui ex Romana vel Italica aut Gothica vel quaecumque provintia legationis foedere [...] palatium regis Francorum adire pararent, non prius regi occurrerent quam Eligium adgrederentur*.

⁷⁹ Venantius Fortunatus, *carm.* II 8, 23, ed. Reydellet, vol. 1, 62: *Quod nullus veniens Romana gente fabrivit / hoc vir barbarica prole peregit opus*. Also Ps. Venantius Fortunatus, *carm.* III 11, ed. Leo 382 on Martial of Limoges: *Tellus te Romana, quibus te Gallica tellus*.

⁸⁰ *Continuationes Fredegarii* 25, ed. Krusch 180, 5: *Carlomannus atque Pippinus principes germani [...] Liger alveum Aurilianis urbem transeunt, Romanos proterunt*. The *Continuationes* also mention the 'Romans' of Italy (*Continuationes Fredegarii* 36, ed. Krusch 183, 8–23); Fredegar refers to the Romans of the late Roman Empire (*Chronicae* 2, 46, ed. Krusch 68, 17: *invitati a Romanis vel Gallis*).

⁸¹ *Vita Desiderii* 16, ed. Poupardin 32: see Stroheker 1948, 135.

described as *ex senatu Romano*.⁸² And at roughly the same time, there appears the first, and only, attested example of someone being described as *gente Romanus*, that is, 'Roman by ethnicity'. In his epitaph, Genesius, bishop of Clermont, who died c. 662, was referred to as a *vir gente Romanus, natione clarus*,⁸³ a description that uses the old *gente* and *natione* formats both.

In addition, persons sometimes were directly addressed as 'Romans'. In only one case, for example, did Sidonius Apollinaris refer to a person as a *Romanus*, when he said in a panegyric addressed to Euric, king of the Visigoths: 'Here, O Roman – *Romane* – you seek safety for yourself [...] The Garonne may defend the weakened Tiber'.⁸⁴ This reference is especially poignant because Sidonius may be referring here to himself, in his contemporary capacity as a suppliant before Euric.⁸⁵ In the middle of the seventh century, this designation resurfaced when bishop Eligius of Noyon was publicly addressed as *Romane* when a crowd rebuked him for preaching against using charms.⁸⁶ Just what was it that caused Eligius to be identified as a *Romanus*?

On the basis of the analysis so far, it would appear that the term *Romanus* was used in several ways in the late and post-Roman period. For the fifth century, it indicated affiliation with the Roman government and with Rome as a political entity. In these cases, *Romani* usually were juxtaposed in an adversarial way with various barbarian political entities, such as *Franci* or *Gothi*. After the fall of the Roman Empire in the west, this usage virtually ceased and was in some sense replaced – very occasionally – with *Romani* as a purely ethnic term, parallel to other ethnic terms, such as *Franci* or *Burgundiones*. The designation *Romanus* did not have any special status; it was parallel with, as opposed to being juxtaposed with, other ethnic terms. There was no adversarial sense.

But even when used in a generic ethnic sense, the term *Romanus* still must have conveyed particular connotations in the minds of those who used it. Just as, during the imperial period, the designator and self-identifier *Gallus* conveyed an image of what it meant to be a Gaul, in the post-Roman period, the ethnic term *Romanus* must have had certain attributes associated with it. What these were is difficult to pin down, but one can take a stab at doing so.

First of all, this is an instance where literary stereotypes actually might be useful, not because they necessarily reflect reality, even though they often do, but because they convey a picture of popular perceptions. And one very common perception of

⁸² *Vita Boniti* 1, ed. Krusch 119: see Ebling 1974, 89–90.

⁸³ RICG 8, 25: *Hic sub arva re/quiescunt membra / Genesi pap(a)e ponteficis / vir gente Romanus / natione clarus*; see Fehr 2010, 170.

⁸⁴ Sidonius, ep. VIII, 9, 5, ed. Lütjohann 137, 39: *Hinc, Romane, tibi petis salutem*.

⁸⁵ A few lines later Sidonius equates the Sasanid king Arsaces with Phoebus, the latter being Sidonius' own nickname: see Mathisen 1991.

⁸⁶ *Vita Eligii* II 20, ed. Krusch 712, 16: *Nunquam tu, Romane, quamvis haec frequenter taxes, consuetudines nostras evellere poteris*.

Romans on which both Romans and barbarians agreed was that Romans had excellent rhetorical abilities. Ennodius of Pavia, for example, attributed a barbarian recognition of stereotypical Roman rhetorical talents to the Visigothic king Euric, who in 475 supposedly said:

Those who say that the Romans do not have a shield or dart in their tongues are mistaken. In fact, they know how both to repel the words that we dispatch, and to depute from themselves words that are directed to the secret places of the heart.⁸⁷

In another instance, the Ostrogothic king Athalaric (526–534), in a speech to the Senate in Rome c. 533 CE, noted:

Grammar is the mistress of words [...] barbarian kings make no use of her [...] indeed, barbarians have weapons and other such things, eloquence alone is found which submits to the lords of the Romans.⁸⁸

Implicit in these observations are the stereotypical assumptions that Romans were masters of words and barbarians of weapons. These kinds of stereotypes, in which the blockheaded, bellicose, German-speaking barbarian is juxtaposed with the educated, clever, Latin-speaking Roman are belied of course by many counter-examples.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, the image of the refined Roman vis-à-vis the bumbling barbarian remained, and it has been argued elsewhere that a focus on literary pursuits was one of the attributes that united the aristocratic Roman population in late and post-Roman Gaul.⁹⁰

Secondly, the term *Romanus* could convey an image of religious affiliation. Speaking of the Arian Visigoths, Gregory of Tours noted that 'Romans' was the term used by the Visigoths 'for persons of our religion'.⁹¹ This designation resurfaced in a story about the Visigothic count Gomacharius who, after being cured by bishop

⁸⁷ Ennodius, *Vita Epiphani* 90, ed. Vogel 95, 23: *Fallunt qui dicunt Romanos in linguis scutum vel spicula non habere. Norunt enim et illa quae nos miserimus verba repellere et quae a se diriguntur ad cordis penetralia destinare.*

⁸⁸ Cassiodorus, *Variae* 9, 21, ed. Mommsen 286, 15: *Grammatica magistra verborum [...] hac non utuntur barbari reges [...] arma enim et reliqua gentes habent; sola reperitur eloquentia, quae Romanorum dominis obsecundat.*

⁸⁹ See Mathisen 1997.

⁹⁰ Mathisen 1993, 108: 'Literary pursuits shored up the sagging morale of Gallo Roman aristocrats who were faced on all sides by the decline of Roman imperial authority and the rise of Germanic power [...] in late Roman Gaul participation in literary pursuits came to play an even larger role than before as a determinant of aristocratic status.'

⁹¹ Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum* 24, ed. Krusch 52,17 [speaking of Spain in 586 CE]: *Denique Theodegisilus huius rex regionis [...] cogitavit intra se dicens, quia ingenium est Romanorum (Romanos enim vocitant homines nostrae religionis) ut ita accidat.*

Leo of Agde, blustered, 'What will those Romans say now?'.⁹² The continued domination of the Gallic episcopate was another means that aristocrats of Roman ancestry attempted to preserve their identity.⁹³ It thus may be that, as in the case of Eligius, the general population associated Roman 'ethnicity' with high ecclesiastical office.

Thirdly, the designation *Romanus* continued to have a legal significance, especially relating to property ownership. Barbarian lawcodes distinguished, in certain situations, between 'Roman' and 'barbarian' legal status, and Roman legal texts, such as the *Breviarium*, continued to be copied, and thus be valid, for centuries.⁹⁴ Indeed, Gregory of Tours' only reference to *Romani* after 486 CE is with respect to the 'gentler laws' issued by the Burgundian king Gundobad 'so that the Romans would not be oppressed'.⁹⁵ Gregory also noted that after the death of bishop Nicetius of Lyon in 573: 'After the number of days that Roman law specifies the will of this bishop was opened and read out by the *judex*'.⁹⁶ It thus would seem quite possible that someone who used Roman law or identified themselves as a *Romanus* in a legal case could be looked upon as a *Romanus*.

Finally, there is always the question of family descent, and the stemmata that many of us love to construct. Was a person who could trace his or her family back to the days of the Roman Empire considered to be Roman? Was a person with a Roman name, that is, one based on a Latin word, considered to be Roman? In the modern day, we generally assume ipso facto that both of these were the case. But there does not seem to be a single attested case of anyone claiming to be, or being describing as, 'Roman' based on either their family descent or their name.

One might suggest, then, that considerations relating to education, religious endeavors, legal affiliation, and family descent all were part of the mix that could lead to a person being considered to be 'Roman'. But in other regards, with respect to the 'missing Romans', we also might want at least to consider the possibility that we have been victims of our own preconceptions. We always have tended to assume that persons who met these prerequisites in some way were the descendents of 'Ro-

⁹² Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum* 78, ed. Krusch 91, 4: [*Gomacharius comes*] *ait suis: 'Quid putatis, quid isti nunc Romani dicant'?* Also *Liber in gloria martyrum* 79, ed. Krusch 91, 38 with Nicene and Arian priests at dinner: *Exercemus hodie cachinnum de hoc Romanorum presbitero*.

⁹³ Mathisen 1993, xii: 'Some Gauls sought careers in the church, and substituted a high ecclesiastical office for a secular one. Aristocrats residing in barbarian Gaul could fulfil virtually all the material and psychological needs, ideals, and trappings of secular nobility even better in the church than they could in secular life.'

⁹⁴ *Codex Euricianus* 276, ed. Zeumer 4, 20: [*si ... quas*] *habent Romani, fuerint, tunc Gothi [in] grediantur in loco; Leges Burgundionum* 54, ed. von Salis 89, 10: *Habeant cum Burgundionibus rationem, quoniam [...] medietatem silvarum ad Romanos generaliter praecipimus pertinere. Simili de curte et pomariis [...] ut medietatem Romani estiment praesumendam*.

⁹⁵ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 2, 33, ed. Krusch/Levison 81, 12: [*Gundobadus*] *Burgundionibus leges mitiores instituit, ne Romanos opprimerent*.

⁹⁶ Gregory of Tours, *Liber vitae patrum* VIII 5, ed. Krusch 245, 6: *Post dies autem quos lex Romana sancivit [...] huius antestitis testamentum [...] a iudice reseratum recitatumque est*.

mans' of imperial times and thus still merited being called 'Romans'. And occasionally they were. But it also may be that surviving Romans have been hiding in plain sight. Gregory of Tours, for example, never called anyone a *Romanus*. But he often did call individuals *senatores*. And a quick check of Gregory's texts indicates that all the people he calls *senatores* are the people we would call 'Romans'. Thus, when Gregory needed a term to describe someone of Roman ancestry, rather than using the term *Romanus* he often used the word *senator*.⁹⁷ Was this the result of a late antique form of political correctness, where it was considered improper to continue to describe people as *Romani* in barbarian Francia? Or was it simply because in Late Antiquity, as already seen above, people hardly ever were described as *Romani*. Other forms of identification were used – *Gallus*; *Arvernus*; or, in this case, *senator*. But hardly ever *Romanus*.

97 E.g., Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 1, 31, ed. Krusch/Levison 24, 9: *Leocadium quendam et primum Galliarum senatorem*; 1, 44, ed. Krusch/Levison 28, 20: *Urbicus [...] ex senatoribus conversus*; 1, 47, ed. Krusch/Levison 30, 10: *Injurious quidam de senatoribus Arvernibus*; 2, 2, ed. Krusch/Levison 39, 16: *Nobilitate senatoria florens*; 2, 11, ed. Krusch/Levison 60, 22: *Avitus enim unus ex senatoribus*; 2, 13, ed. Krusch/Levison 62, 13: *Venerandus e senatoribus episcopus ordenatur*; 2, 20, ed. Krusch/Levison 66,5: *Super Euchirium vero senatorem*; 2, 21–22, ed. Krusch/Levison 67, 18–31: *Si donius [...] de primis Galliarum senatoribus [...] Cum autem esset [...] ex senatoribus primis*; 2, 24, ed. Krusch/Levison 70, 1: *Ecdicius quidam ex senatoribus*; 2, 33, ed. Krusch/Levison 81, 10: *Interfectis senatoribus Burgundionibusque qui Godigiselo consenserant*; 2, 37, ed. Krusch/Levison 88, 5: *Primi qui erant ex senatoribus*; 3, 9, ed. Krusch/Levison 106, 8: *Archadius [...] unus ex senatoribus Arvernibus*; 3, 15, ed. Krusch/Levison 112, 13: *Multi tunc filii senatorum*; 3, 17, ed. Krusch/Levison 117, 10: *Francilio ex senatoribus substituitur*.

Ian Wood

Roman barbarians in the Burgundian province

The Gibichung rulers of the Rhône valley in the late fifth and early sixth centuries were among the most pro-imperial of the early barbarian leaders. They saw themselves as servants of the emperor, and yet at the same time they acknowledged that they were barbarian.¹ In this they were not unique: even if Cassiodorus tended to avoid describing the Ostrogoths as *barbari*, the *Edictum Theodorici* does so describe them, as indeed did pope Gelasius.² It would also seem that the redactors of the Breviary of Alaric were prepared to use the word to describe the Visigoths.³ Thus, at the end of fifth century and the beginning of the sixth the term *barbarus* could be a straightforward descriptor, with no pejorative overtones. In presenting themselves both as sophisticated imperial agents and as leaders of barbarians Gundobad, Sigismund and their administrators ensured that the conceptual distinction between Roman and barbarian within their territories was a vague one, and indeed they made it difficult to think in terms of a simple dichotomy between those who were civilized and those who were not. In what follows I will make no attempt to define the Romans directly. More often than not they are the authors of our sources, and saw themselves as ‘us’. I will concentrate instead on what our sources have to say about the non-Romans, to attempt to establish the extent to which ethnic difference was a significant issue in the Rhône valley in the late fifth and early sixth centuries;⁴ this, however, does have some implications for understanding Roman self-consciousness in the Gibichung world.

The acknowledgement that the Burgundians were *barbari* lies at the heart of Gibichung legislation – which I assume to have been drafted by Romans rather than barbarians. The *Liber Constitutionum*, to use what seems to have been the original name for what is now commonly known as the *Lex Burgundionum*, speaks of *Romani*, *Burgundiones*, *barbari*, *advenae* and *homines extraneae gentis*.⁵ The title *Lex Burgundionum* is in fact misleading: the collection is concerned with all the subjects of the Gibichung ruler, and especially with relations between the indigenous population of the valleys of the Rhône and Saône and the barbarian incomers.⁶ The Romans ap-

1 For the Gibichungs as sophisticated Romans, Wood 2004; Wood 2014; Wood 2016. For the Gibichungs as self-proclaimed rulers of barbarians, Wood 2011, 44–45. Although the term ‘Gibichung’ is not to be found in ancient sources, it is clear that the family was aware of descent from Gibich, and the term has the advantage of avoiding the notion of Burgundian ‘ethnicity’.

2 Wood 2011, 45–46. On Gelasius’ attack on barbarians, Amory 1997, 82–83.

3 Chauvot 2008, 39–40; Wood 2011, 45.

4 For other approaches to ethnicity in the Gibichung kingdom, Amory 1993; Amory 1994; Boyson 1998; Frye 1990; Wood 1990.

5 Wood 2016.

6 Wood 2003, 257–258; Wood 2016.

pear remarkably often: Carlo Troya, who was only too aware of the absence of Romans in the earlier Lombard laws (which for him was indicative of their oppression), noted that they are mentioned more than forty times in the *Liber Constitutionum*.⁷ The situation of the Romans indeed is at the heart of some Gibichung legislation. Gregory of Tours states that, following the civil war of 500, Gundobad issued *leges mitiores* to end the unjust treatment of Romans by the Burgundians.⁸ One might guess that the earlier failure to address this issue had led Romans to support Gundobad's brother, Godegisel, in the civil war. Some of these 'softer' laws are probably to be found in the *Liber Constitutionum*, individual clauses of which deal with the improper influence of Burgundians in cases involving Romans.⁹ The law-book also contains a number of clauses dealing with problems caused by the settlement of barbarian incomers, which may also have been one of the issues requiring the enactment of *leges mitiores*.¹⁰

Yet, while the situation of the Romans may have prompted much Gibichung legislation, the non-Romans taken together receive more attention. For the most part the terms *Burgundiones* and *barbari* may be read as synonymous,¹¹ although it is worth remembering that the Burgundians may not have been particularly numerous, after the disaster they had suffered at the hands of the Huns in the 430s.¹² Nor were they the only non-Romans settled within the Gibichung zone of authority: the Chronicle of 452 talks of the settlement of Alans in Valence.¹³ *Barbarus* could no doubt cover more than those regarding themselves as Burgundian, and it was probably intended to.¹⁴ Moreover, the word is often used as a synonym for the people designated by the phrase *populus noster*, which also appears in Gibichung law.¹⁵ Yet *populus noster* certainly did not cover the *externae gentes*, *advenae*, or *homines extraneae nationis*,¹⁶ who could also have been defined as *barbari*: these terms might refer to neighbouring peoples like Franks, Alamans and Goths, even if there were some Goths who were accepted as settlers.¹⁷ One might also note the presence of Riotamus' *Britanni*, who

7 Troya 1841, cclxi.

8 Gregory of Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum*, 2, 33, ed. Krusch/Levison, 80–81.

9 Possible examples are *Liber Constitutionum*, 22; 28; 31; 38, 7; 54, 1–2; 55; 84, ed. von Salis, 60, 65–67, 70, 88–91, 106–107. See Wood 2016. For the conclusion of the civil war as a context for legislation, see also Poly 2005, 347; Heather 2011, 128.

10 *Liber Constitutionum*, 13; 31; 38; 54; 55; 67; *constitutio extravagans*, 21, 12, ed. von Salis, 52, 66–7, 69–70, 88–91, 95, 121. See Goffart 1980, 127–161. For a more recent analysis of the settlement, Wood 2013.

11 Wood 1990, 61–62; Wood 2003, 260–261.

12 Wood 2016.

13 *Chronicle of 452*, a. 440, ed. Burgess, 79.

14 Wood 2011, 44–45; Wood 2016.

15 Wood 2016.

16 Wood 2016.

17 *Liber Constitutionum*, *Constitutio Extravagans*, 21, 4, ed. von Salis, 120.

arrived in the Lyon region in around 468,¹⁸ and who might be considered as Romans *extraneae nationis*. In law, the *populus noster* was unquestionably people subject to Gibichung authority – though it is unclear whether the phrase also covered the Romans of the province. *Barbari* might be either insiders or outsiders: what they were not was Romans.

Yet, if the Gibichungs and their barbarian followers were not Roman, they most certainly saw themselves as members of the Roman Empire. This is clearest in the correspondence written by Avitus of Vienne to the emperor, in the name of Sigismund, where we find that the prince's family (*prosapia mea*) is the emperor's servant (*famula vestra*): that his people belongs to the emperor – *vester quidem est populus meus*: that *devotio romana* has always been in the hearts of his forebears, and that in ruling his *gens* he does so as the emperor's soldier: *cum gentem nostram videamur regere, non aliud nos quam milites vestros credimus*. The emperor rules through Sigismund: *patria nostra vester orbis est*.¹⁹ Cassiodorus used similar language to describe the relationship of Theodoric's realm to the Empire, though perhaps not so fulsomely.²⁰

This sense of being part of the Empire infuses almost every aspect of Gibichung rule, at least until the retirement of Sigismund: the views of his brother and successor Godomar are scarcely recorded. We see it in the family's concern with title. Exactly what is implied by the office of *phylarchos*, held by Gundichar in the second decade of the fifth century is unclear,²¹ but his sons Gundioc and Chilperic both held the titles of *magister militum* and *patricius*, as did Gundioc's son, Gundobad, and grandson, Sigismund.²² Indeed, it is in the context of the latter's negotiations for inheritance of his father's title of *magister militum* that we find the subordination of the Gibichung province to the empire most forcibly stated.²³

A similar sense of belonging to the Byzantine realm is implied by the Burgundian laws and lawcodes. The so-called *Lex Romana Burgundionum*, whose original title would appear to be the *Forma et Expositio Legum*,²⁴ is an edited version of a number of imperial laws, most of which are contained in the *Codex Theodosianus*, although there is also material drawn from the novels of Valentinian III, Majorian, Marcian, Leo and Severus which are not to be found in the Code²⁵ – inclusion of these later laws may well reflect Gundobad's close association with Ricimer: as the latter's nephew, as well as protégé and successor he was at the heart of what remained of

18 Sidonius Apollinaris, ep. III, 9, ed. Loyen, vol. 2, 98.

19 Avitus, ep. 93, ed. Peiper, 100–101. On this letter see Scheibelreiter 1989.

20 Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 2, 1, ed. Mommsen, 46.

21 Olympiodorus, fragment 18, ed. and trans. Blockley, 182–183.

22 Wood 2003, 251–255.

23 Avitus, epp. 78, 93, 94, ed. Peiper, 93, 100–102.

24 Wood 2008, 156; Wood 2016

25 Wood 2016.

imperial government in Italy until his departure from the peninsula in 474.²⁶ The *Forma et Expositio* would appear to have been compiled on the order of Gundobad, probably shortly after the Burgundian civil war of AD 500 – some of the laws seem to reflect the Gibichung's re-establishment of authority following the challenge to his rule made by his brother Godegisel in that year.²⁷ Certainly the collection is the work of men intent on showing that they were still working within the parameters of Roman administration and law.

The other, more famous, Burgundian Code, or more properly *Liber Constitutionum*, was issued by Sigismund in 517, although it was probably based on an earlier compilation, which, like the *Forma et Expositio*, may have been commissioned by Gundobad (and perhaps even, originally, by his uncle Chilperic).²⁸ Is not so closely tied to previous imperial legislation. It even authorises legal practices which were followed by barbarians. Thus, one finds the phrase *secundum consuetudinem barbarorum praebeat iurisiurandum*²⁹ – though it should be noted that oath-taking was not exclusively barbarian, and could be found in Roman (and ecclesiastical) law.³⁰ Indeed in one clause (45) of the Code Gundobad laments that oath-taking was not taken sufficiently seriously by many among *populus noster*, and as a result he allows trial by combat as an alternative.³¹ This form of dispute settlement might be barbarian in origin, though the law does not claim it to be so, and it could just as well have originated in military practice.

As it has come down to us the *prima constitutio* of the *Liber Constitutionum* is signed by a collection of the king's *comites*, all of them with Germanic names.³² Yet it is clear that Sigismund's administration boasted Roman as well as Burgundian *comites*:³³ why the names of the Romans among them are not appended to the law is a mystery, especially given the emphasis in the Code on relations between Romans and non-Romans – and indeed many of the clauses are clearly intended for all under Gibichung rule. Perhaps we should envisage promulgation in more than one gathering, only one of which is documented. Moreover the Code itself, for all its non-classical features, is still heavily dependent on earlier imperial legislation. Even the features that are non-classical may largely derive from Roman provincial law rather than from anything that can be called 'Germanic custom'.³⁴ Roman provincial law, indeed, like Ernst Levy's Vulgar Law, has to be reconstructed in part from the 'barbarian codes'. Sigismund, like Gundobad, seems to have been attempting

²⁶ Martindale 1980, 524–525.

²⁷ Wood 2016. See McDorman (forthcoming).

²⁸ For the date, Wood 1986, 10. For earlier collections, Heather 2011, 127–128.

²⁹ *Liber Constitutionum*, 60, 3, ed. von Salis, 92–93.

³⁰ Wood 1986, 17.

³¹ *Liber Constitutionum*, 45, ed. von Salis, 75–76; Wood 1986, 16–17.

³² *Liber Constitutionum*, *prima constitutio*, ed. von Salis, 34.

³³ *Liber Constitutionum*, *prima constitutio*, 5, ed. von Salis, 31–32.

³⁴ Wood 1996a, 9.

to continue to legislate, within Roman tradition, as a Roman official, and more especially as a would-be *magister militum*.³⁵

As Mark Handley has pointed out, the Burgundian rulers also marked their attachment to the Empire in their use of consular dating.³⁶ Whether they were quite as distinctive in so doing as he claims is questionable: the data on which his statistics were based included forged documents, and letters which originated in the papal curia. Nevertheless the image of the government of the Rhône valley striving to present itself as acting within the imperial tradition is certainly one that tallies with the other evidence.

Thus it would seem that the Gibichungs saw themselves as late Roman officials, and above all as *patricii* and *magistri militum*:³⁷ true, their Emperor had his base in the East, but they were still his servants and were trying to act as far as possible within the parameters laid down during centuries of Roman rule. Not everyone wished them to be seen in this way. In the *Variae* Theodoric addresses Gundobad as *rex Burgundionum*,³⁸ a title which scarcely ever appears in sources from the Rhône valley, where, when we find the term *rex*, it is almost always without the ethnic descriptor.³⁹ There is no acknowledgement in the *Variae* of the Burgundian's Roman office: rather the Gibichung is presented as belonging to Theodoric's family of kings. Writing just before the outbreak of war between Clovis and Alaric, and desperate to prevent hostilities, the Ostrogoth describes Gundobad as his brother, while Alaric is described as a son (and not just of Euric):⁴⁰ equally, the Amal and the Gibichung are elders (*senes*), curbing the rashness of the *iuvenes*, Alaric and Clovis. It is only too easy to be fooled by this into forgetting that all four of these rulers effectively belonged to the same generation: strictly speaking Theodoric and Gundobad might both have been senior because of the Roman offices they held, but they were not superior in any other way, nor were they very much older. In what purport to be slightly earlier letters Theodoric, or rather Cassiodorus, is more dismissive of Gundobad and his people. In a letter, sent to Boethius, commissioning the construction of a water-clock that had been requested by Gundobad, Cassiodorus, in Theodoric's name, is derogatory about the culture of the Burgundian and his people: they have heard of the existence of such clocks, and will be astonished to see one.⁴¹ A related letter, addressed directly to Gundobad, is a little more accurate. Yet although he acknowledges that the Burgundian had spent time in Italy,⁴² Cassiodorus, in Theodoric's name, identifies Gundobad's followers as uncouth: they have only recently been induced to set

³⁵ Wood 2016.

³⁶ Handley 2000.

³⁷ Wood 2016.

³⁸ Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 1, 46; 3, 2, ed. Mommsen, 42, 79.

³⁹ Wood 2003, 254.

⁴⁰ Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 3, 2, 3, ed. Mommsen, 79–80.

⁴¹ Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 1, 45, ed. Mommsen, 39–41.

⁴² Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 1, 46, ed. Mommsen, 42.

aside their tribal way of life. All this is somewhat ironic, coming from a ruler whose people had entered the Roman Empire half a century later than the Burgundians, and whose ruling dynasty had a very much less lengthy association with any imperial government. Cassiodorus can scarcely have addressed such an inaccurate and demeaning a description to Gundobad and his followers in the middle of the first decade of the sixth century. At that point in time Theodoric was keen to have the Gibichung's support, and he was scarcely likely to gratuitously offend a needed ally. So inaccurate is the portrayal of Gundobad and the Burgundians in *Variae* I 46 that one can only surmise that the letter was edited for a Constantinopolitan readership in the early 550s, with a view to making the Ostrogoths look more civilized than other peoples.⁴³

We may get a truer impression of early sixth-century Italian views of Gundobad and his people in the writings of Ennodius. In his panegyric on Theodoric peace with the Burgundians is taken seriously, but is not much discussed.⁴⁴ More attention is paid to them in the *Vita Epifani*, where the saint is sent to negotiate the return of captives following a raid on Italy. The raiders are certainly identified as Burgundian, though their prisoners are not categorised, except as men on whom the productivity of Italy depended.⁴⁵ Gundobad himself is seen as ruling over people who are described as *Burgundiones nostri* (an interesting echo of the vocabulary of the laws of the *Liber Constitutionum*, with their repetition of the phrase *populus noster*).⁴⁶ The king, however, is not defined ethnically: rather he is *rex probatissimus* and *venerandus rex*,⁴⁷ and his early official career in Liguria is at least acknowledged.⁴⁸ This is surely the image that really was pedalled in diplomatic circles in the last decade of the fifth and the first decade of the sixth century.

Yet while we may suspect the image of Gundobad and his Burgundians presented in the *Variae*, Cassiodorus' writings, like those of Ennodius, do raise the question of how the Gibichungs and their people, the *populus noster*, were perceived by others, including the Gallo-Romans of the Rhône valley. Our major source for the period of Gundobad and Sigismund's rule, Avitus of Vienne, makes no comment on the Burgundians in general: indeed the word *Burgundio* never appears in the whole of his surviving œuvre, although at least one of the bishop's correspondents bore a Germanic name.⁴⁹ When he does use the word *gens* the reference would appear to be to all Gundobad's subjects.⁵⁰ Even *barbarus* is rare,⁵¹ though the word is used adject-

⁴³ For a reading of the *Variae* which sees them as being edited for a Constantinopolitan audience around 550, Bjornlie 2012.

⁴⁴ Ennodius, *Panegyric*, 54, ed. Vogel, 209.

⁴⁵ Ennodius, *Vita Epifani*, 138–139, ed. Vogel, 101.

⁴⁶ Ennodius, *Vita Epifani*, 160, 163, 170, ed. Vogel, 104–105.

⁴⁷ Ennodius, *Vita Epifani*, 164, 171, ed. Vogel, 105.

⁴⁸ Ennodius, *Vita Epifani*, 162, ed. Vogel, 104.

⁴⁹ Avitus, ep. 55; 80–81 (to Ansemundus); see also ep. 85 (to Ruclo), ed. Peiper, 83–85, 93–95.

⁵⁰ Avitus, ep. 5, ed. Peiper, 32–33.

tively to indicate a lack of feeling.⁵² *Barbarismus* has exclusively literary connotations for Avitus, and refers to a reported criticism of the bishop, for mis-stressing a word in the course of a sermon.⁵³ If we turn from supposedly Germanic subjects to their rulers, the title *rex* appears in letter-headings, but we cannot be sure that they are Avitan.⁵⁴ In the content of the letters the word is only used of the emperor, who is described as *rex orientis*.⁵⁵ elsewhere Avitus states that Anastasius rules over a *regnum*.⁵⁶ By contrast (in a nice reversal of what conventional wisdom might expect) the Gibichungs are described as Caesars, in comments addressed to the *vir illustre* Heraclius,⁵⁷ and to Sigismund.⁵⁸ On both occasions a Biblical allusion (to Matthew 22.21) is involved, yet this should not lead us to deny the significance of the use of the Roman term. As we have seen, a sequence of Gibichungs held the patriciate and the office of *magister militum*, and one might note that Sidonius had already described a Gibichung as a tetrarch.⁵⁹ The use of this term can scarcely be technical: it surely means no more than that Chilperic was the regional authority. Yet, it was possible to talk of Burgundians as if they were Roman rulers. In the letters addressed to the emperor in Sigismund's name, as we have seen, the language is that of Roman military service.⁶⁰

Almost everything Avitus has to say about his political masters is positive: Gundobad in particular is portrayed as a philosopher and theologian – and although the image (like that in the *Vita Epifani*) is clearly meant to be flattering, we have every reason to believe that the Gibichung was both learned and theologically competent.⁶¹ On the other hand Avitus is critical of Gundobad's brothers and, perhaps, his uncle. One of them (and unfortunately there appears to be a lacuna in the text of the letter in question at a crucial point) had behaved wickedly and endangered the *gens* and the *regio*.⁶² We may guess that the allusion is to Godegisel, who joined Clovis in the war of 500;⁶³ the identification is all the stronger because a later hagiographical text suggests that Avitus' sister, Fuscina, was raped and possibly killed during Godegi-

51 Avitus, epp. 10; 95, ed. Peiper, 44, 102.

52 Avitus, ep. 5, ed. Peiper, 32–33.

53 Avitus, ep. 57, ed. Peiper, 85–87.

54 Shanzer/Wood 2002, 47–57.

55 Avitus, *Contra Eutychianam Haeresim*, 1; 2, ed. Peiper, 15, 22.

56 Avitus, ep. 94, ed. Peiper, 101–102.

57 Avitus, ep. 53, ed. Peiper, 81–82.

58 Avitus, ep. 77, ed. Peiper, 92.

59 Sidonius Apollinaris, ep. V, 7, 1, ed. Loyer, vol. 2, 183.

60 Avitus, epp. 78, 93, 94, ed. Peiper, 93, 100–102.

61 Wood 2004; Wood 2014.

62 Avitus, ep. 5, ed. Peiper, 32–33; see Shanzer/Wood 2002, 208–212.

63 Gregory of Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum*, 2, 32–3, ed. Krusch/Levison, 78–81; Marius of Avenches, *Chronicle*, s.a. 500, ed. Favrod, 68–69.

sel's occupation of Vienne⁶⁴ – and the narrative of the *vita* is compatible with various hints in the bishop's letters and with his poem in praise of virginity, the *De consolatoria castitatis laude*.⁶⁵ In the bishop of Vienne's sermons there is an opaque reference to an unnamed enemy responsible for destroying a church,⁶⁶ which might also refer to Godegisel's forces, but might just refer to Ostrogoths or Alamans. In other words, while Avitus does imply a dislike of some Burgundians, his hostility was directed towards a particular group, and that group was not ethnically defined. Moreover, we know from Marius of Avenches and Gregory of Tours that Godegisel had Roman supporters.⁶⁷ Faction, rather than ethnicity, was what counted.

In Gregory's presentation set down later in the sixth century the Burgundians are an identifiable unit, all the more so because they were Arian.⁶⁸ Certainly Avitus did argue about doctrine with Gundobad, who in name at least was Arian, and the bishop appealed to the ruler, apparently in public, to reveal himself as a Catholic.⁶⁹ But there is no sense in Avitus' work that the Burgundians as a group were, or even could be, categorised as Arian – scarcely surprisingly, given that he does not appear to acknowledge their existence as a people. Certainly there was a faction, closely associated with Gundobad, which was powerful enough to prevent him from abandoning Arianism.⁷⁰ Those involved may, however, have been drawn from a number of ethnic groups: Gundobad, in all probability, inherited the following of his mentor Ricimer, who unquestionably was Arian.⁷¹ By contrast, other members of the royal family, including Gundobad's wife Caretena, and, shortly after 500, Sigismund, were Catholic, as was Chrotechildis, and probably her parents:⁷² indeed there is a case for thinking that Gibichungs in the generation before Gundobad were all Catholic – this, at least is what the Byzantine historian Socrates says.⁷³ In fact, although Avitus has a great deal to say about Arianism, as well as Eutychianism and Nestorianism (neither of them well understood),⁷⁴ in addition to commenting in passing on Donatism,⁷⁵ religion is never linked to a particular ethnic group: there are heretics, but they are never

⁶⁴ *Vita Fuscinae*, in: *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum in Bibliotheca nationali Parisiensi*, vol. 3, 563–565.

⁶⁵ Avitus, *De consolatoria castitatis laude (De Virginitate)*, ed. Peiper, 274–294. See also Avitus, epp. 13–14, ed. Peiper, 46–47.

⁶⁶ Avitus, hom. 19, ed. Peiper, 130–133.

⁶⁷ Gregory of Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum*, 2, 32–33, ed. Krusch/Levison, 78–81; Marius of Avenches, *Chronicle*, s.a. 500, ed. Favrod, 68–69.

⁶⁸ Gregory of Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum*, 2, 28, 34, ed. Krusch/Levison, 73–74, 81–84.

⁶⁹ Perrat/Audin 1957.

⁷⁰ Gregory of Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum*, 2, 34, ed. Krusch/Levison, 81–84; Avitus, epp. 1, 22, 30, ed. Peiper, 12–14, 54–55, 60–62.

⁷¹ Mathisen 2009a.

⁷² Wood 1990, 58–59; Wood 2003, 263–264; Shanzer/Wood 2002, 18–20.

⁷³ Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VII, 30, PG 67, cols. 805–808.

⁷⁴ Avitus, *Contra Eutychianam Haeresim*, 1; 2, ed. Peiper, 15–29; see Wood 2014.

⁷⁵ Avitus, ep. 26, ed. Peiper, 57.

presented as Germanic, Gothic or Burgundian – and some of them are clearly Greek or Roman.

If we look to texts almost contemporary with Avitus's writings for further indications of the categorisation of the followers of the Gibichungs, in the earliest version of the *Vita Abbatum Acaunensium* (arguably written in the 520s)⁷⁶ we meet Hymnemosus, *natione barbarus*, the first abbot of Agaune.⁷⁷ He is the only individual in the text to be identified with any 'ethnic descriptor': neither of the kings who appear in the work are identified as Burgundian or barbarian: nor are any of the Romans who feature in the *vita* identified ethnically. Hymnemosus abandoned court life to become a hermit. It later becomes apparent that the court he abandoned was that of Gundobad, but there is no indication of a conflict between the Catholic barbarian courtier and the Arian king, although the author does later comment on Sigismund's abandonment of heresy, prior to his foundation of the monastery at Agaune.⁷⁸ Why Hymnemosus alone should be identified as a barbarian is something of a mystery, unless his strange name, which appears to be a reworking of the Germanic Imnemos, to imply an aptitude for liturgical performance, was thought curious. One can only note that the description of the holy man as a barbarian can be set alongside the use of the term in the *Liber Constitutionum* of the same date.

Another text that was composed at almost exactly the same time (and, indeed, which probably inspired the *Vita Abbatum Acaunensium*),⁷⁹ the *Vita Patrum Iurensium*, complicates the picture somewhat – although it too never uses the word Burgundian. Here the author certainly was prepared to talk about Gibichungs (another term, of course, which is not used here or indeed in any other source of the period) as threatening the Roman state. In a passage that is not easy to follow we hear that a (clearly unscrupulous) Roman denounced the holy Lupicinus, who had once foretold the arrival of the barbarians:

Are you not that imposter who has been in our midst a long time, the one who about ten years ago arrogantly denigrated the honour of being a Roman citizen when you proclaimed to this region and to our fathers that ruin was imminent?' [*Nonne ... tu es ille dudum noster, qui ante hos decem circiter annos, cum civilitatem Romani apicis arrogans derogares, regioni huic ac patribus iam iamque imminere interitum testabaris?*]⁸⁰

Lupicinus pointed to Chilperic, who was present, affirming that purple had indeed given way to animal skins: that is that barbarian authority had taken over from Roman.⁸¹ The passage is curiously ambivalent: the man denouncing Lupicinus is ob-

⁷⁶ For the date, Theurillat 1954, 32–42.

⁷⁷ *Vita Abbatum Acaunensium absque epitaphiis*, 1, ed. Krusch, 330.

⁷⁸ *Vita Abbatum Acaunensium absque epitaphiis*, 3, ed. Krusch, 331–332.

⁷⁹ For the date and the relationship between the *Vita Patrum Iurensium* and Agaune, see Martine 1968, 53–57.

⁸⁰ *Vita Patrum Iurensium*, 93, ed. Martine, 338–339.

⁸¹ *Vita Patrum Iurensium*, 94, ed. Martine, 338–341.

vously a crook, but the saint uses the image of the fur-clad barbarian, which seems to indicate that there had been a decline in the civilised representation of authority. Moreover, the theme of barbarian take-over recurs elsewhere in the *Vita Patrum Iurensium*. In the section concerned with the life of Lupicinus Ægidius is seen as favouring barbarians, while Agrippinus, whose wisdom is recognised, is not.⁸² One might note, however, that these two individuals appear in other sources, which suggest that they could by no means be described as pro- and anti-barbarian: Ægidius, who was associated with Majorian, emerged as an opponent of Ricimer, and established a 'Roman' enclave in the Soissons region, after the fall of the emperor: Agrippinus, by contrast, appears to have become a client of Ricimer.⁸³ From what can be reconstructed of their careers, it would seem that the author of the *Vita Patrum Iurensium* reduced a complex situation to a picture of black-and-white positions: indeed their rivalry belongs to a world of Gallo-Roman factionalism, in which attitudes towards the presence of barbarians was only one (and not always the major) factor. When we turn to the *Life of Eugendus*, the third part of the *Vita Patrum Iurensium*, there is again an emphasis on the establishment of *barbaria*.⁸⁴ This vocabulary would seem to imply hostility towards the barbarian incomers. Yet, despite this, Chilperic himself is described in glowing terms (he is a *vir singularis ingenii et praecipuae bonitatis*):⁸⁵ so too, Agrippinus is *vir inlustris [...] sagacitate praeditus singulari*.⁸⁶ The author thus sees a major shift in authority, and one that he apparently disliked, but at the same time he could admire individual leaders in the new political establishment.

The date of composition of the *Lives of the Fathers of Jura* would seem to have been around 520, shortly after foundation of the monastery of Agaune by Sigismund.⁸⁷ How we should read the ambivalence of the author is unclear – not least because there are a number of complicating factors, over and above the problem of understanding the relative positions of Ægidius and Agrippinus. In addition, the author of the *Vita Patrum Iurensium* was in contact with members of the community that had already been in existence at Agaune, and which was disrupted by Sigismund⁸⁸ – indeed the text is surely to be understood in the context of the new foundation: moreover, Chilperic, the virtuous barbarian of the *vita*, may well have been at odds with Sigismund's father Gundobad, after the latter's return from

⁸² *Vita Patrum Iurensium*, 96, 101, 107, ed. Martine, 342 343, 346 347, 350 353.

⁸³ Mathisen 1989, 198 200, 217 219.

⁸⁴ *Vita Patrum Iurensium*, 128, ed. Martine, 376 379.

⁸⁵ *Vita Patrum Iurensium*, 93, ed. Martine, 338 339.

⁸⁶ *Vita Patrum Iurensium*, 96, ed. Martine, 342 343.

⁸⁷ Marius of Avenches, *Chronicle*, s.a. 515, ed. Favrod, 70 71.

⁸⁸ See *Vita Patrum Iurensium, praefatio* 2, 3, ed. Martine, 238 241, on the presence of John and Armentarius at Agaune.

Italy.⁸⁹ It may be that praise for Chilperic, who at the same time is presented as a barbarian, might imply some hostility to other members of the Gibichung family: both to Gundobad, who took over his position, and to Sigismund, of whose intentions at Agaune the author would seem to have disapproved. The tone of the *Vita Patrum Iurensium* is, thus, difficult to assess. Moreover, the narrative looks back a generation, so that the confrontation between Lupicinus and the anonymous Roman ought to take us to 470 or thereabouts.

If we turn to this earlier generation the relations between Roman and Burgundian would seem, not surprisingly, to have been rather different from those that we see in the writings of Avitus and in the *Vita Abbatum Acaunensium*. We find something of the ambivalence of the author of the *Vita Patrum Iurensium* in two, unfortunately dateless, homilies in the Eusebius Gallicanus collection – most of which would seem to have originated in the South-East of Gaul.⁹⁰ In one, perhaps written by Faustus of Riez, we find again a barbarian acting more like a Roman:

Behold, the whole earth trembles at the raging of the most powerful *gens*: however a man who might be thought of as a barbarian comes to you as a Roman in spirit, and shut in on every side the barbarity of the Romans does not know either to flee to prayers, by which it may humiliate the stronger, nor has it held back the attack, but faintheartedness intolerant of the yoke refuses the peace offered by the superior to the rebels. [*Ecce omnis terra ad potentissimae gentis fremitum contremiscit; et tamen romano ad te animo uenit qui barbarus putabatur, et ex omni parte conclusa romana barbaries, nec ad preces confugere nouit quibus humiliet fortiorem, congressio nem non sustinuit, ingestam a superiore pacem recusat impatiens iugi rebellis ignauia.*]⁹¹

We might appear to be on less ambiguous ground when we turn to Sidonius Apollinaris: after all, his denunciation of the Burgundians billeted on him, smelling of garlic and rancid butter, and singing songs, is unquestionably hostile, if intentionally comic.⁹² Yet, in a later letter we find him advising Burgundio, surely a man of Burgundian stock, on his literary style.⁹³ Sidonius' views inevitably varied according to the situation at the time of writing: we hear of a Burgundian who killed Petronius Maximus,⁹⁴ and of Burgundians invading Belgica in the time of the emperor Avitus, and then of their being brought under control.⁹⁵ In Majorian's day Sidonius also found it politic to present the Burgundians as a subjugated group.⁹⁶ He would

⁸⁹ The fate of Chilperic is unclear, indeed there is no firm evidence for what happened in the Rhône valley between Gundobad's return from Italy in 474 and the mission of Epiphanius to the Burgundian court twenty years later.

⁹⁰ Eusebius Gallicanus, hom. 25, 3; 51, 8, ed. Glorie, vol. 1, 296, vol. 2, 599–600; Bailey 2010.

⁹¹ Eusebius Gallicanus, hom. 25, 3, ed. Glorie, vol. 1, 296. See Mathisen 1993, 119–120, 214–215.

⁹² Sidonius, carm. XII, ed. Loyen, vol. 1, 103–104; Mathisen 1993, 43.

⁹³ Sidonius, ep. IX, 14, ed. Loyen, vol. 3, 170–173.

⁹⁴ Sidonius, carm. VII, l. 442, ed. Loyen, vol. 1, 71.

⁹⁵ Sidonius, carm. VII, l. 234, 322, ed. Loyen, vol. 1, 63, 67.

⁹⁶ Sidonius, carm. V, l. 476, ed. Loyen, vol. 1, 46.

later present them as subordinate to Euric.⁹⁷ As the barbarians established control in Gaul Sidonius noted the emasculation of the Romans,⁹⁸ and registered the dangers presented by the new powers, not least for those communicating across boundaries.⁹⁹ He was fearful of accusations levelled against relatives and friends before barbarian rulers, yet he felt able to appeal to Chilperic.¹⁰⁰ Indeed Sidonius, the great upholder of *romanitas*, came to understand that it was necessary to cooperate with barbarians, as did others of his acquaintance. Above all there was Arvandus, who had apparently advised Euric not to make peace with the emperor Anthemius, but rather to attack his British allies, and to divide Gaul with the Burgundians.¹⁰¹ Sidonius also knew (like the author of the *Vita Patrum Iurensium* and at least one of the homilists preserved in the Eusebius Gallicanus collection) that barbarians could behave like Romans and vice versa.¹⁰² Indeed, when he encouraged his friend Secundinus to continue writing satire, it was against the subjects of tyrants, and not the tyrants themselves: *nam tua scripta vitiis proficientibus tyrannopolitarum locupletabuntur*.¹⁰³ In the early 470s he noted how well the current Burgundian leadership worked together with the secular and religious aristocracy of the region. Chilperic, the wise Gibichung of the *Vita Patrum Iurensium*, was on excellent terms with bishop Patiens of Lyon, admiring the bishop's feasts, so Sidonius claimed, while the barbarian's wife admired his fasts.¹⁰⁴ In his more political comments the Roman letter-writer is more ambiguous: he refers to Chilperic as *tetrarcha noster*, although it is unclear whether the phrase is intended as a jibe or not.¹⁰⁵ On the other hand, he clearly sympathised with the Gibichung's opposition to the policies of Julius Nepos.¹⁰⁶ For Sidonius in the mid-470s Chilperic's authority, as *magister militum* or even *tetrarcha*, was Roman in a way that Euric's was not – though it was with the Gibichung that Arvandus thought Euric should divide Gaul. It is perhaps worth noting a further complication. In c. 468, when Arvandus was inciting Euric to join the Burgundians against Anthemius, the western emperor still had the backing of Ricimer and his protégé Gundobad, Chilperic's nephew. Although both uncle and nephew would later oppose Julius Nepos, we may have here an indication that previously the affiliations of the two Gibichungs had differed.

Sidonius' acceptance of the presence of barbarian rulers is less surprising than the image of him as the great defender of *romanitas* might suggest. He was, after

⁹⁷ Sidonius, ep. VIII, 9, 5, l. 34, ed. Loyen, vol. 3, 106.

⁹⁸ Sidonius, ep. III, 8, 2, ed. Loyen, vol. 2, 97.

⁹⁹ Sidonius, epp. III, 4, 1; IX, 3, 2; IX, 5, 1; IX, 9, 6, ed. Loyen, vol. 2, 90, vol. 3, 134–135, 140, 149.

¹⁰⁰ Sidonius, epp. V, 6; V, 7, ed. Loyen, vol. 2, 182–185.

¹⁰¹ Sidonius, ep. I, 7, 5, ed. Loyen, vol. 2, 22–23.

¹⁰² Sidonius, ep. III, 3, 3, ed. Loyen, vol. 2, 86–87.

¹⁰³ Sidonius, ep. V, 8, 3, ed. Loyen, vol. 2, 187.

¹⁰⁴ Sidonius, ep. VI, 12, 3, ed. Loyen, vol. 3, 26–27.

¹⁰⁵ Sidonius, ep. V, 7, 1, ed. Loyen, vol. 2, 183.

¹⁰⁶ Sidonius, epp. V, 6, 2; 7, 1, ed. Loyen, vol. 2, 182–183.

all, the son-in-law of Avitus, whose imperial reign had depended on Visigothic support.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, he belonged to the senatorial aristocracy of Lyon which, to the fury of Majorian, welcomed the Burgundians into the middle Rhône valley.¹⁰⁸ Perhaps the most surprising detail which points towards Sidonius' own collaboration with barbarian leaders is to be found in his epitaph, where we learn that *leges barbarico dedit furori*.¹⁰⁹ This statement is all the more remarkable given the letter to his friend Syagrius, where he calls him a *novus Burgundionum Solon in legibus disserendis*, and notes his role as *arbiter* and *disceptator* in their *negotiis mutuis*.¹¹⁰ There may well be a touch of irony in the comparison between Syagrius and the ancient Greek law-giver, but if there is, it must be read against the fact that Sidonius himself was also involved in legislating for barbarians. Unfortunately the epitaph gives no indication of when this took place, or even whether it was in his years in Lyon, when he would have been advising a Gibichung, or later, when he was bishop of Clermont, when it would have been Euric to whom he gave legal advice.

Yet if we cannot be sure of whether Sidonius gave laws to the Burgundians or to the Visigoths, we can, I think, see in his writings the ambiguity we find in the *Vita Patrum Iurensium*. The barbarians could be uncouth, but they could also be more noble than the Romans – an opinion, of course, that was even more forcefully expressed by Salvian¹¹¹ – and, in any case, one had to work with them. In Sidonius' day individuals approved or disapproved of barbarians, and for some ethnic categorisation was an issue, especially in moments of crisis, but there was no blanket hostility. A generation later, by the time that Avitus was bishop, it was possible to ignore the distinction between Roman and barbarian – not that everyone yet did. It was even possible to use the word *barbarus* as a simple descriptor, without any pejorative sense, as we find in the *Liber Constitutionum* and in the *Vita Abbatum Acaunensium*. Not that this was universal: Gelasius and Cassiodorus had a clear sense that barbarians were different, and inferior – an opinion that was at least recognised, if not approved, by the author of the *Vita Patrum Iurensium*. In Gaul, however, the position taken by the two Italians would increasingly have been outdated: Gregory of Tours scarcely worried about the distinction between Romans and Franks, and half of his comments on barbarians come in the single chapter dealing with the adventures of his relative Attalus.¹¹² Venantius Fortunatus, another Italian, could still see himself as an Orpheus among the barbarians,¹¹³ but this was surely a minority view (and may have been a joke). On the other hand, by the early seventh century, while any mean-

107 Mathisen 1993, 83.

108 Harries 1994, 85–86.

109 Epitaphium Sidonii, ed. Lütjohann, in: Sidonius, Epistula et Carmina, ed. Lütjohann 1887, vi. See Wood (forthcoming b).

110 Sidonius, ep. V, 5, 3, ed. Loyen, vol. 2, 180–181.

111 Salvian, *De Gubernatione Dei*, V, 5; 8, ed. Lagarrigue, 314–317; Mathisen 1993, 68–69.

112 Wood 2011, 47–48.

113 Venantius Fortunatus, *Praefatio* 4, ed. Reydellet, 4; George 1992, 25, 137–139.

ingful distinction between Roman and Frank was vanishing, the word 'barbarus' did come, once again, to have pejorative force – being applied to those outside the Merovingian kingdom.¹¹⁴ Classification, in other words, was constantly shifting. The evidence for the two generations, of Sidonius and of Avitus, seems to suggest that one change in attitude, and certainly not the last, took place in the late fifth century – no doubt it was facilitated by the role played by the Gibichungs, and indeed by contemporary barbarian leaders, who insisted on presenting themselves as agents of the Roman Empire, and not as barbarian conquerors. For Avitus and for the author of the *Vita Abbatum Acaunensium* it seems not have have mattered that Gundobad and Sigismund were Burgundians: more important was the fact that they and their followers were shoring up what was left of the Roman state.

114 Wood 2011, 48–49.

Helmut Reimitz

Histories of Romanness in the Merovingian kingdoms

As in most parts of the Roman Empire, there were many ways to be Roman in late Antique Gaul. The inhabitants of the Roman provinces had inherited a wide and ever growing range of opportunities to link themselves and their histories to the idea of being Roman.¹ About a century after Caesar's conquest of Gaul Lucan reports that the citizens of Clermont, the *Averni*, claimed to be Roman relatives and descendants of the Trojan heroes.² Trojan myths were still held in high regard in the Auvergne even four centuries after Lucan. Sidonius Apollinaris, a Roman senator from Clermont, the son in law of the emperor Avitus, and later bishop of the city of Clermont mentions in one of his letters that on a lake near his country villa in the Auvergne, games were held that re-enacted the contest of Drepanum in Virgil's *Aeneid*.³ In the context of the migration and settlements of barbarian groups and armies in Gaul the wide range of cultural and symbolical resources available to identify oneself as belonging to the Roman world seems to have become even more important.⁴ On the one hand, they were mobilized in strategies of distinction from the barbarian world to justify the changes in politics and administration in the Roman provinces.⁵ On the other hand, however, they were also employed by barbarian allies of the Roman Empire who came to live in the provinces. Already in the fourth century, Ammianus Marcellinus knew that the Burgundians claimed to be of the same descent as the Romans.⁶ We might assume that in the second half of the fourth century when officers of Frankish descent rose to the highest offices in the Roman army similar stories became popular among the armies they commanded.⁷ In the course of the fifth century even the term *barbarus* could denote one way of belonging to the Roman world of late Antique Gaul.⁸ However, as much as such efforts in the fifth and sixth century had their foundations in the long past of Romanness they took place under increasingly changing circumstances. In the context of the disintegration of the vital links between the Roman state and its army, its forms of representation, its elites and their cultural canon 'the overall vision that had lent a sense of unity

Gewidmet Jörg Jarnut zum 75. Geburtstag.

1 Woolf 2011a, Pohl 2014, see also the contribution of Guy Halsall in this volume.

2 Lucan, *Bellum civile* 1, ed. and trans. Luck, 72–107.

3 Sidonius Apollinaris, ep. II, 2, 19, ed. Anderson, vol. 1, 434.

4 Halsall 2007a.

5 Drinkwater 2007.

6 Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae* 28.5.11.

7 Wood 1995, Barlow 1995.

8 Wood 2011.

to the political and cultural manifestations of imperial Rome' faded away.⁹ As Maya Maskarinec has observed in her study of histories of Romanness in post-Roman Italy: 'Different meanings of Romanness ceased to overlap and new meanings, shifts and twists did not automatically add up to the prestige of one meaning of one Roman identity anymore.'¹⁰

This process has also recently been described as the result of the destruction of 'central Romanness', when the Roman state ceased to 'maintain its supra-regional political structure over the different provinces and their local and regional elites'.¹¹ However, as Peter Brown has emphasized, the destruction of central Romanness was neither the result of 'barbarian invasions' nor did it lead to the victory of *the* barbarians. The Western Roman empire 'was not so much destroyed as replaced by a score of little Romes rooted in more restricted areas of control' whose political, intellectual and cultural elites 'opted for local leaders, local armies, and local systems of patronage'.¹² This development is particularly well documented in Gaul. It was precisely in the Gallic provinces where a series of power blocs developed in which 'late Roman warlords' established new 'little Romes' in collaboration with local Romans.¹³ The Aquitanian provinces in modern southern France were governed by Visigothic kings ruling over a large Roman population that had come to accept the rule of these *reges* without a direct mandate of the Roman Empire.¹⁴ In Burgundy the Roman imperial legitimation of their government seems to have been more important to the 'barbarian' rulers themselves than to most parts of their Roman population.¹⁵ North of the Loire, the *magister militum* Syagrius became the king of a Roman *regnum*.¹⁶ In the northeast, some districts and cities came to be commanded by kings whom our sources identify mostly as Frankish, who also worked closely together with the elites of the respective cities and regions.¹⁷

To be sure not all members of the Roman elites in these regions supported the political and social reconfiguration of the former Gaulish provinces. Sidonius Apollinaris, for instance, has left us a letter collection in which he relies to some extent on the assumption that different meanings of Romanness could still add up to one overall vision of Roman identity.¹⁸ By the time Sidonius died between 480 and 490, however, it had become clear that many members of the local and regional elites of Gaul were more than willing to create new local or regional Romannesses in cooperation

⁹ Pohl 2014, 409. Cf. Brown 2012, 481–527; Pollheimer 2014.

¹⁰ Maskarinec 2013.

¹¹ Heather 2005, 432–443.

¹² Brown 2013a, xxvi–xxvii.

¹³ Halsall 2007a, 303–310.

¹⁴ Wolfram 2009; Pohl 2005a; Halsall 2007a.

¹⁵ Wood 2009.

¹⁶ Halsall 2007a; MacGeorge 2002; Jarnut 1994.

¹⁷ Pohl 2005a; Halsall 2007a; Becher 2010.

¹⁸ Harries 1994, but cf. Brown 2012; Pohl (forthcoming c).

with the ‘barbarian’ rulers. While Sidonius Apollinaris seems to have had some commitment to a central Romanness, the letters he exchanged with members of the Roman elite show many of his friends already in close cooperation with the new rulers, and some of them in important roles in the reconfiguration of Roman models and structures and the formation of new social and political frameworks.

So we learn that one of Sidonius’ friends, Syagrius, the great-grandson of a consul, was apparently involved in new legislative groundwork happening at the Burgundian court.¹⁹ Sidonius even attested that he was the ‘Solon’ of the Burgundians. Likewise, Syagrius became so fluent in Burgundian that according to Sidonius, the barbarians were afraid of uttering barbarisms in their own language in front of him.²⁰ Sidonius’ letters are not the only sources that show the cooperation of local and regional elites. We see them acting as political advisors, in high military and political offices, and as bishops at the courts of the new rulers of the successor states of the Western Roman Empire, negotiating contracts among different populations, cities, and political leaders, helping draft new legal frameworks, and writing speeches for the new rulers.²¹ Sidonius himself may have been more involved in such work than he lets us know in his letter collection as a remark in Sidonius’ epitaph might suggest.²²

In any case, at the beginning of the sixth century we see his sons as active members of the elites working together with the new rulers.²³ On the epitaph for their father in Clermont they remembered him as a powerful and prominent member of the Roman senatorial class: ‘noble through his titles, powerful through his offices, famous through his literary works.’ For them, the reference to his involvement in the drafting of new laws might well have been what a true Roman of his time needed to do: imposing laws on the barbarian fury for the realms that were competing with each other, and restoring peace through advice.²⁴

A few generations after Sidonius’ death, his epitaph may also have been read by another citizen of Clermont, Gregory of Tours, who wrote about Sidonius in his *Ten Books of Histories* in the last decades of the sixth century.²⁵ Gregory knew Sidonius’ letters too and he also mentions that Sidonius was *ex senatoribus primis*. But Gregory’s portrayal of Sidonius focuses above all on his office as pastor and bishop. In the *Histories* Sidonius’ eloquence and rhetorical skills are above all in the service

¹⁹ Liebs 1999, Wood 2016.

²⁰ Sidonius Apollinaris, ep. V, 5, ed. Anderson, vol. 2, 180–183.

²¹ Wood 2009; Mathisen 1993. See also the contributions in Diefenbach/Müller 2013.

²² [...] *leges barbarico dedit furori; discordantibus inter arma regnis pacem consilio reduxit amplo*, (*Sidonius’ epitaph*, ed. van Waarden, at <http://www.sidoniusapollinaris.nl/epitaph.htm>; and the comments in Wood 2016, 6 with n. 47).

²³ Brown 2012, 392–407.

²⁴ Cf. above n. 22.

²⁵ On Gregory see now the contributions in Murray 2016; Mitchell/Wood 2002 and Gauthier/Galinié 1997; Goffart 2005; Heinzelmann 2001; Wood 1994b; for an excellent overview over the research on Gregory before the year 2000 see also Patzold 2000.

of God. Gregory himself compiled a book about the masses Sidonius had written. How Sidonius employed his eloquence and rhetorical skills in his office is highlighted in an anecdote: after some malicious people had stolen the mass book, Sidonius simply held the whole mass extemporaneously, without even pausing for a moment.²⁶

That Gregory was oblivious to Sidonius' Romanness is quite typical for Gregory. The Roman past does not figure prominently in his *Histories*, which barely provide any substantive information about the history of the Roman Empire at all.²⁷ Even in the distant past, the *Romani* hardly appear in Gregory's *Histories*. In the whole first book of the *Histories*, that gives an overview of the history of the world from Adam to the death of Saint Martin at the end of the fourth century, it is only actually once that Gregory presents the *Romani* as agents in history: in the context of the devastating defeat of the Roman army in their battle against the Goths at Adrianople in 378. Gregory's source for this passage was the Chronicle of Jerome that Gregory had used as a source of information throughout the first book.²⁸ While in other passages Gregory did not highlight the name of the Romans or even skips over it completely, he adds it to the passage of Jerome twice.²⁹ This passage might indicate that Gregory was not oblivious to Roman history, but merely selective in his approach to it.

To be sure, above all Gregory was interested in the long past of Christian Gaul. His main goal was to explore the historiographical foundations of a Christian vision of community.³⁰ In the histories of martyrs, saints and holy men, he mapped out a spiritual topography and the spiritual foundations of the social and political frameworks of his post-Roman regnum.³¹ These frameworks had evolved from the spiritual foundations of Gaul and not vice versa. This was a future oriented vision in which the members of the society were held together by their individual decisions to strive for a common future and their mutual responsibilities for the salvation of each single member of their society.³² From early on the leaders of the Christian church, saints, bishop and holy men, had shouldered the responsibility of guiding their societies into this future. This history connected them with Gregory's own time and linked both past and present Christian communities, to the foreseeable and unforeseeable future.

²⁶ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 2, 22, ed. Krusch/Levison, 67.

²⁷ Mitchell 2002.

²⁸ Cf. the introduction to the edition of Bruno Krusch, Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum*, ed. Krusch/Levison, xix xx.

²⁹ Cf. Jerome, *Chronicon*, ed. Helm, 249: *Lacrimabile bellum in Thracia in quo deserente equitum praesidio Romanae legiones a Gothis cinctae usque ad interuicem caesae sunt*; with Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 1, 41, ed. Krusch/Levison, 28: *Post haec bellum saevissimum in Thracias Romani gessire, in quo tanta stragis fuit, ut Romani, amisso equorum praesidio, pedibus fugirent*.

³⁰ Brown 2012, 503–505; and Brown 2013b.

³¹ Brown 2013a; Brown 2002; Heinzelmann 2001; Van Dam 1993; De Nie 2015.

³² Reimitz 2015a, 44–50.

In promoting his Christian vision of community, however, Gregory was well aware of history's potential for the formation of identities. But he was also aware of its dangers. The historiographical medium confronted Gregory not only with the opportunity to promote his vision of community, but also with a fundamental problem. In writing a new church history, he offered a powerful social framework for a number of differing social groupings. In this respect he also had to deal with the history of these social groupings inevitably giving them some historical profile and identity. But Gregory did not want to provide contemporary individuals and groups with a past that could legitimate their positions as independent from his history of the Church in Gaul. He therefore worked constantly to counteract that danger of history. His aim was to destabilise social roles and identities that might emerge as alternative resources of identification in (his) history. In so doing he also instrumentalized his historical narrative to contrast his Christian vision of community with the instability, vulnerability and transience of social frameworks that were not held together by the will of its members to belong to Gregory's Christendom. In this regard Gregory's Christian vision of community offered what anthropologists call 'a rival cognition' – an alternative interpretative paradigm that justifies those who would refuse to fulfill the expectations of (other) networks of identity and obligation.³³

As we shall see, Gregory feared Roman history and identity as an alternative focus for the formation of networks of identity and obligation to his Christian vision of community. But his strategies to undermine the unfolding of their potential in his *Histories* were rather evasive. I would thus suggest turning briefly to some examples of how Gregory dealt with other collective identities where his historiographical efforts to challenge alternative visions of community are easier to observe. Their study and comparison with Gregory's portrayal of Roman history will help us detect Gregory's efforts to control or even undermine the potential of Romanness as a focus for identification in his *Histories*.

As I have argued elsewhere at greater length, one of the alternative visions of community that Gregory tried to undermine in his *Decem libri historiarum* was the vision of a common Frankish identity. In response to the increasing salience of the Frankish name for the social and political integration of his *regnum* he tried to actively prevent it from unfolding as such in his History.³⁴ When the Franks first make their appearance in his *Histories*, Gregory presents his readers with a long discussion about the impossibility of finding reliable sources about their history before they arrived on the borders of Gaul.³⁵ A lengthy discussion of a variety of sources proves that there were only isolated, discordant and sometimes contradictory reports, and concludes that the history of the Franks during that time must remain unclear and uncertain.

³³ For an application of the concept in late Antiquity and further references, see Cooper 2009.

³⁴ Reimitz 2015a, 51–73.

³⁵ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 2, 9, ed. Krusch/Levison, 52–58.

At the same time, Gregory denies the Franks any access to Christian resources of salvation before their contact with Christianity in Gaul. In the chapter immediately following the lengthy discussion of the impossibility of writing a Frankish history before their arrival in Gaul, he also discusses the paganism of the *Franci fanatici*.³⁶ Nearly every paragraph in this chapter is introduced by a lament that the Franks had no prophets and teachers, unlike the people of Israel. It is only after their arrival in Gaul that the Franks could enter into contact with the Christian world which eventually led to the decision of their first Christian king, Clovis, to convert to Catholic Christianity at the end of book 2.³⁷ Gregory's narrative demonstrates that it was not the mutual bonds of worldly solidarities such as Frankish identity but the conversion to the correct form of Christian belief, which secured the providential mission of the *regnum* ruled by the kings of the Franks. After the end of book 2 Gregory states that Clovis the confessor had extended his *regnum per totas Gallias* and his life to an eternal existence in the *regnum Dei*.³⁸ From this point onward, however, the Franks disappear as a sharply definable group in the *regnum*. Whereas Franks figure as a collective in Gregory's narrative describing the establishment of their kingdom, he avoids ascribing agency to the Franks after the conversion of Clovis. Already in the account of Clovis' baptism Gregory does not address the *populus* that was baptized with the king as Franks. Gregory only mentions 3000 men from his army – *de exercitu suo* – who were also baptized along with Clovis.³⁹

To be sure, one problem for Gregory was that he observed an increasing salience of Frankish identity as a focus for political and social integration in precisely these decades that he was working on in his *Histories*.⁴⁰ But Frankish identity was not the problem – it was a symptom. Any forms of political solidarity in the here and now were provisional, and should not be mistaken for the peace and order in the world which was to come. This was true for all the *gentes* of Gregory's world, not only the *gens Francorum*. As agents of history, they appear only in the second book and their role changes dramatically from the end of this book onwards.

Gregory subjects the term *gens* itself to this transformative process. In particular, starting at the end of book 2, Gregory explores the wide 'playing field' and different meanings of the term *gens*. *Gentes* appear as subject to a *regnum*, or as the *gentes* beyond the river Rhine who were an important military power base of the eastern Merovingian kings.⁴¹ *Gentes* can be other peoples too; the Lombards are called a

³⁶ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 2, 10, ed. Krusch/Levison, 58–60.

³⁷ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 2, 31, ed. Krusch/Levison, 76–78. On the dating of Clovis' conversion, see Wood 1994a, 43–49; see also Spencer 1993; Shanzer 1998; cf. however Becher 2010, 174–203.

³⁸ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 3, praef., ed. Krusch/Levison, 96–97.

³⁹ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 2, 31, ed. Krusch/Levison, 76–78.

⁴⁰ See Reimitz 2015a, 98–116; see also Reimitz (forthcoming a) and Reimitz (forthcoming b).

⁴¹ See Ewig 1976c, 166–171.

gens several times.⁴² But Gregory also uses the term to denote a family or familial network – not least that of the Merovingian kings. And *gentes* could also be contingents of the army of the Franks – the *exercitus (Francorum)*, which alongside Burgundians and Saxons consisted of *Byturgi, Sanctonici or Petrocorici* – the people from different cities of Gaul.⁴³ In Gregory's Christendom, these various forms of *gentes* do not structure the history of the *regnum*. Instead these different groups and groupings merge into its perspective for a common future.

Gregory had already primed this process in the first book of the *Histories*, which he begins with a brief summary of the history of the Old Testament. After having treated the history of the world from Adam to Moses in only a few chapters he takes considerably more time and space to write about the exodus of the Israelites out of Egypt. He even enters into a small exegetical treatment in which he sees the crossing of the Red Sea as the prefiguration of baptism (*tipum nostri baptismatis*).⁴⁴ Gregory responds in this passage to what he presents as a widely shared understanding that the tribes – *tribus* – of Israel had gone through the Red Sea in separate groups. According to the opinion of some exegetes, the sea had even opened up more pathways to accommodate these different tribes. Gregory rejected this interpretation. When the Israelites undertook their *transitus* through the Red Sea – *tipum nostri baptismatis* – the division of the *populus* in tribes did not play any part. Against these opinions Gregory cites the Apostle Paul who had forcefully emphasized that all were baptized beneath the cloud. Tribal and ethnic distinctions played no role in baptism. They dissolved—as they did at the end of the second book, when, after the baptism of Clovis and the three thousand men of his army, the different individuals and groups called *Franci* merge into the spiritual and social texture of *Galliae*.

And this was not only true for the Franks but also for other collectives in the *regnum*. Parallel to the Franks, other *gentes* such as the Alemans, Thuringians, Burgundians and even the Saxons are subject to the same literary strategy.⁴⁵ But it seems that Gregory did not find it necessary to make the same effort to deconstruct them as foci for social and political integration in his *Histories* as he had in the case of the *Franci*.

This brings us back to the Romans or Romanness in Gregory's *Histories*. It seems that in this case Gregory did regard it necessary to pay similarly energetic efforts to challenge Roman history and identity as alternative foci for social and political integration.⁴⁶ It was of course impossible to deconstruct the long Roman past in the same way as Gregory had done for the history of the early Franks and their kings.

⁴² E.g. Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 6, 6; 9, 25; 9, 29; 9, 3, ed. Krusch/Levison, 272–276, 444–445, 447–448, 415–416; see Pohl 2002f.

⁴³ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 8, 30, ed. Krusch/Levison, 393.

⁴⁴ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 1, 10, ed. Krusch/Levison, 11–13.

⁴⁵ See Krutzler 2013, 510–512.

⁴⁶ See Krutzler 2009, 156–159.

But Gregory presents his readers with an extremely selective portrayal of Roman history.⁴⁷ The only Roman king he mentions is Servius, which is all he includes of early Roman history.⁴⁸ From there he immediately jumps to Julius Caesar and Augustus, the emperor who ruled when Jesus Christ was born and Lyon was founded – the city whose name was later to become famous through the blood of martyrs.⁴⁹ Gregory does not count the succession of emperors since Caesar and Augustus, but instead he counts the succession of persecutors of the Church: Trajan, for example, was the third emperor since Nero to order the persecution of Christians.⁵⁰

As already mentioned, *Romani* hardly appear in Gregory's first book as active agents in history, and when they do it is in the context of a devastating defeat.⁵¹ In the second book, the *Romani* are localized above all in Gaul. With the appearance of the *Franci* in the ninth chapter of this book, Gregory gives a short overview of the political and ethnic geography of Gaul. Whereas the Franks lived in the regions along the Rhine, the *Romani* inhabited the regions west of the Rhine to the Loire, and the territory south of Loire belonged to the kingdom of the Goths.⁵² It appears that the *Romani* had become one of the *gentes* in Gaul. The impression is further reinforced in the following chapters. After the Franks had crossed the Rhine and extended their rule to the city of Cambrai the *Romani* appear as allies or opponents of the Franks in Gaul: under the *magister militum* Aegidius who himself was *ex Romanis*,⁵³ the Romans and Franks fought together against the Saxons. Aegidius even became the king of the Franks for some time after the Franks had driven out Clovis' father, king Childeric, because of his excessive abuse of power and the abuse of their women and daughters. Childeric, however, managed to return and was soon succeeded by Clovis who would eventually rule as the first Christian king and extend his *regnum per totas Gallias*.⁵⁴ One of his first conquests was the kingdom of the Romans, now ruled by the son of Aegidius, the *rex Romanorum* Syagrius.⁵⁵ From that point on, the *Romani* of Gaul were absorbed into Gregory's *regnum*. After Clovis' death at the end of the second book, they completely disappear from Gregory's *Histories*. And with one exception (to which I will come back below) the same is true for the name *Romanus* in the remaining eight books of Gregory's *Histories*.

A group which does survive the end of the *Romani* in Gregory's *Histories*, however, are the *senatores* – a term that Gregory uses for members of the upper class in

47 Mitchell 2002.

48 Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 1, 17, ed. Krusch/Levison, 16.

49 Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 1, 18, ed. Krusch/Levison, 16–17.

50 Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 1, 27, ed. Krusch/Levison, 21.

51 Cf. above, n. 29.

52 *In his autem partibus, id est ad meridianam plagam habitabant Romani usque ad Ligerem fluvium*, Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 2, 9, ed. Krusch/Levison, 52–58.

53 Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 2, 12, ed. Krusch/Levison, 61–62.

54 Cf. above, p. 294.

55 Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 2, 27, ed. Krusch/Levison, 71–73.

Gaul and which appears frequently throughout his *Histories*.⁵⁶ Their culture and education let them appear particularly well suited for episcopal office and Gregory presents himself as a member of this class.⁵⁷ But even here – in Gregory's stories about the *senatores* – we can observe how he tried to deconstruct their history as a stable foundation of their place in his Christian regnum.

Gregory does not let his readers forget that, like the Franks, the *senatores* had a pagan past, and he depicts these pagan pasts of both Franks and *senatores* with striking terminological similarities. Gregory's chapter on the paganism of the Franks, which immediately follows his inconclusive search for the early Frankish kings, describes the Franks before Clovis as followers of pagan cults: *Sed haec generatio fanaticis semper cultibus visa est obsequium praebuisse*.⁵⁸ This was something that the Franks shared with the *senatores* of earlier times. For when the Christianization of Gaul began with seven preachers sent from Rome, Gregory tells us that the *senatores* were likewise committed to paganism: *Senatores vero [...] fanaticis erant tunc cultibus obligati*.⁵⁹

To be sure, members of the senatorial class had much better credentials for taking on the important social and political roles in Gregory's *Histories* than most of the other inhabitants of Gaul. But their background did not necessarily legitimate this position. A good example is a compatriot of Gregory, the emperor Avitus who was *cives Avernus* and *unus ex senatoribus*.⁶⁰ The family still lived in Clermont when Gregory grew up there and it might well be that Gregory was even related to the Aviti. Avitus, who ruled as emperor for the short time from 455 to 456, did not receive good press in the *Histories*. Other chronicles particularly from Gaul and Spain actually outline a largely positive picture of Avitus, the Gallic *Augustus*, as a capable and accomplished ruler.⁶¹ Gregory presents him less favorably as someone who, because of his excessive ambition, claimed to control the *imperium Romanum*. In any case, the senators soon overthrew him, when he started to act *luxuriose*. The same expression was used for Clovis' father Childeric before he was expelled by his Frankish subjects after Childeric *cum esset nimia in luxuria* had started to abuse the daughters of the Franks.⁶² Gregory does not tell us what kind of *luxuria* Avitus liked. But the seventh-century chronicler Fredegar would add to his epitome from Gregory's a story with some graphic jokes about Avitus abusing the wives of the senators.⁶³ Even in

⁵⁶ See Heinzelmann 2001, 8–11.

⁵⁷ See for instance on his own predecessor as bishop of Tours and uncle: *Eufronius presbiter ordinatus, ex genere illo, quod superius senatores nuncupavimus* (Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 10, 31, ed. Krusch/Levison, 534); see Heinzelmann 2001, 7–11.

⁵⁸ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 2, 10, ed. Krusch/Levison, 58–60.

⁵⁹ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 1, 31, ed. Krusch/Levison, 24.

⁶⁰ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 2, 11, ed. Krusch/Levison, 60–61.

⁶¹ E.g. Hydatius, *Chronicon*, ed. and trans. Burgess, 105–109; see also Halsall 2007a, 257–262.

⁶² Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 2, 12, ed. Krusch/Levison, 61–62.

⁶³ Fredegar, *Chronicae* 3, 7 and 10, ed. Krusch, 94, 95.

Gregory's text, the parallels between Avitus and Childeric, who was likewise deposed by the Franks because of his *luxuria*, are striking. However, these are not just random terminological parallels but part of Gregory's strategy to undermine both, the memory of the Gallic emperor of the Romans as well as the history of the senators in order to provide attractive foci for identification in his *Histories*.

But the dangers of history that Gregory anticipated were not only some general spiritual reflections of a distant historian and theologian. As bishop of Tours and keeper of one of the most prestigious shrines, Gregory was closely interwoven with the political and social fabric of his regnum and thus well suited to observe the political and social trends to which he reacted in his *Histories*. A good example is Gregory's portrayal of king Chilperic who, as Martin Heinzelmann has shown, was Gregory's model for how *not* to rule a Christian regnum. Chilperic, however, is not portrayed as an uncontrollable barbarian like his ancestor Childeric. His portrayal as a bad king instead focuses on his adoption and cultivation of Roman forms of representation and rule. Chilperic had the amphitheaters in Paris and Soissons rebuilt and put on expensive circus games,⁶⁴ and like the Roman Emperor Claudius he wanted to reform the Latin alphabet.⁶⁵ He wrote Latin poems and even a theological treatise.⁶⁶ With these stories Chilperic has become a champion of Late Antiquity in modern historiography, whose representation and legitimization of rule indicates the continuity and significance of Roman tradition. But in Gregory of Tours' text, it is precisely by means of these stories that the bishop, from an old senatorial family, criticizes Chilperic.⁶⁷ Chilperic's theology bordered on heresy, the writing reforms were never put into practice and in order to finance his expensive self-representation, and his wars, Chilperic demanded many new and unjust taxes and squandered the money, which in fact belonged to the poor.⁶⁸ The *Histories* portray Chilperic as a ruler who oriented himself after models that, in Gregory's views, belonged to the past.

Gregory's concerns about the orientation towards Roman and imperial models were, however, closely connected to a relatively recent political development: the intensified interaction of the Merovingian kings and elites with the Roman empire of his present – the Byzantine Empire. The Byzantine connection became particularly important in the period of intensified conflicts between the grandsons of Clovis over the partition of the Merovingian kingdoms in the late 560s.⁶⁹ There are good reasons to assume that one of the kings of Gregory's time, Sigibert I, concluded his

⁶⁴ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 5, 17, ed. Krusch/Levison, 216.

⁶⁵ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 5, 44, ed. Krusch/Levison, 254.

⁶⁶ Chilperic's only surviving poem is a hymn, *Ymnus in solemnitate sancti Medardi episcopi*, ed. Strecker, 455.

⁶⁷ Cf. Wood 1994a, 68.

⁶⁸ Cf. Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 5, 17; 5, 44, ed. Krusch/Levison, 216, 254; and the 'obituary' of Chilperic, Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 6, 46, ed. Krusch/Levison, 319–320.

⁶⁹ See Loseby 2016.

peace-treaty with Byzantium as early as 568. It was most likely in this context that the relic of the True Cross came from Byzantium to the monastery of Poitiers to which Gregory had close connections.⁷⁰ Gregory obviously disagreed with the political strategies of Sigibert in this respect – the Byzantine emperor Justin figures in his *Histories* as a heretical ruler who went insane at the end of his reign.⁷¹ It is very likely that Gregory deliberately suppressed this background to the importation of the relics.⁷² His disapproval of Justin might have played a role, but Gregory was also highly suspicious of overly close contacts with the Byzantine Empire in general.

This becomes most obvious in an episode where Gregory is more outspoken about the Byzantine connections of Sigibert's half-brother Chilperic. This is the only instance in which Gregory uses the term *Romani* after the second book. Gregory tells us about a meeting with the king, where Chilperic tries to impress Gregory with presents he had received from the Byzantine Emperor Maurice.⁷³ He shows him a number of large gold coins, each of them a pound's weight, with the inscription: *gloria Romanorum*. But Chilperic also presents Gregory with a great basin of fifty pounds' weight which he had had made of gold and gems. Chilperic had made them, he explains to Gregory, for the glory of the Frankish people – *ad exornandam et nobilitandam Francorum gentem*. Gregory was not impressed. He portrays Chilperic's ambitions as a ridiculous imitation of the Byzantine emperor and empire, which fits very well the other passages where Gregory criticizes Chilperic for his misguided orientation to Roman models.

But there was clearly more at stake than just the anti-Frankish or anti-Byzantine resentment of a member of the old senatorial elite of Southern Gaul. For Gregory the orientation to and the interaction with the Roman past and present was threatening his Christian vision for the future of the regnum on several levels. One aspect was the increasing mutual stress on a shared Christian orthodoxy between the Merovingians and Byzantium supported by Justin II's decision for Chalcedonian Christianity. It is precisely in this period that the Byzantine historian Agathias emphasized not only the civility of the Franks but also the common Christian belief of the Roman Empire and the *regnum Francorum*.⁷⁴ But from Gregory's perspective this may well have interfered with his Christian vision of community for the Merovingian regnum, which

⁷⁰ Esders 2014b.

⁷¹ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 4, 40, ed. Krusch/Levison, 171–173. For the contrast of Gregory's negative image of Justin with all other extant Byzantine sources on Justin which portray him in a very positive light, see Schreiner 2010, 405–406, 413. See also Loseby 2016, 462–497, with a more comprehensive discussion concluding that 'Gregory had far more material at his disposal that he needed or wanted to incorporate into his *Histories*' (ibid., 497).

⁷² For his suppression of the political context of the relic transfer see the forthcoming dissertation of Pia Bockius, (Freie Universität Berlin). I am very grateful to Pia Bockius for sharing her insights with me.

⁷³ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 6, 2, ed. Krusch/Levison, 266–267.

⁷⁴ Agathias, *Histories* 1, 2, 3–5, trans. Frendo, 10; Cameron 1968, 95–140; Gottlieb 1969, 149–158; for a different interpretation see Kaldellis 2013, 21–24.

he so strongly tied to the specific spiritual topography and Christian history of Gaul. And while the boundaries of Gregory's Christendom became more permeable and wider as a result of the interaction with the Roman world, the same interactions increasingly bolstered social frameworks and obligations. In Gregory's view this process limited the rooms for maneuver he envisaged for the unfolding of his Christian vision of community.

To be sure, Gregory's perspective is just one of many in sixth-century Gaul. How representative it was has concerned scholars for a long time, 'mainly because of the simple fact that the *Histories* themselves provide the vast majority of information relating to their context'.⁷⁵ In many cases we have to be content with the fact that Gregory only provides us with his side of the story. But as regards his concerns about rival visions of communities the extant evidence suggests that they were not unfounded. It was indeed the time during which Gregory worked on his *Histories* when the Merovingian kings started to use the title *rex Francorum* more frequently.⁷⁶ The use of Roman myth and history for the self-orchestration of Merovingian elites is also well documented in the political panegyrics that his contemporary and friend Venantius Fortunatus wrote for the kings and nobles of the Merovingian kingdom.⁷⁷ Venantius, however, did not just imitate older Roman literary models. He actually developed them into a new poetic idiom for the changed circumstances of the Merovingian regnum.⁷⁸

Venantius grew up in northern Italy and first came to Gaul in 566 on the occasion of the Austrasian king Sigibert's marriage with the Visigothic princess Brunhild, where he delivered a splendid celebratory poem.⁷⁹ The grandiose orchestration of the marriage was an important part of Sigibert's attempt to strategically position himself vis-à-vis his brothers and fellow Merovingian kings after the death of their father, Chlothar I, in 561.⁸⁰ Their constant competition and conflicts over territories, loyalties and resources is well documented in Gregory's *Histories*, and Gregory was also a protégé of Sigibert and Brunhild. As it happens, it is from one of Venantius' poems that we know that Sigibert and Brunhild had supported Gregory's succession from his uncle Eufronius as bishop of Tours.⁸¹

Gregory passes over the circumstances of his appointment in silence.⁸² But he wrote about the marriage of Sigibert and Brunhild in his *Histories*. Here Gregory contrasted Sigibert's choice with those of his brothers, who 'were taking wives that were

75 Wood 1994b, 55–56.

76 Reimitz 2015a, 98–103.

77 George 1992; Roberts 2009; and Ehlen 2011, on Venantius and Gregory see now: Roberts 2016.

78 Cf. below, p. 301–302 with n. 85.

79 On the marriage of Sigibert and Brunhild see Dailey 2015, 80–117; Dumézil 2008, 113–130; on the poem George 1992, 153–157; and Ehlen 2011, 221–256.

80 See Esders 2016a; Widdowson 2009, 1–22; Wood 1994b, 88–101; Ewig 1976c.

81 Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina* V, 3, ed. Leo, 106–107.

82 Heinzelmann 2001, 38–39.

completely unworthy of them'.⁸³ A rhetor like Venantius was more than welcome to further underline the royal and 'international' dimension of Sigibert's alliance, both through his own literary presence at the wedding and with his poetry. The poem for the royal couple presented to them by Venantius is indeed full of allusions and quotations referring to Roman history, myths and imperial grandeur. Granted Christian morals and ideals are present throughout the laudation, but there is no sign of Gregory's anxiety to ensure a dominant place for them alongside Roman history and myth.

Venantius begins his poem by bowing to the assembled *duces* and *procures* who have come to celebrate the *Caesareum iugum*.⁸⁴ He compares Sigibert not only to Caesar, but also to Mars and Achilles. Venantius calls him *rector tot gentibus* who holds sway over the *cardo occiduus*, the western hemisphere, and his marriage to Brunhild is the union of two *regna*—that is, *Germania* and *Hispania*. To be sure, the panegyric genre at the end of the sixth century allowed for, and even demanded, that authors find ways to establish such literary juxtapositions. Yet Venantius' literary work was more than just a combination. As Michael Roberts has recently shown, he also developed a new style, forging 'a new kind of praise poetry well suited to the conditions of reception in Merovingian Gaul'.⁸⁵ The development of his own poetic idiom gave him the flexibility he needed to adapt the Roman rhetorical tradition to a post-Roman context.⁸⁶ The adaptation of Roman tradition for contemporary circumstances is a theme that appears again and again in Venantius' panegyrics.

In many of his poems for the Merovingian kings, Venantius praises their eloquence as the essential element for their political and social success. This eloquence was not bound to Latin, but also applied to the different languages of the Merovingian world. In a poem written for Sigibert's brother, Charibert, Venantius praises both the king's eloquence in Latin as well as in his own language.⁸⁷ Charibert brings back the joys of old in present times. For this, the barbarian world (*Barbaries*) on one side and the Roman world (*Romania*) on the other join in applauding him. In various tongues, a single acclamation praises him (*diversis linguis laus sonat una viri*),⁸⁸ and Charibert understands them all. In a poem for the third royal brother, Chilperic, written more than a decade later, Venantius exhibits his own multilingual abilities, even though he hides behind a fictional interpreter to do so. If an interpreter, says Venantius, had been at hand, the king's name would have been rendered as *adiutor fortis* 'powerful helper', which was Venantius' Latin interpretation of his name well suited for the occasion of the delivery of the poem: a trial against the poet's patron

⁸³ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 4, 27, ed. Krusch/Levison, 160.

⁸⁴ Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina* VI, 1, ed. Leo, 129–130; see George 1992, 25, n. 5.

⁸⁵ Roberts 2009, 38, 53–60; see also Reydellet 1981, 297–344, who also emphasizes the innovative aspects of Venantius' political panegyric, *ibid.*, 305.

⁸⁶ See also Buchberger 2016, 293–307.

⁸⁷ Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina* VI, 2, ed. Leo, 131–134.

⁸⁸ Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina* VI, 2, ed. Leo, 131; trans. George, 34.

Gregory of Tours.⁸⁹ The poet, however, shares these linguistic skills with Chilperic. Like Venantius, Chilperic is presented as well-trained in the different languages of his kingdom. He understood them ‘without the aid of an interpreter’, which Venantius presents as a key virtue for the successful mediation between different interests and groups in his *regnum*.⁹⁰

The transformation of Roman eloquence and education is not only portrayed as a key to the kingdom’s social and political integration in Venantius’ poetry for kings. In a number of poems for members of the governing class Venantius constructs a similar relationship between post-Roman eloquence and political success. There are for instance several poems for the *dux* of the Champagne, Lupus, a descendent of a Roman family who made his career at the court of the Austrasian kings.⁹¹ In the first of the poems that was composed for the occasion of Lupus’ appointment as *dux* of the Champagne, Venantius even compares the dedicatee with Scipio, Cato and Pompey.⁹² With Lupus as *dux*, Rome has returned. Just as he stresses in the poems for kings, and with similar motifs, Venantius attributes Lupus’ political success as the leader of the army, as judge or as ambassador to his eloquence and education.⁹³ Among all his virtues, it is Lupus’ eloquence that is of the greatest benefit to the people.⁹⁴ In a second poem to Lupus, Venantius elaborates even more on the relationship between education and integration:

Let the Romans applaud you, the barbarian with the lute, the Greek with epic lyric, the Briton with the crowd. Let these tell of you as brave, those as mighty in justice; let the one declare you as fleet footed in fight, the other as swift in learning.⁹⁵

Venantius also emphasized Lupus’ descent from a *stirps Romana* as part of his praise. Lupus was indeed a member of an old Roman family holding large estates in Aquitaine and the Champagne. But while Venantius tried to style Lupus as the ideal cultural broker who, through his education and eloquence in different languages, would be able to renew *romanitas* in the future integration of the kingdom,⁹⁶ Lupus and the members of his family saw it the other way round. They used their prestige and resources to establish their position as members of the new governing class of a ‘Frankish’ kingdom at the royal courts in the Northeast of the Merovingian kingdom. One of his sons was Johannes, of whom we have only a tenth-century source that testifies to his office as *dux*.⁹⁷ We know more about Lupus’ other son,

⁸⁹ Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina* IX, 1, ed. Leo, 201–205; see Haubrichs 2004a, 88.

⁹⁰ Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina* IX, 1, ed. Leo, 203; trans. George, 78.

⁹¹ Selle Hosbach 1974, 71–72.

⁹² Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina* VII, 7, ed. Leo, 159–161.

⁹³ Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina* VII, 7, ed. Leo, 159–161.

⁹⁴ Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina* VII, 7, ed. Leo, 159: *sed facunda magis plebe tua munera prosunt*.

⁹⁵ Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina* VII, 8, ed. Leo, 161–163.

⁹⁶ Cf. above, nn. 85–86.

⁹⁷ Selle Hosbach 1974, 117.

who received the name of his father through its Germanic translation -*wulfa – Rom-(w)ulf, who was *comes palatii* at the court of Childebert II in Metz/Reims and later became bishop of Reims.⁹⁸ With the decision to translate Lupus into the Germanic *wulf* the family also decided for a different tradition of namegiving, that of *zweigliedrige Personennamen* (two tier system).⁹⁹ This had already been the case for Lupus' brother Magnulf where the two parts of the name could have been interpreted as **Magan-wulfa* 'Power-wolf' or as a combination of a Germanic *wulf* with the Latin *magnus* – 'great'. This tradition was passed on to the next generation as Lupus' son was named Romulf which could be interpreted either as a combination of the Germanic *wulf* with *Roma* or as a combination of two Germanic parts as *Hrōma-wulfa* – 'glory-wolf'.¹⁰⁰ It might well be that Romaric, the founder of the monastery of Remiremont, was a descendant of the family of Lupus and Romulf.¹⁰¹ If this was the case, then it was that part of the name, which obviously played around with the Latin and Germanic meanings, that was passed on to the next generation. In any case, the naming strategies of the family show its members indeed as cultural brokers between the Roman and Germanic worlds, although clearly not in the way Venantius Fortunatus had suggested.¹⁰²

Gregory knew Lupus and his son Romulf, and they both appear in his *Histories* too.¹⁰³ But the history of the family leads us into a social milieu very different from that of Gregory of Tours. They and their descendants became a well-established group among the governing classes of the Eastern and South-Eastern parts of the Merovingian kingdom. It was a milieu in which a very different history from that of Gregory originated, the chronicle of Fredegar. The compilers of the chronicle wrote their history more than a generation after Gregory's death in 594, but they knew Gregory's *Histories* well, at least in their Merovingian six-book version, which was quite popular throughout the Merovingian period.¹⁰⁴ The compilers used this abbreviated version as a source for their own narrative of the first centuries of Merovingian history in Gaul until the end of the sixth century. But in their excerpts from the text they reworked Gregory's text comprehensively and literally turned Gregory's historical vision upside down. The oldest extant redaction of the chronicle was

⁹⁸ Pietri/Heijmans 2013, vol. 2, 1626–1629.

⁹⁹ Haubrichs 2004b; Haubrichs 2004a.

¹⁰⁰ For this example and for a fascinating discussion on the wider context see now Haubrichs, 2014b (Lupus' family, with n. 130).

¹⁰¹ Fox 2014, 100–107; see now also Jonas of Bobbio, *Life of Columbanus, Life of John of Réomé, and Life of Vedast*, trans. O'Hara/Wood, 49, 53 and 199–201.

¹⁰² Venantius might have well been aware of this, as he also dedicated a poem to Lupus' brother, Magnulf, see Haubrichs 2004b, 192; as Haubrichs has shown Venantius as well as his dedicatees were well aware of the meaning of the names in different languages (see, for instance, Haubrichs 2004a, 88–89).

¹⁰³ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 4, 46; 6, 4; 9, 14; 10, 19, ed. Krusch/Levison, 180–183, 267–268, 428, 510–513.

¹⁰⁴ Reimitz 2015a, 133–159.

most likely compiled in the 660s and originated in the context of the Pippinid family.¹⁰⁵ But older layers still shine through. Although the layering itself is beyond recovery, there are indications that an earlier version of the chronicle was passed on to the Pippinid family through the monastery of Remiremont, the foundation of Romaric.¹⁰⁶ This must remain speculation, but the historiographical project of the chroniclers resembles in many ways the cultural synthesis of the Roman wolves.

The compilers did not only work with Gregory's *Histories*. They actually embedded their excerpts in a very different historiographical structure from the one Gregory had chosen for his *Ten Books of Histories*. While Gregory oriented himself after the model of an ecclesiastical history, the compilers decided to continue the historiographical tradition of the Christian world chronicle.¹⁰⁷ They embedded their excerpts from Gregory into a 'chain of chronicles' that started with the *Liber generationis*, the title given to the Latin version of the Greek chronicle of Hippolytus of Rome.¹⁰⁸ The next section was the chronicle of Jerome, which the compilers comprehensively reworked and changed as well, and the continuation of the Jerome Chronicle by Hydatius. Then comes the rewriting of Gregory's *Histories* after which follows as a new book the compiler's own account of the history from 584 to the 640s.

The strategies taken by the compilers to insert the Franks into their chain of chronicles to give them a long and prestigious past in the history of the world has been well observed and studied. This was certainly directed against the intentions of Gregory of Tours.¹⁰⁹ While Gregory's *Histories* give us an image of varieties of Frankishness that are not necessarily linked to each other in a socially and ethnically highly stratified and diverse world, the chronicle embellished the role and meaning of the Franks in their history and provided them with a prestigious origin in the mythical past. They were – just like the Romans – descendants of the heroes of Troy.¹¹⁰

The compilers, however, not only changed the role and meaning of the Franks in their history. They also changed the social imagination of the world to which the Franks belonged, and presented a view of their post-Roman world as a world divided among peoples.¹¹¹ In their chronicle, however, this social imagination of the world builds on a careful reconfiguration of Roman history, which becomes most obvious in the reorganization of the chronicle of Jerome. The compilers not only made selections and changes to the text but also changed the optical structure of the text as it

105 Wood 1994c; Fischer 2014b.

106 Reimitz 2015a, 190–194.

107 Burgess/Kulikowski 2013, Wood 2015; McKitterick 2006.

108 See the overview over content and context of the compilation of the Fredegar chronicle in Collins 2007; and the introduction to Devillers/Meyers 2001, esp. 10–27.

109 See Reimitz 2004; and Coumert 2007, 295–324; Reimitz 2015a, 166–177, Ewig 1998, for an overview over the historiography before the beginning of the 21st century, see Anton 2003.

110 Fredegar, *Chronicae* 2, 4–6 and 3, 2, ed. Krusch, 45–46, 93.

111 The following summarizes the longer discussion in Reimitz 2015a, 222–231.

had been developed by Eusebius and passed on to the Latin world by Jerome.¹¹² In its original structure, the chronicle presented a historical view of the world that was organized in columns, which represented the histories of different peoples – the Assyrians, the Hebrews, the Medes, the Athenians, Romans, Macedonians etc. But in the course of history or time, the columns became fewer and fewer. Some kingdoms and empires just ended, but most became absorbed into the history of the Roman Empire until there was only one column left for the history of the Roman Christian Empire.

There are still two Merovingian manuscripts of the Jerome chronicle which both preserve the original layout, and the compilers of the Fredegar chronicle most likely worked with a similar exemplar to produce their excerpts and their version of the Jerome chronicle.¹¹³ But they clearly did not want to depict a process in which the history of kingdoms and peoples was eventually absorbed by the history of the Christian Roman Empire. They thus decided to avoid presenting the early history in parallel columns and copied Jerome's text as a linear text. The effect of such a reorganization into a linear text was that there was no particular principle of selection of kingdoms and peoples and thus every group, people or kingdom that was mentioned in the text could be considered as having its own equal place in this history.

The rearrangement simply allowed more space for other peoples and the compilers of the chronicle did indeed use the space – and not only for the Franks. They added to Jerome's account stories about the Burgundians, even a little *origo* and an interesting addition regarding their contract with the Roman population along the Rhône.¹¹⁴ They brought reports on *Alemanni*, *Saxones*, *Brittani*, some of which were already mentioned in Jerome, some of which were not. What's more, this rearrangement presented a history that was from the beginning a history of kingdoms and peoples. Unlike in the presentation of Jerome, the history of the Roman Empire did not change that much in this regard. It actually helped to define the profile of many of the groups who had a history in the Roman past and would have one also after the end of the Western Roman Empire. This, however, becomes only evident in the continuation of Jerome's chronicle, first by Hydatius, then by the excerpts and the reworking of Gregory of Tours' *Histories* and in the independent part of the narrative, the so-called book IV of the chronicle.

In these parts of the narrative the *Romani* who had been deleted from the historical record in Gregory's *Histories* make a come-back, and become part of the world of *gentes* in the transformation of the Roman world. In their post-Roman history *Romani* appear in quite prominent roles. Clovis' matchmaker for his marriage with Chrode-

¹¹² Grafton/Williams 2008, 133–177. For the transmission of the layout see also Schöne 1900. For a description of the layout see Jerome, *Chronicon*, praef., 1–19, where Jerome himself explains the system and how to navigate in it and then adds his translation of Eusebius' preface with the comments of the latter.

¹¹³ Valenciennes, BM 495, CLA VI, nr. 841 (Luxeuil); and Bern, Burgerbibliothek 219, CLA VII, nr. 860 ('written in a French centre with Insular connexions'); see already Krusch 1882, 472–475.

¹¹⁴ Fredegar, *Chronicae* 2, 46, ed. Krusch, 68.

childe, a certain Aurelianus, is presented as *quidam ex Romanis*.¹¹⁵ Gregory had just mentioned a *legatio* that Clovis sent to Chrodechilde's uncle, the Burgundian king Gundobad.¹¹⁶ When the chroniclers recounted the union of Clovis' grandson Theudebert with Deoteria they also added that she was *genere Romana*.¹¹⁷ The chronicle reports the prominent place of *Romani* in Merovingian society also in the more recent past of the kingdom. In the time of Theuderic (d. 613) we hear of several people of Roman descent as holders of high offices such as *maior domus*, *patricius* or *dux*.¹¹⁸

A particularly interesting example for how the *Romani* were interwoven with the political and ethnic texture of the kingdom is the chronicle's report of a campaign against the Basques in the 630s. King Dagobert I had summoned an army in Burgundy that marched against the Basques under the command of his referendary Chadoindus and several *duces* of different descent. The majority were Franks, but there was also the *patricius* Willebad who was *de genere Burgundionum*, a Saxon duke with the name Aeghyna and the *dux ex genere Romano* Chramnelenus.¹¹⁹ The army did a good job. It was a particularly successful campaign, which not only ended in a triumphal victory over the Basques but also brought the Britons under Merovingian rule.¹²⁰ From the account of the chronicle one might well get the impression that the Merovingian kingdom had indeed succeeded the Roman Empire. There are several accounts of Roman historians who had portrayed the diverse origins and multi-ethnic composition of the Roman armies as an expression of its power and strength as well as the successful political integration of diverse groups into the Roman Empire.¹²¹ In the account of the campaign in the Fredegar chronicle, however, there was no empire anymore and the Romans had become a part of the ethnic fabric of its successor kingdom.

* * *

The reorganization of Roman history in the Fredegar chronicle, however, should not mislead us to the assumption that a new concept of Romanness had just replaced older ones. As we have seen, Gregory's rather evasive strategies in the *Histories* did not provide any specific history or concept to rework or replace. Gregory's approach might be regarded as particularly radical, but his heightened, or probably overreaching sensibility speaks to the shifting matrices of identity and solidarity

¹¹⁵ Fredegar, *Chronicae* 3, 18, ed. Krusch, 99–100.

¹¹⁶ Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* 2, 28, ed. Krusch, 53.

¹¹⁷ Fredegar, *Chronicae* 3, 8, ed. Krusch, 94, with Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 3, 22, ed. Krusch/Levison, 122.

¹¹⁸ Fredegar, *Chronicae* 4, 24 (Protadius, *maior domus*); 4, 28 (Claudius, *maior domus*); 4, 29 (Ricomeres, *patricius*); 4, 78 (Chramnelenus, *dux*), ed. Krusch, 130, 132, 159–161; see also Fischer 2014a.

¹¹⁹ Fredegar, *Chronicae* 4, 78, ed. Krusch, 159–161.

¹²⁰ Fredegar, *Chronicae* 4, 78, ed. Krusch, 159–161.

¹²¹ E.g. Livius 30, 33, 8–13; Tacitus, *Agricola* 32; Procopius, *De bello gothico VIII*, 30, 17–20, ed. and trans. Dewing, 367–369. I should like to thank Randolph Ford for the references, see also his discussion of the trope in Ford 2015, 295–296.

within which he was operating. In this regard Gregory's *Histories* are representative, which might also explain the wide transmission and reception of his *Histories* in the Merovingian period.¹²² But we can also compare Gregory's efforts with contemporary attempts to reconfigure the social, political and intellectual resources of the Roman world. Venantius Fortunatus' poetry provides us with many examples of such efforts to adapt Roman history and myth for a post-Roman world. What we observe is a process in which the adoption and adaptation of Roman resources and traditions were compared to or even contrasted with their foundations in the Roman Empire which through the very same comparison came to belong to a different Roman world. In some cases such discontinuities with Rome just happened over time, in other cases they were more consciously sought and emphasized. But they all contributed to the 'release' of Romanness from the 'sense of unity to the political and cultural manifestations of imperial Rome' and opened Romanness to many possible appropriations both new and/or traditional. Its integration with Frankish history and into an imagination of the world as a world divided among peoples in the Fredegar chronicle is just one of them. The ethnic conception of Roman identity did not replace or absorb older meanings of Romanness. Instead, it added another one to them and further complicated the unresolved tensions between the different meanings of Romanness and Roman identities as well the interactions between them and other forms of social identity in the post-Roman world.

¹²² See Reimitz 2016, with further literature.

Jamie Kreiner

Romanness in Merovingian hagiography: A case study in class and political culture

This essay looks at Romanness in Merovingian hagiography in the seventh and early eighth centuries, a time when the kingdom was rethinking what the qualifications and responsibilities of its ruling class ought to be. Hagiography, notoriously, is a stylized sort of narrative portraiture: the *vitae* (or ‘lives’ of exemplary individuals) only show us what the hagiographers wanted their readers and listeners to see. But that is precisely what makes the material so useful for thinking about what identities meant and how they were used. Merovingian hagiographers highlighted single protagonists in order to represent, and thereby to rationalize, social and ethical systems that applied to the kingdom as a whole. The singular stood for the plural. And in order for that rhetorical argument to work, in order for the single case to speak for the whole, the identities that the hagiographers selected as significant were identities that already meant things to the readers to whom these texts were addressed: in this genre, the success of a particular politics depended fundamentally upon the legibility and legitimacy of the protagonist who embodied them. As a result, the profiles the hagiographers offer us are surprisingly precise and particular, and that includes the element of Romanness.

A heterogeneous kingdom

It is not immediately obvious that the hagiographers have much to tell us about the subtle structures of identity because their protagonists seem to be identical, not only spiritually but also demographically: most Merovingian saints are infamously elitist. They are queens. They are courtiers. Their families are rich, powerful, and well connected. Even the saints who are remembered as martyrs were usually former warriors themselves, men who had once fought for the crown. Their audiences, likewise, comprised the elite: the organization of the Merovingian government, the conduct of persons with power, and even the definition of power itself, were issues that preoccupied many of them.¹ Such conversations were characteristic of a kingdom whose politics had become more ‘centripetal’ when the Merovingian king Clothar II (584–629/30) had taken control of the entire realm in 613 after a long period of civil war: in the seventh and eighth centuries, the social networks and horizons of ambitious elites ranged further than they had before. Men and women stretched past their cities to concentrate with new intensity on the royal court, for the privileges of advis-

¹ Fouracre 1990, esp. 29–37; Fouracre/Gerberding 1996; Helvétius 2012; Kreiner 2014b; for this development in the first half of the Merovingian period see Diefenbach 2013; Heinzelmann 1973.

ing, fighting, and adjudicating for the king and working with others who did the same. As part of the process of restructuring their politics, elites engaged in intensive discussions about who was qualified to steer the kingdom and why.²

So it seems like a bittersweet blessing for social history that so much hagiography survives from the Merovingian period in a time of significant transformation, and yet it rarely seems to descend from the upper reaches of the kingdom's stratosphere. That is an impression that the hagiographers made an effort to cultivate. The words they used to describe social status are polarizing. They applied words like *altus*, *celsus*, *egregius*, *nobilis*, and *sublimis* to their protagonists. They used words like *pauperes* – 'the poor', 'the powerless' – to describe the crowds below who benefitted from those protagonists' care.

This language of binary opposites was similar to the language that the great late antique preachers – and before them, Paul and the Prophets and the Psalms – had spoken.³ In the Merovingian kingdom such a vertiginous sense of demography had its own particular benefits. The image of a society split between the very high and the very low deepened the sense of debasement to which hagiography's protagonists voluntarily subjected themselves. It was exhilarating to witness powerful persons abandon their privileges to give themselves over to God. It was thrilling and even baffling to watch the exchange of familiar forms of precious capital for a sort of wealth that was neither immediate nor tangible.

In hagiography those dramatic moments were supposed to prove, through the unambiguous investments that elite Christians made, that no matter how great your origins, it was your behavior that earned the true reward of salvation. They proved that a magnificent God was at work to fulfill such spectacular transactions: *this* was a god who 'makes great men small, who even raises a poor person from excrement and has him take a seat among the princes of his people!'⁴ That is why the hagiographers would also qualify their glowing biographical sketches with comments of the sort that Arnulf of Metz's hagiographer made about the bishop and royal favorite: 'he was as high-ranked as could be and nobly born and extremely rich in worldly property, but then again he was always nobler and more exalted in

² These reflections were not limited to hagiography. See e.g. Reimitz 2013, on contemporary historians' interest in defining political leadership. On changes to Gaul's political structure after 613 see (selectively) Sprandel 1957; Wood 1994a, 140–272; Banaji 2009, 62–66; Loseby 2013. A fuller discussion of elite identification follows.

³ Heinzelmann 1997; P. Brown 2012, esp. 72–90.

⁴ As Balthild's hagiographer posited the queen's own origins as a slave: *Et ideo merito ipsius laus canenda est prius in sanctorum meritis sive virtutibus, qui de parvis efficit magnos, immo qui de stercore elevat pauperem et eum consedere facit cum principibus populi sui, sicut et presentem venerabilem magnamque feminam, domnam Balthildem reginam* (*Vita Balthildis* 2, ed. Krusch, 483).

his loyalty to Christ'.⁵ As far as these writers saw it, you had to have both kinds of greatness to make the antithesis really crackle.

These riveting enactments were not meant to persuade the Merovingian elite to leave the heights for the forest or desert but rather to insist that they survey the land with greater consideration, from the privileged vantage point they already occupied. The particular forms of expenditure and care that the saints of Merovingian hagiography so ostentatiously exhibited were presented as arguments to the kingdom's ruling class that they could and should earn influence and prestige through counterintuitive forms of exchange – to put it succinctly, by expending money or land in the service of other people, in order to demonstrate one's ability to foster peace and productivity in the kingdom.⁶

The hagiographers' stark dramatization of Merovingian politics spoke to a society that, as historians and archaeologists are increasingly coming to see, was far more finely gradated than the *vitae* implied. There were slaves captured in warfare, unfree persons who had inherited their status from their parents, and persons who had sold themselves into servitude. This was also a kingdom where, as Alice Rio has shown, 'unfreedom could be part-time, temporary or reversible'. One Merovingian contract form, for example, records a loan repayment plan of *n* days of service per week, and only negligence in rendering that work would entitle the lord to inflict violence on the debtor as he would other *servientes*.⁷ There were free persons who were economically 'dependent' on others by owing heavy or light obligations to landowners in exchange for tenancy. There were migratory laborers who could make good money by voluntarily taking on time-sensitive and exhausting work, particularly that of reaping, and there was even better money to be made by managing those labor pools as a contractor.⁸ There were landed freeholders, too, but even they were not a homogeneous group: some had always owned their own land, and others had earned it by assarting for wealthier 'developers'.⁹ In the cities and suburbs, there were residents who were destitute and residents who were self-sufficient. There were counts and their staffs, and bishops and their staffs, and the

5 *Beatus igitur Arnulfus episcopus prosapie genitus Francorum, altus satis et nobilis parentibus atque oppulentissimus in rebus saeculi fuit; sed nobilior deinceps et sublimior in fide Christi permansit* (*Vita Arnulfi* 1, ed. Krusch, 432).

6 Kreiner 2014b, 140–229.

7 Rio 2017, 19–174; Rio 2006, quotation p. 31; contract in *Marculfi formularum libri duo*, §2.27, ed. Uddholm, p. 264 ([...] *taliter inter nus convinit, ut, dum ipsus solidus de meo proprio vobis reddere potuero, dies tantus in unaquaque ebdomada servicio vestro, qualem mihi vos aut agentes vestri iniungeritis, facere debeam. Quod si exinde negliens aut tardus apparuero, licenciam habeatis sicut ceteros servientes vestros disciplina corporalem inponere* [...]); discussed by Rio 2006, 28–29.

8 Shaw 2013, 48–92, whose evidence for Gaul is predominantly Gregory of Tours' works, as a basis of comparison to Shaw's primary focus on North Africa.

9 Banaji 2009; Rio 2006, 23–27; Rio 2017, 175–211.

titles that went along with those offices were held by men of very different backgrounds and means.¹⁰

Even higher up the scale, elite status was a function of many possible variables, so the calculus was complicated.¹¹ Landowning, for example, was an important source of wealth and status, but within that broad category there was a lot of variation. The resources and influence of landowners depended on how much land they controlled and what commodities that land was capable of producing.¹² It also depended on the respect and influence they and their networks were capable of generating through voluntary exchanges in both material and cultural capital.¹³ Archaeologists are also finding that there were mercantile elites in the Merovingian and Anglo-Saxon worlds whose identities and relationships took distinctly different pathways. There were traders who operated among the emporia in the North Sea and the Channel who were wealthy without owning land. Their work also gave them ready access to commodities that landlocked elites saw as luxuries—things like fine pottery, coinage, and jewelry. Their brisk maritime business may have also depended on landowners who did not share the same privileges as other landowning elites, but who operated large farms that specialized in particular products for the market. This at least seems to have been the case in Frisia, the Rhine delta, and Flanders.¹⁴

The ultimate measure of elite identity was official and unofficial service at the royal courts, and even better the coveted title of *vir inluster*, which did not refer to a specific post in the royal bureaucracy nor to some heritable distinction but was instead an honorific bestowed on select royal officials: only nine of the forty-nine elites who signed their names to a charter that Clovis II issued in 654 used it.¹⁵ But the attraction of the Merovingian courts in the seventh and eighth centuries was also a source of conflict, because very few of elites' privileges and advantages could be counted on to be permanent, least of all the approbation of one's peers and the king, which meant that competition – sometimes violent, sometimes not – was also a regular feature of elite self-definition.¹⁶ It is precisely the spare structures,

10 Murray 1988; Loseby 2006; Krause 2006; Patzold 2010; Kreiner 2011, 332–346; Witschel 2013, 175–189; Loseby 2013; Patzold 2014.

11 Wickham 2011; Le Jan 2011; Goetz 2011.

12 On commodities see below, and also Lebecqz 2000; Theuvs 2001.

13 Le Jan 1995; Rosenwein 1999; Devroey/Feller/Le Jan 2010; Fox 2014.

14 Loveluck/Tys 2006; Loveluck 2012.

15 This surviving papyrus is the only Merovingian charter that includes a list of signatories: *DD regum Francorum e stirpe Merovingica* 85, ed. Kölzer, vol. 1, 216–220. On the *vir inluster* title see Wolf 1967, 116–127; Bergmann 1997, calculation of *viri inlustres* at 99; Reimitz 2015a, esp. 295–308; Reimitz 2015b. Sadalberga's hagiographer played on the title to suggest that the abbess' father Gundoin, the duke of Alsace, was even better than the average title holder: *tandem pervenit [sc. Eustasius] ad quendam virum illustrissimum, opibus et divitiis opulentum famaque secundum saeculi dignitatem praeclarum et aulicis rebus aptum nomine Gundoinum* (*Vita Sadalbergae* 4, ed. Krusch/Levison, 52 – emphasis mine).

16 Le Jan 2001; Fouracre 2003; Fouracre 2004.

or fluidity even, of Merovingian elitism that made political discourse a valuable operation, and it is why the hagiographers concentrated their attention on determining what justified the acquisition of power and what governed its uses. But my concern in the rest of this essay is not the substance of this discourse but rather the rhetorical challenge it presented when a person whose political action was celebrated as saintly was not recognizably powerful in the first place: this is where we will find out how Romanness worked.¹⁷

The Merovingian middle

Once we know how diverse the resources and ranks within the Merovingian kingdom were, it is easier to catch certain subtle cues in the hagiographical record that suggest that some protagonists were not as privileged or influential as the others. Praeiectus of Clermont was one of these.¹⁸ Praeiectus' entry into episcopal office was difficult and messy because someone else wanted the position, too. Praeiectus was the underdog. He was not as well connected as the other candidate was, not by a long shot; and the citizens of Clermont told him that he was not wealthy enough to be bishop anyway. The other guy got the job. But he died forty days after taking office. This was Praeiectus' second chance, and yet even this time around he was not the city's first choice. Most citizens wanted the count of Clermont to be bishop, and so did the king. The count was also apparently a *vir inluster*, which would have meant that he was already a very close collaborator with the crown.¹⁹ Praeiectus became bishop, but only because the count withdrew his candidacy, apparently as a favor to Praeiectus.²⁰

There are other signs that Praeiectus was not the same sort of elite that we usually meet in the Merovingian *vitae*. His hagiographer is delighted to report that news of Praeiectus' miraculous accomplishments had reached the ears of Chrodobert of Tours. Chrodobert, unlike Praeiectus, moved in very high circles. He had been an ally to Grimoald, the mayor of the Austrasian palace, and even after Grimoald fell out of royal favor, Chrodobert still maintained strong connections with elites at the other major Merovingian court center, at Paris. A series of wickedly funny letters that Chrodobert batted back and forth with Importunus of Paris tell us that he was also well educated.²¹ But Chrodobert never made the effort to meet Praeiectus

¹⁷ See Steffen Diefenbach's important argument that saintly portraits of the fifth and sixth centuries only make sense in consideration of the protagonists' elite credentials, which were in flux after 600: Diefenbach 2013, 123–136.

¹⁸ *Passio Praeiecti*, ed. Krusch/Levison; Fouracre 1990, 21–26; Fouracre/Gerberding 1996, 254–270.

¹⁹ *Passio Praeiecti* 15, ed. Krusch/Levison, 235; Ebling 1974, no. 184, 157–158.

²⁰ *Passio Praeiecti* 12–13, ed. Krusch/Levison, 232–233.

²¹ Hen 2012; Shanzer 2010; the letters are edited in *Les cinq épîtres rimées*, ed. Walstra. On Grimoald and his connections: Becher 1994, with qualifications by Wood 1996b, 782–783.

personally. Instead he sent his deacon to pay a visit for him. Praeiectus' hagiographer still thought this was worth mentioning.²²

It also seems to have been the case that Praeiectus managed to upset the Aviti family, who counted many senators and Gallic luminaries among their ancestors – including most recently Desiderius of Cahors, who had served at the court at Paris and was on familiar terms with some of the most powerful people in the kingdom.²³ The conflict between Praeiectus and the Aviti turned on a couple of property disputes, one of which reached the royal court. It was only the second time that Praeiectus had ever been in the presence of the king. Praeiectus won the case, but he was later killed at his home by a gang of twenty warriors with unspecified motives – a gang, his hagiographer said, that included at least two 'senators' among them.²⁴

All told Praeiectus' career was modest and unstable, and this makes the hagiographer's introduction to the bishop especially interesting. She says that Praeiectus was born in the Auvergne, and that 'he shone with the pedigree of Roman birth. His father was Gundolenus, his mother was called Eligia, and she originated from a very long line of Catholic men, men who had greatly distinguished themselves in the Christian religion and through whom the Lord also displayed many miracles'.²⁵ (I say 'she' because there is a good chance that Praeiectus' hagiographer was a nun, possibly even his relative.²⁶ And if that was the case she would have had something to gain from this representation too.)

In any case this is the package of attributes that the hagiographer uses to present Praeiectus to us at the very start – his birthplace in the Auvergne, his Romanness, and his ancient Christian lineage. Those elements are probably working together here to compensate for Praeiectus' lack of other elite resources. 'Romanness' was still a respectable distinction in Clermont at this time. The sinister 'senators' and the Aviti were not the only 'Romans' around: Praeiectus' only real mentor and advocate was remembered as Roman, too. That was Genesius of Clermont, Praeiectus' penultimate predecessor, whose tombstone praised the bishop for being a 'Roman

²² *Passio Praeiecti* 18, ed. Krusch/Levison, 236–237.

²³ Fouracre/Gerberding 1996, 262–267; Stroheker 1948, appendix I; Shanzer/Wood 2002, 4–6; Mathisen 2013a, 464–467. Desiderius died around 655; Praeiectus was murdered in 676 and his legal troubles with the Aviti arose in the reign of Childeric II (662/3–675).

²⁴ *Passio Praeiecti* 22–27, 29–30, 31 (*Bodo vero et Placidus e sinatoribus viri, qui consensum preberant de ipsum martyrii locum [...]*), ed. Krusch/Levison, 238–244, quotation 243.

²⁵ *Igitur sanctus Praeiectus Arvernensium provincia ortus est et Romane generis stemate praefulsit. Huius pater Gundolenus, mater vero eius Eligia vocitata est, qui originem duxere ex longinqua prosapia, catholicis viris, religionem Christiane dignissimis, per quos etiam Dominus multa miracula declaravit.* (*Passio Praeiecti* 1, ed. Krusch/Levison, 226).

²⁶ As Paul Fouracre and Richard Gerberding point out, Gundila/Gundilana, the abbess of Chama lières (a monastery that Praeiectus founded), is mentioned on two separate occasions in the text, and the patronymic similarity between her name and the name of Praeiectus' father – plus another relative named Gundobert, mentioned in *Passio Praeiecti* 6 – suggests that they were probably related: Fouracre/Gerberding 1996, 257–260.

man', probably by virtue of his family (*genere*) or possibly by a more diffuse kind of kinship (*gente*). If the persons who buried and commemorated Genesius understood Romanness as an element of family identity, then Romanness may have also been a publicly acknowledged attribute of the count of Clermont who nearly became bishop instead of Praeiectus: this count was also named Genesius, and he was probably related to the bishop who shared his name.²⁷ So Roman identity, and sometimes specifically senatorial identity, was a quality that inhabitants of the Auvergne ascribed to certain families whose members also happened to hold offices and control substantial resources, especially land and warriors. But what did Praeiectus' hagiographer mean when she used the concept to describe a person who seemed unlike the other 'Roman men' of his homeland? I suspect that she used Romanness to close that very gap – to suggest, in other words, that Praeiectus was from a historically powerful family, even if his own difficult history did not seem to show it.

This suggestion would remain speculative were it not for a second Merovingian *vita* that makes a very similar rhetorical move. That text is the *Vita Gaugerici*, which was written around 650, a few decades before the *Passio Praeiecti*.²⁸ Its protagonist is Gaugeric of Cambrai, and Gaugeric seems to have the same sort of shortcomings as Praeiectus. His hagiographer says that Gaugeric's family was middling: he was born in a town called Ebosium 'to parents who were neither the first nor the last in worldly ranking'. But like Praeiectus' parents they too were 'Roman by birth' and 'Christian by religion'.²⁹

The *Vita Gaugerici*, like the *Passio Praeiecti*, seems to be using Romanness to imply that each saint's family had at some point in the past enjoyed imperial honors or service. That claim was more plausible because both men were born in former imperial 'hot spots' – Praeiectus in the Auvergne, and Gaugeric in a former Roman military camp that sat squarely on a road running between Trier and Reims. Reims had been home to imperial administrators and military officers in the fourth century, when Trier had been an imperial capital.³⁰

Trier held fast to its sense of superiority into the Merovingian period. In the assertive, competitive genre of funerary inscriptions, Trier's gravestones were the nois-

²⁷ Genesius' tombstone: 'Vir gente romanus / nacione clarus': *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures à la renaissance carolingienne*, vol. 8, *Aquitaine première*, ed. Prévot, no. 25, 138–144. Prévot suspected that *gente* was supposed to be *genere*, a word that is far more common to funerary epigraphy. On the probable connection between bishop and count, who were possibly members of or allied with the old senatorial family of the Hortensi, see Fouracre/Gerberding 1996, 261–263.

²⁸ *Vita Gaugerici*, ed. Krusch; Mériaux 2010, esp. 168–170.

²⁹ *Igitur beatissimus Gaugericus episcopus Germani oppido Ebosio castro oriundus fuit parentibus secundum saeculi dignitatem non primis, non ultimis, Romanis nationes, christianitates vero religionem. Integritate colens, genitor eius Gaudentius, genetrix vero sua Austadiola nomen accepit* (*Vita Gaugerici* 1, ed. Krusch, 652).

³⁰ Ebosium/Epoissum: *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, ed. Talbert, 11:F3. Reims: Neiss 2005, 211; Dierkens/Périn 2000, 280.

iest: one-third of Gaul's late antique and early medieval epigraphic record rests in Trier.³¹ Guy Halsall has suggested that the citizens of the city maintained so strong an imperialistic identity in the sixth century that the Merovingian kings had a difficult time exercising control over it, quickly gave up hope of establishing a royal center there, and relocated their Austrasian headquarters to Metz. Part of the problem was that the kings could not escape the sharp surveillance of the city's bishop, whose cathedral sat squarely in the same imperial complex as the palace. Nicetius of Trier, the most cantankerous or at least the best documented of these bishops, was dissatisfied with kings of whom even Gregory of Tours had approved. He was not afraid to denounce and excommunicate royalty, and he went so far as to publicly repeat a dream he had about what the kings' reigns would be like – and more ominously, how long they would last. Even a Romanophile like Theudebert I (533–548) could not win Nicetius' respect or compliance. Nicetius was not the only problem. Trier's citizens stoned a royal tax collector to death: the victim was Parthenius, grandson of the emperor Avitus (and incidentally an ancestor of the family that Praeiectus would later aggravate) – even in a city as imperious as Trier, 'Romanness' was not a sufficient basis for solidarity, if it was even seen to be a single shared identity at all.³²

Neither Gaugeric's nor Praeiectus' hagiographer claims that their Roman families were the descendants of senators or imperial officers. They say only that their protagonists and their protagonists' parents were Roman. But not all *vitae* were so allusive. Unlike the *Passio Praeiecti* and the *Vita Gaugerici*, other *vitae* emphasize that their saints were not only Roman; they say that they were specifically senatorial.

Two of these senatorial saints were born in the same regions as Praeiectus and Gaugeric were. The first, the abbot Germanus of Granval, was born in Trier 'from the stock of senators', and unlike Gaugeric, Germanus' family was close to the crown. His brother had worked for not one but two kings.³³ But these connections would ultimately prove insufficient to protect Germanus from being murdered by a duke of Alsace, whose own family was competing for local control and royal support: perhaps this is why Germanus' hagiographer opted to cast the abbot as 'senatorial', to assist his uncertain political assets.³⁴ A second Merovingian saint with 'senatorial' ancestry

³¹ Handley 2003, 5; Halsall 2010b, 229.

³² My thanks to Guy Halsall for sharing his unpublished paper, 'Awkward Ideologies in Merovingian Trier', presented at the Institute of Classical Studies in London, 2001. See also Halsall 2007a, 493–494; Witschel 2004/2005, esp. 258–270. Nicetius: Gregory of Tours, *Liber vitae patrum* 17, ed. Krusch, 277–283. Parthenius: Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 3, 36, ed. Krusch/Levison, 131–132; Stroheker 1948, no. 283, 199.

³³ Bobolenus, *Vita Germani* 1, ed. Krusch/Levison, 33: *Igitur sanctus Germanus abba et martyr, sacerdos Dei, natale solo Trevirorum civium Urbis incola fuit, ex genere senatorum prosapiae genitus, sed nobilior sanctitate. Pater eius Optardus; fratres vero eius Opthomarus et Numerianus. Opthomarus sub Dagoberto rege quondam aulae regiae elegantiae et mundanae scientiae inbutus, sub rege Sigeberto, idemque quondam, fultus Deo, ceteris proceribus sublimior fuit.*

³⁴ For Duke Adalric Eticho see Ebling 1974, no. 8, 33–37; Fox 2014, esp. 141–193.

was Bonitus of Clermont, who like Praeiectus was born in the Auvergne. As Bonitus' *vita* would go on to show, the bishop had strong relationships with the Merovingian court, with preeminent men in southern Gaul, and with a Lombard king. He was rich enough to afford a lavish pilgrimage to Rome, while making generous presents to the monasteries and shrines he visited along the way. Bonitus was also a member of the Aviti family: his brother Avitus had succeeded Praeiectus (after the 'gang of senators' killed him) before Bonitus succeeded *him*.³⁵ So when Bonitus' hagiographer introduces him to us, he plays as if the bishop's illustrious ancestry was not particularly important. 'He was of noble lineage', he wrote, 'insofar as he descended from the Roman senate'.³⁶ It was a glib twist on a classic hagiographical trope – not so much an understatement of what senatorial identity was worth in the early eighth century, but rather a boast that the bishop's 'nobility' was the result of many significant factors, and in light of all those resources Romanness was somewhat glamorous but unnecessary.

What the portraits of Praeiectus and Gaugeric on the one hand and Germanus and Bonitus on the other suggest is that drawing attention to the Romanness of someone who was born in an area that was rich with imperial associations was to make a claim for political authenticity without overstepping the limits of credibility. It was too much to assert that someone had senatorial ancestors if they did not. But to say that someone was 'Roman', to attach that name to a land with a well known senatorial or administrative history, might help augment the credentials of men who were not in the inner circles of Merovingian government but hoped at least to skirt the edges by suggesting that their families had once been influential in some way. Their use of Romanness played on the explicit associations that texts such as the *Vita Germani* or the *Vita Boniti* made, but it also played on what was probably a general familiarity with those sorts of regional associations and the history they were based on – a history we can catch in snippets from the epigraphical and narrative records. In this way Gaugeric's and Praeiectus' hagiographers were able to intimate an involvement with the business of the old Empire without saying so directly.

But that was not the only association or argument that the concept of Roman-ness was capable of communicating. It could also connote a special Christian lineage, in addition to a political one. Both Praeiectus' and Gaugeric's parents were said to be Roman *and* Christian. The *vita* of Rusticula, abbess of Saint-Jean of Arles, does the same thing. The central conflict in this *vita* is between Rusticula and Clothar II, who suspected the abbess of treasonous activity – probably in the immediate aftermath of the kingdom's civil wars, when Clothar took control of the entire realm in 613. (The text was written after Rusticula's death, so some time after 633

³⁵ *Vita Boniti* 5, 18–28, ed. Krusch/Levison, 121–122, 129–133; Fouracre/Gerberding 1996, 266–268; Stroheker 1948, nos. 71 (Bonitus) and 61 (Avitus), 155, 156–157.

³⁶ *Inclita Bonitus progenie Arvernicae urbis oriundus fuit, cuius pater Theodatus, mater vero Syagria vocitata est; ex senatu Romano dumtaxat, nobili prosapia* (*Vita Boniti* 1, ed. Krusch/Levison, 119).

or so).³⁷ Florentius, Rusticula's hagiographer, recounts this narrative carefully in order to make clear not only that Clothar was misinformed but *also* that the king and his courtiers came to recognize her innocence. As part of his argumentative presentation Florentius makes sure to introduce Rusticula strategically, to strengthen his narrative by virtue of her background: he claims that her parents were Roman, Christian, and senatorial. The word he uses here is *clarissimis*, implying that Rusticula's parents were the children of senators or had been low-grade senators themselves.³⁸ This is at least what the title had once technically meant, but in a Merovingian context there was no need for this to be literally true in order to benefit from the word's older connotations. Elite families in Gaul had been doing this for centuries, continuing to use titles even after they had become detached from officeholding as part of their vigorous efforts in the fifth and sixth centuries to maintain the status that they had held in the Empire, although this was hardly the only strategy they deployed.³⁹ The ancient and possibly anachronistic ring that *clarissimus* had in the seventh century may have even been part of the point. The effect of tying Romanness to Christianity, not only in Rusticula's case but in Praeiectus' and Gaugeris' too, was to suggest that the two identities were meaningfully linked. The Christianity within each 'very long line of Catholic men' (to quote the *Passio Praeiecti* again) was not only as old as Roman imperial offices and distinctions; by the Merovingian period it had *outlived* them.

The persuasiveness of a profile

For if any form of identification was going to set the tone for the kingdom and advance it, the hagiographers argued, it was Christian identification above all else. It was critical, they argued, for Gaul to orient itself toward God, for the men and women who steered the kingdom to make their decisions on an eschatological scale – and for the royal government to recruit and reward persons who were already living this way.⁴⁰ That rhetorical move may seem predictable: this was hagiography, after all, and the lives it narrates are lives framed in terms of Christian commitments. But such a strategy of privileging Christian identification involved a parallel argu-

³⁷ Florentius, *Vita Rusticulae* 9–15, ed. Krusch, 344–346; Riché 1954, 372–375.

³⁸ Florentius, *Vita Rusticulae* 1 (*Clarissimis igitur orta natalibus Valeriano et Clementia coniugibus Romanis, cultum christianitatis cum summa veneratione colentibus, commorantibus eisdem in agro Hebo casiaco [...]*), ed. Krusch, 340. On the *clarissimus* title: A.H.M. Jones 1964, 1, 529.

³⁹ Barnish 1988, 134–138; Näf 1995. Especially beginning with Martin Heinzelmann's study of the post-imperial episcopate (1976), many excellent studies have been written about different sources of elitism in fifth- and sixth-century Gaul, and this work is evident in recent surveys: P. Brown 2013a, 101–113; Wickham 2005a, 194–203; Halsall 2007a, 494–497.

⁴⁰ Van Uytenghe 1987; Kreiner 2014b, 125–139; for precedents in Gregory of Tours' work see Heinzelmann 1994; Reimitz 2015a, 25–97.

ment that moves nearly invisibly alongside it, which was that Christian identity itself – or what counted as legitimately Christian – could be defined in many different ways. Advocating a Christian life meant figuring out what a ‘Christian life’ was. It meant being specific about how that religious identity was going to fit into preexisting social textures and how it was going to reconfigure them. To encourage the kingdom to reorient its values and goals, a hagiographer had to make persuasive arguments about which particular solutions were the ideal ones, and those solutions could only be persuasive if the saints who embodied them could be shown to be acting legitimately in the first place.

An episode from the *Vita Gaugerici* makes these connections clearer.⁴¹ Gaugeric has become the bishop of Cambrai, and he is paying a visit to Clothar II on the king’s estate at Chelles. We do not know why Gaugeric is there in the first place, which is already strange, because most hagiographers would have told us.⁴² It is possible that Gaugeric had been summoned there to account for his actions of the previous two chapters: he had freed fifteen prisoners from the Cambrai jail, and this had gotten him into trouble with the count and the tribune of the city.⁴³

Whatever the reason, Gaugeric ends up at the royal estate. Once he is there he hears that one of Clothar’s officials, a man named Landeric, is holding two boys captive whom he intends to kill. Gaugeric wants them freed. He could hardly have picked a trickier target. Landeric was no ‘mere’ courtier. As the *vita* makes clear, he was a *vir inluster* and Clothar’s mayor of the palace.⁴⁴ *Vir inluster* was originally a Roman title; in Late Antiquity it was awarded only to men who had held the very highest imperial offices, and by the fifth century it clearly designated ‘an inner aristocracy’ within the aristocracy.⁴⁵ But as we have already seen it was also an exclusive Merovingian honorific, and it may not have struck a Merovingian reader as ‘Roman’ at all, not nearly so Roman as, say, the antiquated *de genere senatorum* would have sounded. Consequently Gaugeric’s hagiographer may not have meant to heighten Gaugeric’s ‘Roman’ credentials specifically to match him against Landeric’s title. But what the *vita* does make clear, by the *vir inluster* honorific but also by pointing out that Landeric was the mayor of the palace, is that Gaugeric chose to challenge a very important person – on Landeric’s ‘home turf’ no less.⁴⁶ And Gaugeric fails. The boys are not freed. So

⁴¹ *Vita Gaugerici* 9–10, ed. Krusch, 655–656.

⁴² Narrating a protagonist’s appearance at court was usually treated as an opportunity to celebrate some successful petition or legal resolution, as for example Praeiectus’ hagiographer did: see above.

⁴³ *Vita Gaugerici* 7–8, ed. Krusch, 654–655.

⁴⁴ See Fredegar, *Chronicae* 4, 25–26, ed. Krusch, 130–131; *Liber historiae Francorum* 36, ed. Krusch, 304–306; Selle Hosbach 1974, no. 130, 120–121. All mayors seem to have held the *vir inluster* title in the second half of the seventh century, but it is not clear if this was also the case earlier (Bergmann 1997, 101–102). Regardless, for the *Vita Gaugerici* and the later mayors it was obviously important to mention both titles, even if they were part of the same package.

⁴⁵ A.H.M. Jones 1964, 1, 528–530, quotation 529.

⁴⁶ Chelles was a royal residence, so as mayor Landeric would have known it well. Maybe too well: the *Liber historiae Francorum*, which was completed in 727, reports that the mayor was the lover of

the bishop and his clerics pray all night in the church in hopes that God will solve things for them instead.

God does intervene, but the *vita* is vague about how exactly he does. The lack of clearly delineated procedure here is unusual for a genre whose Merovingian practitioners tended to take advantage of legal argumentation in order to defend the actions of their protagonists – and that is all the more surprising because Gaugeric's hagiographer seems to have been well trained in the law: his language was saturated with its bureaucratic syntax.⁴⁷ The *vita* does not explain how Gaugeric went about asking for Landeric to free the boys. We do not know whether he spoke to Landeric or to Clothar, and we do not know what kind of appeal he made. The *vita* is equally imprecise about the divine intervention that Gaugeric receives. It does not say that the boys' chains were miraculously broken or that the doors to their confinement were miraculously thrown open, which is how Gaugeric's other miracles stories play out in other parts of the narrative. It does not say that Gaugeric led the boys to church to signify their freedom (and their new debt to the church⁴⁸), which is what he had done when he freed the prisoners of Cambrai. All the *vita* says is *adiuvante Dominum, in ipsa ecclesia fuerunt absoluti* – 'with God's help, they were freed in the church'. However it happened exactly, the *vir inluster* Landeric finds the boys and Gaugeric there the next morning.

This scene adds another complication to the *vita*'s presentation of Gaugeric's actions. Not only is the protagonist unable to rival the reputation of his antagonist, which puts the burden of justification on Gaugeric (and his hagiographer) to defend his actions against a man whose credentials are secure. At this moment in the narrative it also becomes clear that Gaugeric is not the only serious Christian in this story: he has chosen to challenge a co-religionist, and a committed one at that. The hagiographer tells us that the whole reason Landeric even found the boys in the church was because he had gone there early in the morning to pray – and that this was something he did regularly, *solida [sic] consuetudine*.⁴⁹

It was audacious enough for a man of Gaugeric's modest stature to undermine someone like Landeric. It was all the more audacious for him to do this in a situation

Fredegund (Clothar's mother), and when the queen let slip to her husband, Chilperic I (561–584), that she was sexually intimate with Landeric, she and the mayor arranged to have the king murdered in order to avoid being punished themselves. This vividly written episode also takes place at Chelles: *Liber historiae Francorum* 35, ed. Krusch, 301–304; further Martínez Pizarro 1989, 8–15; Dierkens/Périn 2000, 294.

⁴⁷ Van Acker 2007, 140–144; Kreiner 2014b, 33–87.

⁴⁸ On *manumissio in ecclesia* (the process of freeing slaves and putting them under the Church's protection) and *tabularii* (slaves donated or sold to churches who became freedmen but remained dependents of the ecclesiastical institution) see Esders 2010, 44–60 and Bothe's contribution in this volume.

⁴⁹ *Vita Gaugerici* 9, ed. Krusch, 655: *Et cum ipsi inluster vir Landericus solida consuetudine ad oratione maturius advenisset, invenit in praesentia pontificis absolutos, quos voluerat interficere comprehensos.*

that was politically and ethically ambiguous. Based on what the *vita* tells us, both men could plausibly claim to be centering their lives on Christianity. Both men were at least starting their mornings with it. Under the circumstances the hagiographer's choice to be unspecific about how exactly the boys ended up in the church seems to have been a judicious one. The less that Gaugeric seemed to be directly responsible for the boys' release, the better. The incident also gives us a sharper sense of what Gaugeric's Romanness might be expected to accomplish or mean. Hinting that Gaugeric's family had once served the Roman Empire, and hinting that his family had been Christian for a very long time, lent maturity and dignity to the profile of a bishop who wedged himself into conflicts with men who had much greater resources and considerably strong moral orientations, too.

Such uses of Romanness to elevate a reputation and by extension an argument may not surprise us, especially not when we know what comes next – that the Carolingians would become enthusiastic adopters of the Roman-Christian brand. But even the Carolingians were selective and careful with Roman identity, however ostentatiously the kings wore their imperial titles. For example, in the ninth century Hincmar of Reims commissioned his great workshop to cover a throne for Charles the Bald in ivory tiles carved with the great labors of Hercules, but he did so to caution the king against pride, ambition, and lust: the royal court did not read these myths as straightforwardly heroic ones.⁵⁰ Or to take an even more familiar case: it is well known that Carolingian reformers imported Roman liturgies to Francia in a successive series of efforts to create a new standardized repertory across the kingdom. But the liturgists who implemented these changes did not adopt the Roman system unreservedly. Instead they modified the Roman texts, music, motions, objects, and spatial schemas, while also continuing to copy older liturgical texts and presumably maintaining at least some of the ritual celebrations associated with them.⁵¹

Still, compared to the Carolingians' interest in Romanness (or hybridized Roman-ness), Merovingian hagiographers adopted the 'Roman' strategy surprisingly infrequently. Most of them did not need Romanness, or at least, they did not appeal to it in their narratives. It is possible that other hagiographers did not say their saints were Roman because it would not have been true if they had. But Romanness was a flexible and capacious concept, which is why Praeiectus' and Gaugeric's hagiographers could speak only obliquely about Romanness and still expect an audience to catch its overtones. And those sorts of applications of Romanness could not have been demonstrably untrue. There was no way to *disprove* the Romanness of the families of Praeiectus and Gaugeric because their hagiographers were not specific enough to be accused of exaggeration. It was a sweet rhetorical spot. Yet as open-

⁵⁰ Nees 1991.

⁵¹ Selectively, each with different methodologies and generous bibliographies: Maloy 2010; Rankin 2008; Hornby 2004; Jeffery 1995. For an overview of the reform initiative see further Hen 2011 although Hen tends to emphasize the persistent disunity of the liturgical situation more than most chant scholars would.

ended as Romanness was, the concept was still rare in hagiography, and a more plausible reason for that is that by the seventh century it was a fairly weak strategy of supplementation. Most protagonists did not need to legitimate their lineages through subtle semantic plays.

The hagiographers themselves might have offered another answer to this question – that is, why Romanness was left aside more often than it was used. The saints' accomplishments, and the values and policies that their accomplishments represented, were supposed to speak for themselves. The genre emphasized results, rather than origins, as the real measure of a good idea. Hagiography seemed to be strictly interested in the kingdom's present, in the evidence for God's continued engagement in the world, rather than in the past. As the hagiographer of another Merovingian courtier put it: 'I think that from the beginning to the end, in every place and in every generation, there has been no lack of men whom God has singled out, in whom the grace of the Holy Spirit gleams, and through whom the Lord seems to reveal signs of miracles as both a consolation and a challenge to people who are looking for him'.⁵²

The influential hagiographer Jonas of Bobbio would even go so far as to suggest that Gaul's religious history had proven to be inadequate anyway: he claimed that imperial ('pagan') Christian settlements in Arras, for example, had been destroyed in the wars of the fifth century, and the humans who still bothered to live in those ruined places afterward had since reverted to paganism.⁵³ In circumstances such as these, what good was Romanness?

Jonas wanted to present Gaul as ripe for the mission of the Irish monk Columbanus and the particular liturgical and social arrangements that some of Columbanus' followers advocated. So he had his reasons for dismissing the vitality of more ancient Christian institutions in Gaul in order to suggest that there were more tenacious forms of Christianity out there. And it almost goes without saying now that the archaeological record does not support Jonas' characterizations.⁵⁴ But his preference for the present over the past was a principle that many hagiographers advocated, every time they stressed that actions were the best form of argument, and every

52 Prologue to *Vita Sulpicii*, ed. Krusch, 371: *Ab initio usque in finem per singula loca et generationes reor non defuisse viros a Deo electos, in quibus gratia Sancti Spiritus refulgeret et per quos signa miraculorum Dominus et consolationem et provocationem se quaerentium manifestare videretur.*

53 Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Vedastis* 6, ed. Krusch, 409–410: *Pervenit ergo [sc. Vedastis], ut ecclesiam introiret. Quam cernens incultam ac negligentiam civium paganorum praetermissam, veprium densitatem oppletam, stercorem ac bestiarum habitaculum pollutam, merore corda subdit omnique tristitia colla submittit. Nec prorsus hominis habitatio urbem frequentabat, quae olim ab Attilane Chunorum rege diruta ac torpens squalore relicta fuerat.* See also Jonas' more famous observation about the state in which Columbanus found Gaul: *A Brittanis ergo sinibus progressi, ad Gallias tendunt, ubi tunc vel ob frequentiam hostium externorum vel negligentia praesulum religionis virtus pene abolita habebatur. Fides tantum manebat christiana, nam penitentiae medicamenta et mortificationis amor vix vel paucis in ea repperiebatur locis* (*Vita Columbani abbatis discipulorumque eius* 1.5, ed. Krusch, 161).

54 Wood 1981; Dabrowska/Jacques 2006; Mériaux 2006, esp. 32–50; Bully/Picard 2017.

time they indicated that God was watching and evaluating the choices that humans made. It was how the saints behaved, and by extension how any person behaved, that mattered most, more so than what they said or where they came from.

What the issue of Romanness draws out with particular clarity, however, is that this rhetorical move, this emphasis on deeds instead of more superficial signs of character, was itself only partially true. Not all actions were equally persuasive or legitimate. It *did* matter who was doing the acting and getting results. The unequal hands that history had dealt affected the way that saints played politics, as the lives of Praeiection and Gaugerich show in particular.⁵⁵ In the accounts that relate more spectacular successes of some of the most powerful people in the kingdom, it is harder to see how important identity and history were to the stories that the hagiographers told. The advantages that many Merovingian saints enjoyed gave them and their hagiographers an edge when it came to advancing particular philosophical and social claims; but we only notice the work that wealth, family, and royal service were doing behind the scenes when we notice that other protagonists, people who enjoyed far fewer privileges, had to make some form of compensation or augmentation in order to accomplish anything like it.

This is not to be cynical about the religious changes in Gaul at this time by suggesting that Christianity was just one more device by which elites protected and elevated themselves from the rest of society. The religion was too much of an open conversation for it to have served as an ideological cover for secular power, which in any case was itself in flux. But it is true that for people who already enjoyed the ear of the court, certain conversations were a lot easier to have in the first place. Drawing on Romanness might help allay skepticism about a particular person's qualifications by implying that he or she had been raised within esteemed political and religious traditions, but that was still an additional argument to make that encumbered whatever else an author wanted to say about the relationship between Christianity and Merovingian society. Sometimes, as Praeiection's hagiographer said, 'human obstacles' just got in the way, and sometimes those obstacles were impassable.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ This is something that concerned even the hagiographers of more powerful protagonists: see Kreiner 2014a.

⁵⁶ *Inibi etiam coenobium construi voverat, sed humanis prepeditis obstaculis, coeptum opus imperfectum reliquit* (*Passio Praeiectioni* 17, ed. Krusch, 236).

Stefan Esders

Roman law as an identity marker in post-Roman Gaul (5th – 9th centuries)

As one would expect from a true empire, the *imperium Romanum* owed its existence and duration to its capacity to integrate many different identities, political, cultural, religious and social, while giving its inhabitants the overarching feeling that being Roman was something special.¹ If there was something that distinguished the Roman from other empires and that encapsulated ‘Romanness’ in the Roman period, we should think of Roman law first. This is not to deny the impact of *hypocausti* and baths on the formation of Roman civilization and the identity of Roman provincials, nor do I mean that *Romanitas* was primarily based on the Romans’ habit of going to court all the time. Quite the contrary, the Romans perceived their distinct legal culture as much more than being just a medium of conflict resolution. Well aware that it enabled all kinds of economic transactions, they could share in the daily experience that their legal culture had an impact on almost every aspect of their political, social, religious and private lives.² Law, moreover, was such a central aspect of their identification since the Romans, as the inhabitants of an empire extending over the Mediterranean and beyond, could for historical reasons not perceive themselves as an ethnic community of descent in a way many other political groups could. Thus, although the leading families of the city of Rome had claimed descent from Troy and the early Italian kings,³ the provincials knew too well the role played by Roman citizenship⁴ in the process by which ‘Romanness’ as defined by Roman law had spread over the Empire and made themselves become Romans.⁵

By the early third century AD it could be claimed that almost all free people living permanently under Roman rule were not only subject to Roman rule, but had become Roman citizens and thus had direct access to Roman law.⁶ The extension of citizenship to nearly all free inhabitants of the Roman Empire had a profound impact on the way the Romans perceived themselves as citizens in a legal sense. Roman citizenship had been granted in the early Empire to individuals and groups that had engaged in the service of the Roman Empire so that they could pass it over to their children or sometimes even their collateral relatives.⁷ With the universal grant of citizenship by Caracalla, however, our evidence for individual grants gradually begins

1 Woolf 2012.

2 Honoré 2002.

3 See for instance the third century *Origo gentis Romanae*, ed. Sehlmeier, which can to some extent be read as a commentary on Vergil’s *Aeneid*.

4 Sherwin White 1979.

5 For the ‘Romanization’ of Gaul, see for instance Woolf 1998; Botermann 2005.

6 On the *Constitutio Antoniniana* and its impact, see most recently Buraselis 2007; Pferdehirt 2012.

7 Sherwin White 1979, 221–263.

to fade.⁸ Most of the population of the Roman Empire from then on thus became Roman citizens by birth. By contrast, groups of barbarians that came to be settled on Roman soil would, as *dediticii*, only under special circumstances become full Roman citizens,⁹ while most would only in certain respects be subject to Roman civil law.¹⁰

In the course of the same process, the Romans, following an older tradition, constructed non-Romans as *gentes* who were living according to their own (tribal) custom.¹¹ With this background, one of the most interesting features of Roman law was its capacity to anticipate and even incorporate non-Roman law into its operational framework by acknowledging relevant parts of it as *ius gentium*, a term that can by no means simply be translated as ‘gentile law’.¹² As a category, *ius gentium* denominated certain ‘indigenous’ norms and rules which could become accepted by Roman jurists and judges as valid, since they were supposed to be shared by all peoples or nations. As some kind of universal ‘international law’, to use a modern term, the *ius gentium* not only comprised relations between individuals coming from different peoples, but also contracts that could be concluded between two states.¹³

If we want to trace the relevance of Roman law in the so-called post-Roman period, the relationship between Roman law and the law of ‘peoples’ or *gentes* may serve as a useful topic to see some important features of Roman law as it pertained to ‘Roman identities after Rome’ more clearly. For in the post-Roman period the extent and dimension of ‘gentile law’ increased enormously, making the people living according to Roman law in some regions even a minority and evoking a situation in which new ‘strategies of distinction’ could become necessary.¹⁴ Thus the post-Roman history of Roman law as an identity marker can only be written against the background of the relevance of non-Roman legal traditions, with the Romans now becoming qualified as a *gens* in various sources.¹⁵

In what follows this relationship will be described with regard to Gaul, starting from the fifth century with the Visigothic and Burgundian kingdoms and covering the Frankish period under the Merovingians and Carolingians until well into the ninth century. The focus will not be on the survival, persistence and influence of Roman law in Gaul per se, which is a far wider field of research, as we have ample evidence for the transmission of Roman legal texts and also on the influence exacted by

⁸ See Mathisen 2012a.

⁹ Mathisen 2012a, 746.

¹⁰ Mathisen 2012a, 749–751. Most barbarians would become acquainted with Roman legal culture in the field of military law which was very different from Roman civil law. See Voß 1995, Esders 2016b; Laniado 2015, 35–127.

¹¹ Geary 2003, 49–51, 63–64; Mathisen 2012a, 749–754. On the Roman tradition of defining community and state by law, see also Kohns 1974.

¹² Kaser 1993.

¹³ Schulz 1993; Ziegler 1995.

¹⁴ I am echoing here Pohl/Reimitz 1998.

¹⁵ Pohl 2014, 413.

Roman law on ecclesiastical and barbarian law in the post-Roman period.¹⁶ Nor will I deal with the use of Roman law by the church which also is a topic of its own embracing the question of the church's Roman legal identity in the post-Roman period (*ecclesia vivit lege Romana*).¹⁷ Instead I will concentrate on the extent to which being subject to Roman law could give people living in Gaul in the post-Roman period some sort of identity that may be described as 'Romanness'.¹⁸

1 Becoming a legally defined Roman in the 'post-Roman' period

To get closer to this topic, one has to ask first: how could a person become legally Roman in the so-called 'post-Roman' period?¹⁹ Firstly, as already in the period after 212, this would have happened in most cases at birth. In the regions of Southern Gaul, for instance, a child would most likely be born from two Roman parents and thus live according to Roman law, too. Consequently, these Romans, despite being defined as citizens in a legal sense, could in some ways regard themselves as being a community of descent – remnants of a culture that once had claimed to be a universal one, but meanwhile had become provincial and was now faced with neighbours, friends and even relatives with a different legal background. In cases of mixed Roman-barbarian marriages, however, we may assume that according to gender and status of their parents children would be born either as Romans or as barbarians in a legal sense. As already becomes evident here, 'Romanness' was not simply a question of the continuity of a Roman provincial population under barbarian rule. Quite the contrary, the very existence of barbarian law codes in Gaul would have an impact on the definition of the legal status of an individual, even if one did not regard oneself as a barbarian. The place of birth mattered too, as we shall see later.

A second way of becoming a Roman was by manumission. In post-Roman Gaul, however, there were different ways of manumitting a slave with divergent effects. One type of manumission, through 'open doors' (*portae apertae*), conferred upon a former slave the status of a free *civis Romanus*, which according to the *Lex Ribuarie*, where we find that rule,²⁰ meant that such a person would be judged according to Roman

16 See the excellent survey in Siems 2006; on the transmission of Roman legal texts, see in particular Liebs 2002, 182–268. See also I. Wood 1996a. On the reception of Justinianic law in the Frankish kingdom, see especially W. Kaiser 2004, 419–492.

17 See Jonkers 1952; Gaudemet 1955, 162–177; Fürst 1975.

18 On the concept, see Pohl 2014, and in this volume.

19 See on this also Mathisen 2012a, 747–749.

20 *Lex Ribuarie* 64 (61) [*De libertis secundum legem Romanum*], ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 117. We may assume that this followed largely Roman practice as is attested for other parts of Gaul through the *formulae*.

law (*secundum legem Romanam iudicetur*) and when leaving no heirs his property would be inherited by the fisc.²¹ Another type, by which slaves could be granted freedom, was conducted in a church. This too was of Roman origin and followed the *manumissio in ecclesia* as inaugurated by the emperor Constantine. In the eastern parts of Frankish Gaul, however, a slave manumitted in a church would not be called a Roman anymore. As a *tabularius* (a term derived from the use of tablets in the manumission procedure),²² he would spend the rest of his life with his offspring under the patronage of the church where this manumission had taken place and pass over his status to his children.²³ Again, the place of origin (*origo*) mattered here, though in a different way. Thus Roman citizenship and *manumissio in ecclesia* in the seventh-century Rhineland were separated from each other while opening entirely different prospects for the legal status of a former slave.²⁴ A third type of manumission was put into effect by penny-throw in the presence of the king.²⁵ This procedure bestowed on the former slave a higher degree of freedom which, as can be seen from his wergild tariff of 200 *solidi*, was far superior than being an ecclesiastical *tabularius* (probably 100 *solidi*)²⁶, a Roman freedman or citizen (100 *solidi*) or indeed a *tributarius* with only 36 *solidi*.²⁷ The superior rank becomes also clear from the fact that a Roman freedman could obtain a higher status when he additionally was also freed by penny-throw, whereas in case of the *tabularii* such an improvement of status was strictly forbidden, keeping them firmly under patronage of the church. In the spread of different types of manumission conferring divergent legal status on former slaves we may detect another aspect of the crumbling of Roman citizenship. Being a Roman citizen by manumission became a medium status of limited freedom,²⁸ while other types of manumission created some sort of freedom for which either the church or the king would guarantee – it is obvious that members of these two groups and their descendants, if they were not of Frankish origin anyway, would cease to be treated as Roman citizens; instead they would be termed as the people of the saint (*sanctuarii*)²⁹ under whose patronage they had been manumitted, or as the

21 On this, see Zeumer 1883, 196; Stutz 1934, 43; Esders 2010, 57.

22 Meyer 2004.

23 *Lex Ribuaria* 61 (58) [*De tabulariis*], ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 108–114.

24 Esders 2010, 50–60.

25 *Lex Ribuaria* 60 (57) [*De libertis a domino ante regem dimissis*], ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 107–108. See Maass 2007.

26 *Lex Ribuaria* 10 [*De homicidiis hominum ecclesiasticorum*], ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 77, though not explicitly referring to *tabularii*.

27 *Lex Ribuaria* 65 (62) [*De homine qui servum tributarium facit*], ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 117.

28 On the much debated status of the *Romanus* in Salic and Riparian law, see the study by Lukas Bothe in this volume, with up to date bibliography.

29 Esders 2010, 13, 81.

king's free who would be able to obtain full freedom.³⁰ Only the *cives Romani* would be judged according to Roman law (*secundum legem Romanam iudicetur*),³¹ but one may ask how attractive this was if we consider the Romans' wergild tariffs, which were low in comparison to other groups of the societies to which the rules in the Salic and Ripuarian laws were addressed.

A third way of becoming a legally defined Roman attested in later sources (most of them coming from Italy from the ninth century onwards) was the *professio iuris*.³² In case the legal identity of a person was not clear for whatever reason, such a person would have to declare formally, what his or her legal identity was or would be in the future.³³ In doing so, he or she could become a 'Roman by profession', or even better: a professional Roman. Naturally the *professio iuris* only made sense in a situation where different legal orders were practised simultaneously. Mixed marriages called for regulations to make an individual's legal identity unambiguously clear. The preservation of a legal identity defined by birth as guaranteed by royal legislation or by concession was also an important privilege granted to elites in order to encourage their mobility.³⁴ As such, it was especially addressed to non-Roman elites preserving their distinct legal identity among a majority of Romans, but could also be used to reaffirm the status of being Roman in a legal sense.

Taken together, this means that there were still various ways of becoming a legally defined Roman in the post-Roman period, while the process by which legal Romanness ceased to be a universal category but became a feature of one group among others within the post-Roman kingdoms was fully under way in the fifth and sixth centuries. It has been emphasized that already in Late Antiquity Roman citizenship underwent a process of transformation,³⁵ which may have contributed to its decline to some extent.³⁶ Nonetheless, it is important to note that Roman law and access to it remained a distinct trait of late Roman culture, and continued to be so under post-Roman rulers. Despite Roman law losing its validity for many people in the post-Roman *regna*, the survival and persistence of special Roman legal terms to designate groups as *cives (Romani)*, *Latini*, *dediticii*, *coloni*, *possessores*, *tributarii* etc. should prevent us from telling too simple a story of the decline, fading and disappearance of Roman legal identity. Instead, it seems more fitting to speak of regionalization, of enclaves and of overlapping legal identities, with Roman law retaining a dominant

³⁰ There has been a very controversial debate over the issue of the 'king's free' (*Königsfreie*) in Germany, based to some extent on ideological assumptions with a striking overestimation of the phenomenon. See Schulze 1974; Staab 1980; Piskorski 2001.

³¹ *Lex Ribuaria* 64 (61) [*De libertis secundum legem Romanam*], 2, ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 117.

³² On the *professio iuris*, a topic strangely neglected by modern research, see the older studies by Savigny 1834, 145–167; Gaupp 1844, 241–265; Gaupp 1859; Guterman, 1990, 225–239.

³³ See below footnote 134.

³⁴ Esders, 2011, 269–272; Esders 2014a, 148–151; see also Hoppenbrouwers 2013, 272–273. On barbarian law giving and migration, see also Epp 2011.

³⁵ Mathisen 2006.

³⁶ Garnsey 2004. See however Mathisen 2006 and 2012a.

character in the regions of Southern Gaul whereas Romans became second-class inhabitants in many regions of Northern and Eastern Gaul.

Why did these Roman groups have an interest in preserving Roman law in a way that it should form their post-Roman identity or at least part of it? Or why would post-Roman rulers attribute to them the quality of being Romans in a legal sense and make them stay Romans? This appears to be a complicated issue, and given the large numbers of Romans we are dealing with and considering that Roman law had functioned as some kind of central nervous system linking government and society in the Roman period, an answer is by no means easily given.

One of the major difficulties is that, for instance, charter evidence with its 'hybrid' legal types suggests that in practice many differences did not matter as much as one would perhaps expect when looking at law-codes alone. This means that not all our sources are equally explicit on classifying legal rules or legal procedures as Roman. Thus, while we can find out some differences, a few of which will be sketched below, we cannot be sure how much such differences may have mattered in an individual case. Nonetheless, we may assume that certain types of norms and procedures came to be regarded as typically Roman and that some of them could also have an impact on using legal differences as a marker of group identity.

As for the Romans themselves, what legal historians call 'private law' certainly had some significance here. Roman law had rather radical ideas of property as based on ownership and individual use.³⁷ Despite some changes in the later development we may assume that much of this continued to be the case in the late Roman period.³⁸ Roman practice of making a will was a privilege of citizens, a legal capacity that could even be withdrawn as a punishment by *infamia*.³⁹ Inheritance law and the practice of making wills had a lot to do with family structures, and it seems that making wills, that is disinheriting others, was regarded as a typically Roman practice; in non-Roman law this effect was far more complicated to achieve.⁴⁰

It fits to such differences that Roman rules of intestate succession envisaged the possibility that grandchildren could succeed their grandfather, if their father had died beforehand;⁴¹ this is in sharp contrast to Frankish inheritance rules as reconstructed by Alexander Murray, for they preferred the collateral relatives among those entitled to inherit.⁴² In addition, one may speculate about the role played by the *patria potestas*, which the Romans had always regarded as a significant feature

³⁷ See e.g. Jolowicz/Nicholas 1972, 259–270.

³⁸ See Levy 1951, though Levy's inclination to see a continuous process of Roman legal categories becoming blurred in the late Roman West is not anymore shared by many legal historians today, see Schmidt 1996.

³⁹ See the classical study by Greenidge 1896, 154–170.

⁴⁰ Gaudemet 1955, 191–194; see also Siems 2006, 251 on the *affatonia* in Salic law. Barbier 2014, 179–200.

⁴¹ See the brief survey in Esders 1997, 134 note 146.

⁴² Murray 1983. See also Kroeschell 1982.

of their society.⁴³ As it seems, in ‘private law’ the differences made by Roman law affected most people in quantitative terms, so that we have to take them very seriously.

A second aspect concerns legal procedure. It seems obvious that in late Roman law the role of the judge differed very much from the *rachinburgi* in Frankish law,⁴⁴ as did the late Roman idea of the judge finding out the truth of the matter.⁴⁵ This may have been blurred by the fact that in most Gallic cities a count would have ultimate responsibility for the enforcement of law,⁴⁶ but nevertheless procedure mattered, as becomes evident from the *formulae*.⁴⁷ Oaths played a significant role in early medieval legal practice in general, but it should be noted that in both the *Lex Romana Burgundionum* and the *Lex Romana Curiensis* we find reservation expressed towards the practice of oath-helping.⁴⁸ Roman law, by contrast, focused much more on the responsibility of the individual.⁴⁹ From a Roman perspective, legal practice involving groups, such as oath-helping or collective feud practice, thus could be regarded as problematic, as of course were most legal practices that allowed for too much local particularism.

Punishments were, as we have already seen, another feature of Roman legal culture. This becomes clear from a brief glance into Mommsen’s ‘Römisches Strafrecht’ with its long lists explaining different corporal punishments and methods of executing a person.⁵⁰ By contrast, the Frankish legal system, if one may call it so, operated much more with monetary sanctions – with the sole exception of political crimes such as *infidelitas*.⁵¹ Paying wergild as compensation for manslaughter could be seen as a privilege in comparison with late Roman penal law.⁵²

These are just a few examples. Of course we can find Roman law influencing barbarian law at this time in many respects⁵³ – Frankish equivalents to making a will for instance⁵⁴ –, as we can also detect Frankish procedures entering Roman legal practice, as is attested by many early medieval charters and *formulae*.⁵⁵ It would be misleading, however, to take such legal interferences as evidence that differences did not matter very much and legal traditions could simply merge into a blended legal culture. There were still features of Roman legal culture, which suggest that it actual-

⁴³ See Arjava 1988.

⁴⁴ Fouracre 1998, 287, 294.

⁴⁵ Kroeschell 1986; Siems 2008, 132.

⁴⁶ Murray 1986.

⁴⁷ See also Rio 2009, 198–211.

⁴⁸ Esders 1997, 395–397; Esders 2007.

⁴⁹ See also Wallace Hadrill 1959, 128: ‘The Theodosian Code and its Visigothic derivatives take their stand on the personal responsibility of the criminal.’

⁵⁰ Mommsen 1899, 897–1049; see however Hillner 2015, 89–112.

⁵¹ Esders 2011, 262–263.

⁵² Esders 2014a.

⁵³ See e.g. Rüegger 1949.

⁵⁴ Siems 2006, 251.

⁵⁵ Bergmann 1976; Rio 2009, 198–211.

ly made sense to feel ‘Roman’ in legal terms even in the post-Roman period. By emphasizing such difference, individuals and groups could distance themselves from divergent legal practice. Mixing of legal traditions and regionalization of legal custom thus could equally lead to a deliberate emphasis of a supposed ‘Romanness’ of one’s own legal culture.

We get a very different impression when entering the political scene. Frankishness could mean many different things in the Merovingian period, ranging from being free to not being obliged to pay taxes.⁵⁶ On the other hand, terms such as *Romani tributarii* or *Romani homines* as fiscal *coloni*⁵⁷ suggest that the post-Roman government could have an interest in preserving such ‘ethnic’ denominations in certain enclaves, thereby leaving no doubt that these groups had special obligations.⁵⁸ The inferior status attributed to Romans in terms of wergild tariffs, expressed as a general rule in the Frankish law codes, supports this assumption.⁵⁹ What it actually meant to be a Roman in legal terms could thus vary enormously.

These provisional and aspectual observations make clear that there is much more behind a supposed ‘continuity’ of Roman legal tradition and Roman legal identities in the post-Roman period. What a classification as ‘Roman’ may have meant has to be clarified with regard to each individual and group by taking into account that the motifs for preserving a legal identity or deliberately emphasizing one would most likely differ according to region, group, status, situation and political context.⁶⁰ It is to the *Romani* living according to Roman law within the barbarian kingdoms in the post-Roman West that we now turn, focusing on their designation as a group in legislative texts and law-codes.

2 Barbarian law-giving and Roman law ‘*inter Romanos*’

In the post-Roman period the relationship between Roman law and gentile law acquired a new quality which differed significantly from the period before, and this was largely due to the emergence of the ‘barbarian’ law-codes and legal traditions which created a legal dualism in most post-Roman kingdoms. In the Frankish kingdom, which would ultimately conquer and incorporate most of these *regna*, an ethnic

⁵⁶ On ‘Frankishness’, its uses and meanings, see most recently Reimitz 2008; Reimitz 2015a.

⁵⁷ See Jahn 1991, 247; Wolfram 1995a, 153.

⁵⁸ On this, see Wolfram (in press).

⁵⁹ *Lex Ribuaria* 40 (36) [*De diversis interfectionibus*], ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 92–95. See also above footnotes 26 and 27 and the contribution by Lukas Bothe in this volume.

⁶⁰ See in general the important contribution by Elwert 1989; for the period in question here, see Geary 1983.

legal pluralism emerged as a consequence with an endeavour shown by the Frankish kings to preserve and respect some of the older legal traditions.⁶¹

In Southern Gaul the Burgundian and Visigothic kingdoms became established in the course of the fifth century. Based on their Roman authority, the Burgundian and Visigothic rulers issued large law-codes, the *Codex Euricianus*⁶² and the *Liber constitutionum*,⁶³ designated for settling conflicts within the Burgundian or Visigothic parts of the population, but also for handling lawsuits with a mixed constellation, with a Burgundian or Visigoth on one side and a Roman opponent on the other.⁶⁴ Interestingly, both Visigothic and Burgundian rulers also issued separate law-codes, which were based on Roman law and destined for the Roman part of the population alone. King Alaric II's breviary, the so-called *Lex Romana Visigothorum*,⁶⁵ and the much shorter *Lex Romana Burgundionum*,⁶⁶ with its structure deliberately mirroring the headings of the *Liber constitutionum* very probably written under king Gundobad,⁶⁷ addressed the Roman population alone, responding to their expectations to have their legal identity preserved. The 'mixed' law-codes, however, the *Codex Euricianus* and the Burgundian *Liber constitutionum*, apparently reacted to problems arising from integrating the new warrior groups into late Roman provincial society. They contain important provisions on the settlement of barbarians and on the quality of their possession of land,⁶⁸ but also on *bucellarii* and so-called 'private' retainers.⁶⁹ As such, these law-codes eventually succeeded in constructing a new region-based ethnic identity in highly Romanized late Roman provincial milieus of Southern Gaul.⁷⁰ Gregory of Tours describes the impact of Gundobad's legislation in very positive terms: he gave milder laws (*leges mitiores*) to the Burgundians to prevent them from oppressing the Romans, adding that the region of his kingdom had come to be called *Burgundia* by his time.⁷¹ Later on, the Merovingian kings would guarantee the persistence and validity of the *Liber constitutionum*,⁷² and in the Carolingian period we find the Burgundians referred to as the *Guntbadingi*, that is the

61 Wormald 2003.

62 *Codex Euricianus*, in: *Leges Visigothorum*, ed. Zeumer, 3–32. On the *Codex Euricianus*, see Harries 2001, and Liebs 2002, 157–163. On the historical background to Euric's legislation, see also Koch 2012, 59–71.

63 *Leges Burgundionum*, ed. von Salis. See Heather 2011 and I. Wood 2016.

64 Amory 1993.

65 *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, ed. Haenel. See Nehlsen 1982.

66 *Lex Romana Burgundionum*, in: *Leges Burgundionum*, ed. von Salis, 123–163.

67 Roels 1958; Bauer Gerland 1995.

68 See the different approaches by Goffart 1980, 127–161; Goffart 2006, 123–134, 143–162; I. Wood 1990, 65–69; Amory 1994.

69 Kienast 1984.

70 Frye 1990; Esders 1997, 286–296; Heather 2011; I. Wood 2016.

71 Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum*, 2, 33, ed. Krusch/Levison, 81.

72 Esders 1997, 105–108.

people of the law-giver Gundobad⁷³ – another reflection of Gundobad's long-term impact as creator of a regional identity.

In case of the Visigoths this story has to be told somewhat differently. Only shortly after Euric's and Alaric's issuing of law codes for Visigoths and Romans, the Visigoths were forced by the Franks to withdraw from Aquitaine to the coastal areas of Southern Gaul and over the Pyrenees to Spain. Within Gaul, a distinct Gothic legal identity can only be seen in case of *Septimania*, where Visigothic rule was maintained much longer and fostered by Visigothic legislation issued from Spain. It even survived the extinction of the Visigothic kingdom in the early eighth century so that in Septimanian charters legal procedure was often conducted 'according to Gothic law'.⁷⁴ Although it is by no means clear whether such wording always referred to written legal tradition, it seems as if the publication of a law-code relevant for legal relations between non-Romans and Romans created a new regional legal identity only in those regions where the Visigoths stayed for a longer period; such an identity would be strongly influenced by Roman legal practice in substance, but ultimately and more importantly, it was not predominantly labeled as 'Roman' anymore.

Further north, however, in the region the Visigoths had left in 507, the formation of a new regional identity would be based far less on Gothic tradition. With the exception of several Aquitanian enclaves, where we find Goths (e.g. DD Mer. 77), Visigothic law did not persist here, there was no tradition of a barbarian law-giver which would in the long term provide a starting point for the formation of regional ethnic identity. Instead, such a process would hook at the Roman provincial denomination of Aquitania.⁷⁵ Consequently, Roman law practically retained an almost territorial application within Aquitania, as we shall see soon, whereas in Visigothic Septimania and in Burgundy it ceased to be a territorial law, although the Romans continued to be by far the largest group in these kingdoms. In Burgundy, as it seems, this led to a split of the Romans' identity, being Burgundians in political terms, but preserving their Roman legal tradition.⁷⁶ In statistic terms, it would be very likely that conflicts involving two Romans characterized everyday life in Burgundy. For this reason the Burgundian king Gundobad, as a follow-up to the legal compilation produced for the Romans alone, in the *Prima Constitutio*, made clear that conflicts between Romans would have to be terminated according to Roman law. Ostensibly placed at the beginning of the Burgundian *Liber constitutionum*, it almost acquires the character of a general legal axiom: *Inter Romanos vero [...] sicut a parentibus nostris statu-*

⁷³ Agobard of Lyons, *Adversus legem Gundobadi*, cc. 3 and 6, ed. van Acker, 20, 22–23. See I. Wood 1990.

⁷⁴ Kienast 1968; Bowman 2004, 33–35.

⁷⁵ On Aquitanian identities, see Rouche 1977. On the revival of Celtic and Roman identities in parts of post Roman Gaul, see Frye 1991.

⁷⁶ Esders 1997, 89–91, 163–165.

*tum est, Romanis legebus praecipimus iudicari.*⁷⁷ While this could be practically taken as referring to any type of Roman legal text, it was understood as a privilege and became confirmed as a rule in a novel issued by King Sigismund in 516.⁷⁸ Many years later, long after the Frankish take-over of Burgundy, a Frankish king called Chlothar (whom I believe to have been the second king of this name) repeated this privilege verbatim in a general precept, which bears striking resemblances to Burgundian law and fittingly became included in the *Liber constitutionum* in one of its two surviving manuscripts: *Inter Romanus negotia causarum romanis legebus praecepemus terminari.*⁷⁹

The Frankish kings never issued a Roman law-code, willingly accepting the validity of older Roman law-codes such as the Roman and Burgundian ones or epitomized versions that derived from them instead.⁸⁰ In the later seventh century Bishop Leodegar of Autun is said to have been involved in the revision of older laws and edicts (*legis antiquorum regum ac magnorum procerum*) when king Childeric II was ruling Burgundy (673–675).⁸¹ Any such redaction had to be carried out carefully and with consent of local noblemen and officials, while the king would guarantee the preservation of local law and custom in general. This tradition was followed by the Carolingian rulers as well. Thus, in 788, Charlemagne explicitly confirmed the validity of the *lex Romana Visigothorum*.⁸² But contrary to the Visigothic and Burgundian kings their Frankish counterparts obviously never intended to develop Roman law further.⁸³ For them, Roman law was one body of legal texts that could easily be presented in Carolingian law codes along with various barbarian laws as a personal law of members of different ethnic groups, as is documented by the inclusion of the Breviary-based *Epitome Aegidii* into legal manuscripts that also contained the Salic, Ripuarian, Burgundian, Alemannic, Bavarian and Lombard law codes.⁸⁴

As already mentioned, there were also regions within the Frankish kingdom, in which Roman law more or less retained its quality as some sort of territorial law. By ‘territorial’ I do not mean that virtually each lawsuit would have to be settled according to Roman law, nor that ‘foreigners’ would not have the right to be judged accord-

⁷⁷ *Leges Burgundionum, Prima Constitutio* 8, ed. von Salis, 32; see also *Leges Burgundionum* 55, ed. von Salis, 90–91.

⁷⁸ *Leges Burgundionum, Constitutiones Extravagantes* 20 [*Edictum de collectis*], ed. von Salis, 119.

⁷⁹ *Praeceptio Chlotharii*, c. 4, ed. Esders, 82. On the transmission of this constitution as part of the Burgundian *liber constitutionum*, see Esders 1997, 63–80.

⁸⁰ Liebs 2016; Liebs (in press).

⁸¹ *Passio Leudegarii*, 2, 5, ed. Krusch, 327–328. On Leodegar’s involvement in the revision of legal texts, see I. Wood 1993, 168–169; on his legal expertise, see also Liebs 2002, 87–90.

⁸² Liebs 2016, and Ubl 2014b, 84–85.

⁸³ In 548, the Visigothic king Theudis ordered an edict on judicial fees to be directly inserted into Roman law books. According to at least one manuscript this was put into effect, see Zeumer 1898; Faulkner 2016, 9–83, 103–227; Ubl 2017.

⁸⁴ On the *Epitome Aegidii*, see Liebs 2002, 111, 221–230; on the law codes, see Kottje 1986; Kottje 1987; Faulkner 2016, 9–83, 193–227; Ubl 2017.

ing to their native law in such regions. By ‘territorial’ I simply mean that since no Barbarian code had been issued for these regions, an overarching legal identity with an ethnic denomination did not emerge in these regions. Instead, legal life could be characterized as predominantly shaped by use of Roman law or what one perceived as such. In addition to Aquitaine, which has already been mentioned, this may have been the case in the Auvergne⁸⁵ and also in *Churraetia*, an enclave of Romanness in an Alpine region difficult to access.⁸⁶ For this region we have an epitomized version of Alaric’s Breviary which also was transmitted in Northern Italy, the so called *Lex Romana Curiensis*.⁸⁷ Of course we know that there were non-Roman groups living in this region that most probably were subject to Alamannic law.⁸⁸ Different legal traditions, furthermore, mixed together within this region, as becomes evident from the fact that the *Lex Romana Curiensis* shows many traces and influences of Frankish law.⁸⁹ But its label became neither Frankish nor Alamannic, let alone Bavarian; instead the region preserved in its self-imagination a distinct Roman character. Referring to this in the early 770s, Charlemagne guaranteed to the rector and the people of Raetia their *lex et consuetudo* on the condition that they would be his *fideles* and stay under his special protection (*mundeburdum vel defensio*).⁹⁰

From the Carolingian period, we have important evidence that Roman law continued to be some sort of territorial law in Aquitaine. It was in Aquitaine that Alaric II had the Breviary (*Lex Romana Visigothorum*) compiled shortly after 500, while the tradition of Visigothic law-giving as inaugurated by Euric had a lasting effect due to the Visigothic defeat soon after only in certain enclaves. Aquitaine appears as a stronghold of Roman legal profession and knowledge in the Merovingian age well into the later period when the region was only loosely associated with Frankish rule.⁹¹ In 768, parallel to its reintegration into the Frankish kingdom, we find King Pippin stating in a capitulary that in Aquitaine ‘all men (*homines*), Romans as well as Salians, should have their own laws (*eorum leges habeant*), and if somebody moves in (*advenit*) from another province he should live according to the law of his birthplace (*secundum legem ipsius patriae*).’⁹² The rule served to establish here the well-known principle that warriors and nobles who would settle within the reconquered region should as *advenae* retain their law of origin.⁹³ While taking into account the existence of a considerable number of Salian Franks living in Aquitaine

⁸⁵ Lauranson Rosaz 1987, 139–143; Lauranson Rosaz 2006; Lauranson Rosaz 2008; Liebs 2002, 91–93.

⁸⁶ Meyer Marthaler 1968. See also Siems 2013.

⁸⁷ Siems 2013, 203–204.

⁸⁸ Siems 2013, 203.

⁸⁹ Meyer Marthaler 1972; Soliva 1978.

⁹⁰ On the preservation of regional law and fidelity, see below chapter 3.

⁹¹ Liebs 2002, 59, 82–86, 248.

⁹² *Pippini capitulare Aquitanicum* a. 768, c. 10, ed. Boretius, *Cap.* 1, no. 18, 43.

⁹³ Esders 2011, 269–270 on the rules of *advenae* of the *Lex Ribuaria* which should foster mobility of Frankish and other elites to settle in the Rhineland and in Austrasia.

as military settlers, it is obvious that Pippin assumed that the remaining part of its population was predominantly Roman and expected to live according to Roman law.

Following Carolingian expansion towards Spain and defense policy towards the emirate, settlement policy continued in Aquitaine and was shaped in legal terms by grants of privileges to Spanish settlers some of which attained a more general character.⁹⁴ Apart from this border policy directed to certain groups, however, Roman law remained predominant.⁹⁵ By far our most important document for this is the *Edictum Pistense*⁹⁶ issued by Charles the Bald in 864, which Janet Nelson once called ‘the most remarkable piece of legislation between Justinian’s Novels and the twelfth century’.⁹⁷ Its thirty-seven long provisions are deeply influenced by late Roman imperial law, but also quote a wide range of sources ranging from the bible, church fathers and *leges barbarorum* to conciliar decisions and capitularies.⁹⁸ In seven of its provisions two regions of legal culture are juxtaposed with one another: on the one hand, and most importantly, the edict refers to those regions in which the *capitula nostrorum progenitorum* should be valid, that is the Northern regions dominated by Frankish royal law. This was in fact a reference to the capitulary collection compiled by Ansegis of Fontanelle under the reign of Louis the Pious around 827, quoted verbatim various times in the edict,⁹⁹ for it had become accepted as the main source of Frankish royal or indeed imperial law soon after its publication.¹⁰⁰ In the *Edictum Pistense*, these Northern areas were rather monotonously contrasted with those regions, in which lawsuits had to be terminated according to Roman law (*in quibus iudicia secundum legem Romanam terminantur*).¹⁰¹ The wording is surprisingly general, again making the Frankish rulers appear as being not particularly interested in what Roman law exactly meant in this region. However, by taking the Roman legal texts circulating in this area in the ninth century seriously,¹⁰² we may get an impression which differences between Roman law and Ansegis might have mattered.¹⁰³ For instance, in one paragraph it is prescribed that a moneyer (*monetarius*) should swear an oath that when minting *denarii* he will produce pure coins und use correct

⁹⁴ Sorhagen 1976; Chandler 2001; Depreux 2001; Senac 2002.

⁹⁵ Siems 2006, 239.

⁹⁶ *Edictum Pistense* a. 864, ed. Boretius/Krause, *Cap.* 2, no. 273, 310–328.

⁹⁷ Nelson 1989, 196.

⁹⁸ Ganshof 1969, 30–38; Nelson 1989. On the edict and its background, see most recently Hill 2013, 65–83.

⁹⁹ *Edictum Pistense* a. 864, cc. 1, 4, 8, 9–10, 13, 15–16, 18–20, 22–23, 25–28, 31, 33–36, ed. Boretius/Krause, *Cap.* 2, 312–327. Schmitz 1998, 213–229. On the reception of Ansegis: *Die Kapitulariensammlung des Ansegis*, ed. Schmitz, 282–374.

¹⁰⁰ Airlie 2009; Ubl 2017, 212–218.

¹⁰¹ *Edictum Pistense* a. 864, cc. 13, 16, 20, 23, 28, 31, ed. Boretius/Krause, *Cap.* 2, no. 273, 315, 316–320, 322–324.

¹⁰² Liebs 2002, 95–122.

¹⁰³ What follows summarizes a paper on ‘Recht und Raum im *Edictum Pistense* Karls des Kahlen vom Jahr 864’ given at a conference held in Frankfurt am Main in 2012.

weights and measures. Any *monetarius* acting against his oath should be subjected to an ordeal (*iudicium Dei*) and, his guilt being proved, should according to the capitulary collection of Ansegis (royal law) lose his hand and by the bishop's judgment (*iudicio episcopali*) be subject to public penance (*poenitentia publica*) as *sacrilegus*¹⁰⁴ and a *spoliator pauperum*.¹⁰⁵ By contrast, in those areas which followed Roman law, the edict says, he would have to be found guilty according to Roman law.¹⁰⁶ The difference emphasized may point to the practice of using an ordeal to find a person guilty of a crime, which could be regarded as problematic, if we recall the criticism put forward by archbishop Agobard of Lyons.¹⁰⁷ But the contrast may even go further, if we reckon that the passage quoted focuses so much on the sanctions to be imposed on a culprit. Following the Roman law codes the sanction inflicted upon a fraudulent moneyer was the death penalty in the very dishonouring manner of the person being burned.¹⁰⁸ Accordingly, we can detect a striking difference in sanctioning the same crime. In the Northern regions, we find a corporal punishment of losing one's hand¹⁰⁹ combined with public penance,¹¹⁰ which easily links with the thesis put forward recently by Rob Meens that the penitentials mainly spread in those areas where Roman law was not predominant;¹¹¹ fittingly, the edict is transmitted together with Ansegis's capitulary collection and with penitentials in several manuscripts still extant.¹¹² Such a cooperation between ecclesiastical and royal law obviously was more typical of the North of the Frankish kingdom, where public penance came to be used as an ecclesiastical sanction that branded the *monetarius*'s misbehaviour as a religious misdeed by reference to his perjury. If my interpretation is cor-

104 On early medieval concept of *sacrilegium*, which referred to the crime of stealing church property, but became extended to other religious crimes as well, see Glatthaar 2004, 1 42 and *passim*.

105 On this discourse as related to church property, see Moore 2010, 321–323.

106 *Edictum Pistense* a. 864, c. 13, ed. Boretius/Krause, *Cap.* 2, no. 273, 315 – the reference is to Ansegis 4, 33.

107 Agobard of Lyons, *Contra iudicium Dei*, ed. van Acker, 31–49; Boshof, 1969, 43–46.

108 *Lex Romana Visigothorum* 9, 17, 1 (*De falsa moneta*) (= *CTh* 9, 21, 5) and 9, 18, 1 (*Si quis solidi circulum exteriorem incidit vel adulteratum in vendendo subiecerit*) (= *CTh* 9, 22, 1), ed. Haenel, 190–192.

109 On losing one's hand as a type of punishment, its background and its spread, see Lopez 1942/1943.

110 On public penance, see De Jong 1997.

111 Meens 2014, 197.

112 See already the contemporary manuscript New Haven, Yale University, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Ms. 413, written around 875 in Reims, as described by Mordek 1995, 386–391; Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek 217 (10th century, Southern Germany, Mordek 1995, 158–172), and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 3853 (Mordek 1995, 287–305), both also including penitentials; London British Library, Add. 22398 (9th/10th century, France, Mordek 1995, 220–223); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 29555/1 (Mordek 1995, 369–376); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 9654 (10th/11th century, Lotharingia, Mordek 1995, 562–578); Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 582 (10th century, France, Mordek 1995, 780–797). See also Mordek 1995, 1041.

rect, the people living in the South were not obliged to do public penance: in legal terms they were Romans, and as such, not sinners! This is why they had to suffer the death penalty.

It is thus highly remarkable that we find two legal anthropologies so strikingly different within one text. An explanation for this can be given by taking into account the edict's author and the regions and situation for which it was destined. Following the treaty of Verdun of 843, the Romanized regions of Burgundy and Provence did not belong to Charles the Bald's kingdom. The reference made to 'those regions, in which judgments are restricted according to Roman law' thus quite obviously referred more or less to Aquitaine alone. Now according to the Annals of St. Bertin, Charles the Bald not only issued the edict at Pîtres in 864, but had also punished Pippin II on this occasion, whom he charged of having apostasized and cooperated with the Normans and thus become a *proditor patriae et christianitatis*.¹¹³ Pippin had ruled Aquitaine, which had a special status within the West Frankish kingdoms,¹¹⁴ and it was by support of Aquitanian nobles that Charles had eventually managed to catch him. It thus seems as if Charles's warranting the validity of Roman law in the *Edictum Pistense* was the price he had to pay for their cooperation.

In addition, one has to emphasize that both the Annals of St. Bertin and the Edict of Pîtres recognizably bear the stamp of Hincmar of Reims.¹¹⁵ Hincmar was of course extremely familiar with Roman law and may expected to have had a clear notion of what 'according to Roman law' would have meant in this situation. But Hincmar was even more familiar with ecclesiastical and Frankish royal law and the interplay between them. It appears from this that only a person with Hincmar's intellectual, political, religious and regional background could imagine the West Frankish kingdom as comprising two different legal anthropologies. The idea of co-operating sanctions of royal and ecclesiastical law in the northern parts of the West Frankish kingdom is so dominant here that no mention is even made of the *leges barbarorum*, while Frankish hesitation to interfere in Roman legal practice in Aquitaine was no new phenomenon.¹¹⁶ Obviously Frankish royal law offered only limited capacities to be extended over groups of people with different legal traditions. Attempts to establish general rules for all areas can be observed, for instance in case of the royal ban,¹¹⁷ but they should be seen against the background of other norms regarded as being traditional.

¹¹³ *Annales Bertiniani*, a. 864, ed. Waitz, 72.

¹¹⁴ Martindale 1983.

¹¹⁵ Schrörs 1884, 235–236; Nelson 1990. For Hincmar's knowledge of law, see also Dévisse 1962. Hincmar's influence in the *Edictum* also becomes apparent from the patristic sources quoted therein.

¹¹⁶ Siems 1992, 485; Ubl 2017, 216–218.

¹¹⁷ Esders 2005, 56–57.

3 Legal identity and political loyalty in the Frankish kingdoms

What were the political implications of the Frankish rulers' preservation of regional legal tradition? If a ruler guaranteed that lawsuits should be conducted according to Roman law, this practically meant that the local judges would have to know Roman law and thus in all likelihood be Romans themselves. Consequently such a claim implied regional autonomy and that local elites should remain in charge of important functions such as judges and counts.¹¹⁸ This was, of course, an argument that could equally be put forward by Franks, Burgundians, Alamans and Bavarians, too, and as such it became a general feature of the Frankish kingdoms, as we can see from the guarantees given by rulers that they would respect local law. We know that around 673 King Childeric II issued decrees for all three kingdoms (*tria regna*) ordering that each region's (*patria*) 'law and custom' (*lex et consuetudo*) should be observed by the judges (*iudices*).¹¹⁹ In so doing, he more or less explicitly confirmed a clause of the Paris edict of Chlothar II of 614 that judges should always be recruited from the region where they would be installed.¹²⁰ It also becomes clear from the same source that Childeric was reacting in response to local peoples' petitions.

It is an important question how such a deliberate preservation of local legal traditions related to the coherence of the Frankish kingdom as a whole and to royal law and legislation in particular. Some evidence for this can be gleaned from the formula collection compiled by Marculf in the later seventh century.¹²¹ According to one formula the king asked a newly appointed royal official – a count, duke or patricius – to be faithful to him and to govern all people who were living in his *pagus*, that is Franks, Romans, Burgundians, and from other nations (*tam Franci, Romani, Burgundionis vel reliquas nationis*), 'lawfully according to their law and custom' (*lex et consuetudo*).¹²² Though the formula partially drew on older phrases and transposed the ruler's general duty to protect widows and orphans to the count when he was holding law cases, it entails a clear statement on the preservation of local law. This is even more important, since another sample, from the same collection, emphasized that there were obligations which transcended gentile law. A mandate given to a count who should prepare the general oath of fidelity being sworn to the kings, asks this official to congregate all inhabitants from his district (the *pagenses*), that is Franks, Romans and from other nations (*tam Francos, Romanos vel reliqua natione degentibus*), so that they would swear when the *missus* arrived to accept the oath on

¹¹⁸ Murray 1994.

¹¹⁹ *Passio Leudegarii* 1, 7, ed. Krusch, 289.

¹²⁰ *Edictum Chlotharii II.*, a. 614, c. 12, ed. Boretius, *Cap.* 1, 22. See Murray 1994.

¹²¹ On Marculf's collection, see most recently Rio 2009, 81–101.

¹²² *Marculfi formulae* 1, 8 (*Carta de ducatu et patriciatu et comitatu*), in: *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi*, ed. Zeumer, 47–48.

behalf of the king.¹²³ It is made clear that fidelity towards the king was an overriding principle, which in a way seems natural, since it was the Frankish monarchy under which the different people were united into one political entity. Taken together, these two formulas, which may be dated to the year 633, when apparently also the Ripuarian law code was drafted,¹²⁴ are by no means contradictory, but rather have to be read as supplementing each other. The preservation of local legal custom by the king was regarded as an elementary precondition of him exercising a just and legitimate rule. At the same time, the Ripuarian Law illustrates how in between these ethnic identities the forging of new ethnic identities took place: for in the Ripuarian law code we find the category of a *Ribuarius* worked out in a way that a person that is born in the Ribuarian *pagus* as a free Ripuarian should have the highest wergild.¹²⁵ Thus, despite their guarantee to have ethnically defined legal traditions observed, already the Merovingian kings developed methods for how to adjust ethnic identities within two generations on the idea of a regionally based law.¹²⁶

Taking up Merovingian policy of shaping identities by use of law the Carolingian rulers sought to make clear how loyalty to the king and the preservation of local law should go hand in hand and be mutually dependent. In 789, only a year after he had confirmed the *Lex Romana Visigothorum*,¹²⁷ and moreover in the very year when he also ordered a revised version of the *Lex Salica* to be written down¹²⁸ and had the *Admonitio generalis* published,¹²⁹ Charlemagne issued a long capitulary on how the oath of fidelity should be sworn to him as king, issuing very detailed prescriptions on the groups of persons that were obliged to swear and why and how they would have to do so.¹³⁰ Interestingly, within the same capitulary we find Charlemagne referring to many people, who had complained that their law (*lex*) had not been respected; reacting to this, the king emphasized that it was his definite will that every man (*unusquisque homo*) should have his law (*sua lex*) preserved; and if anything would be done contrary to law (*contra legem*), it would not be on the king's order; for this reason counts or *missi* should refer this man's (*homo*) case to the ruler so that he would emend it completely. Accordingly, Charlemagne asked his

123 Marculfi *Formulae* 1, 40 (*Ut leudesamio promittantur rege*), in: *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi*, ed. Zeumer, 68. On this formula, see the discussion in Esders 2012a, 362–364.

124 The state of research on the *Lex Ribuaria* and its date is summarized in Esders (in press a).

125 *Lex Ribuaria* 7 [*De homicidio*] and 40 (36) [*De diversis interfectionibus*], ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 77, 92–95.

126 Werner 1994. In the Carolingian period, the compilation of *Lex Francorum Chamavorum* illustrates the attempt to preserve the region's Frankish character between Saxon and Frisian law, see Hoppenbrouwers 2013, 258–262 and Esders (in press b).

127 See Liebs 2016, and Ubl 2014b, 84–85.

128 On this, see Ubl 2014b, 82–88; Ubl 2017, 171–174.

129 *Die Admonitio Karls des Großen*, ed. Mordek/Zechiel Eckes/Glatthaar.

130 *Capitulare missorum* a. 792 vel 786, ed. Boretius, *Cap.* 1, no. 25, 66–67. On the date (789), see Becher 1993, 79–85.

missi to enquire which law they had by birth (*qualem habeant legem ex natione*).¹³¹ Again, we find loyalty to the king and this king's preservation of regional or ethnic law as two sides of the same coin. It thus comes as no surprise that according to the oath formulas from 789 and 802 each man (*homo*) should swear to be faithful to the king or emperor, *sicut homo per drictum esse domino suo*, 'as a man was obliged according to law'.¹³² What mattered most here, was the clause *per drictum* which placed fidelity on the condition that the ruler would respect local law.¹³³ While there are further examples coming from ninth-century sources,¹³⁴ we find under Louis the Pious, in the *Constitutio Romana* issued in 824 for the city of Rome and the *patrimonium Petri*, the oath of fidelity and the principle of personality of law simultaneously: 'All the Roman people shall be asked, according to which law each wants to live (*qua lege vult vivere*), so that they would live according to the law they have professed as valid for themselves (*ut tali qua se professi fuerint vivere velle vivant*)', which in case of offences would form the base for the pope's or the emperor's decision.¹³⁵ As before, the *professio iuris* served to facilitate Frankish groups to stay in Italy with having their legal tradition respected.¹³⁶ At the same time, however, it led to a deliberate affirmation by Lombards and Romans to have their legal tradition respected too, as we find it in charters from the ninth century onward.

It is remarkable that the Carolingians seem to have reflected the interdependence between fidelity, regional law and the principle of the personality of law so much. In doing so, they were by no means simply reacting to local conditions and expectations.¹³⁷ Rather, one would venture to say, they saw the chance to create their 'identity politics' along these lines in a very active way.¹³⁸

Conclusion

While Roman identity in general appears to have faded out on many levels in the post-Roman period, the question of Roman identity as defined by Roman law allows us to qualify such a general observation and to paint a much more nuanced picture. In post-Roman Gaul, being subject to Roman law – as earned by birth, manumission or *professio iuris* – could become a regional identity marker, but in many different

¹³¹ *Capitulare missorum* a. 792 vel 786, c. 3, ed. Boretius, *Cap.* 1, no. 25, 66–67.

¹³² *Capitularia missorum specialia* a. 802, ed. Boretius, *Cap.* 1, no. 34, 101.

¹³³ Esders 2008. On the formula of 802, see also Odegaard 1941; Odegaard 1945; Becher 1993, 163–165; Reynolds 1997, 5–6.

¹³⁴ Esders 2008, with a discussion of oath formulas using this 'sicut clause'.

¹³⁵ *Constitutio Romana* a. 824, c. 5, ed. Boretius, *Cap.* 1, 323. The formula of the oath of fidelity which was sworn on this occasion (*ibid.* 324) has been transmitted separately.

¹³⁶ See above footnote 32. On *professiones iuris* in Southern Gaul referring to Salic or Roman law, see Kienast 1968, 99–101.

¹³⁷ On this, see Faulkner 2013, 443–464, the main argument of which I found hardly convincing.

¹³⁸ See also Hoppenbrouwers 2013; Ubl 2017, 165–191.

ways. The large numbers of Romans in Southern Gaul, in particular their elites as landowners and holders of important military and ecclesiastical posts, urged barbarian kings to preserve Roman legal tradition for them and to ensure its application in local courts. This gave the *Romani* advantages and specific options in many practical things but also helped them to maintain a specific notion of the nature and procedure of law, and it would guarantee that local judges would be recruited from among the Roman population. While this holds true for the territories of Southern Gaul with its vast majorities of Roman people, also the inhabitants of enclaves like *Churraetia* expected the new rulers to preserve their Roman legal tradition.

However, within the same process Roman legal tradition became superseded by new regional identities which were first shaped by barbarian settlements in the fifth century and became stabilized through their rulers issuing barbarian law-codes. Thus, apart from being defined as Roman by Roman law, the people in Southern Gaul also adapted a political identity as inhabitants of a barbarian *regnum* or a region, which could make an individual also a Burgundian or an Aquitanian.

While one may assume that for *Romani* living in these regions Roman law was deliberately asserted as an identity marker for themselves, we cannot be equally sure for other regions of the Frankish kingdoms. For from the Frankish law-codes we get the impression that Roman legal identity as preserved in Northern and Eastern Gaul was much more enclosed and became deteriorated by the Frankish rulers' legislation. This becomes evident in the downgrading of the *wergild* for *Romani* and in the Frankish kings' intention to split off the *civitas Romana* of freedmen by introducing a new category of church freedmen (*tabularii*) and the new type of royal manumission by penny-throw, which created a far higher status. One gets the impression that in Northern and Eastern Gaul the *cives Romani* were treated as second-class citizens, while the king's interest was much more concerned with safeguarding the legal interests and identities of Frankish and other barbarian settlers, who would play a vital role in these areas characterized by a high need of military defence. While Frankish kingship sought to create the new identity of a freeborn *Ribuarius* who obtained his status by being born in the Ripuarian *pagus*, Romanness does not seem to have been an incentive, but rather was the attribution of an inferior status to a large group of the Rhineland population which was not valued as very important by the Frankish kings. It is difficult to judge as to what extent this had an impact on the group's self-perception as Romans, but it should be noted that different status designations among the *Romani*, such as *cives*, *possessores* or *dediticii*, appear to have continued well into the Carolingian period and thus obviously were important markers for these Roman subgroups. Additionally, the possession of certain types of property burdened with special obligations also could foster the maintenance of Roman identities such as *dediticii* and *tributarii*, contrasted with the 'non-Roman' *laeti*, though both groups' status may in fact not have differed very much.

It seems that in the long-term the development of the legal identity of a person would increasingly become defined by his or her place of birth and by dependence on a lord, and less by the ethnic identity of one's parents. Romans who were among

the dependents of a church or a monastery would retain the status of *coloni*, but their Romanness, often still visible by their practice of name-giving, appears to have been blurred by their subjection to an ecclesiastical lord.

Thus we can observe a process of fragmentation and regionalization of Roman legal identity in the Merovingian period. In contrast to their Visigothic and Burgundian predecessors, the Frankish rulers were hesitant to intervene in Southern Gaul by issuing law-codes for the Romans. In Carolingian West Francia, as illustrated in almost programmatic fashion in Charles the Bald's *Edictum Pistense*, the Frankish rulers looked at areas dominated by Roman law from a Northern perspective, leaving things there as they were.

The maintenance of regional, ethnically defined legal traditions appears as one of the most striking features of Frankish legal pluralism. In legal terms the Romans ranked as one among various ethnic groups within the Frankish realm. This was a most important prerequisite for fidelity being promised to the Frankish rulers. The general oath of fidelity and the capitulary legislation that emanated from this, required the common Christian faith as an overarching identity of the people of the Carolingian Empire. However, while fidelity was a way of centralizing political loyalty, royal and imperial law as given in the capitularies, and ecclesiastical law, as formulated by councils, would only to a limited extent introduce legal reforms. The Carolingian rulers wisely never intended to assimilate and standardize legal norms in a way as for instance Agobard of Lyons wanted them to do. Rather, they tried to maintain a balance between regional cultures and an impetus of an overarching Christianizing reform as initiated by the church. Thus, in the Carolingian Empire the tension between local law and general law would be balanced in a way hardly any Roman could ever have imagined in Roman times when talking about *ius gentium*.

It is conceivable that the process by which Roman law in many areas lost its importance as an identity marker could also give way to it being more freely used and adapted as a legal resource. By a selective process of using individual norms for different purposes and contexts Frankish kings and emperors as well as churches and monasteries could adapt Roman law for new purposes. These, however, are further chapters in the history of the post-Roman transformation of Romanness as defined by Roman law.

Lukas Bothe

From subordination to integration: Romans in Frankish law

1 Introduction

The study of *Romanness* is a test case for how an established and prestigious social identity can acquire many different shades of meaning, which, depending on the sources that we consult, may be classed alternately as civic, ethnic, legal and the like.¹ It is important to note that there is considerable variation in the usage of *Romanness* that is causing frustration among modern historians. If *Romanness* was used to make up for a bishop's humble origin in Gallic episcopal lives, it must have had a positive connotation among an educated audience in Southern Gaul.² Yet, if we take the *Lex Salica* at face value, *Romanness* presented a certain legal disadvantage for anyone living under Salic law north of the Loire.³ Apparently, confessions of *Romanness* could boost one's reputation as much as it could turn an individual into a second-class citizen. In the light of such ambiguity, any attempt to generalize early medieval concepts of *Romanness* is an arduous task. Legal sources, however, and the *leges barbarorum* in particular, may serve as an adequate point of departure because, if anything, generalization was their main purpose.

Legal historians refer to the laws of the Goths, Franks and Burgundians, as well as those of the Lombards, Anglo-Saxons and the various groups under Frankish dominion as *leges barbarorum*.⁴ The *leges* have often been treated as if they constituted a cohesive corpus of cognate texts defined by common ancestry in Germanic custom

1 I owe three quarters of this first sentence to the conference flyer, which I take as a starting point. I would like to express my gratitude to Walter Pohl and Cinzia Grifoni for the very kind invitation to participate in this venture. I also want to thank Stefan Esders, Andreas Fischer and Laury Sarti for their valuable critique of earlier versions. Similarly, I am indebted to Anna Gehler for her continuous support during the manuscript preparation. I would like to thank the German Science Foundation DFG for funding the SFB 700 'Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood' in which context this paper accrued. Last but not least I would like to thank my friend Alex Hargreaves for helping me to make the language flow a bit more naturally.

2 Cf. Jamie Kreiner's contribution to this volume.

3 *Pactus legis Salicae* 41: *De homicidiis ingenuorum*, ed. Eckhardt, 154–161. The geographical appraisal reckons with *Pactus legis Salicae* 47: *De filitortus*, ed. Eckhardt, 182–185, where the river *Ligere* (i.e. Loire) is given as the Southern boundary of the law code's area of application. South of the Loire Roman law would remain the prevalent legal culture throughout the Frankish period; cf. Stefan Esders' contribution to this volume.

4 The contemptuous term is not liked much by German scholars who cling to the equally misleading terms *Volks* or *Stammesrecht*. For a well founded critique of the terminology see Ubl 2014a, 423–425.

or Roman vulgar law.⁵ This umbrella approach has been rightly challenged and it seems more appropriate to analyse each of these law codes in its own right.⁶ This is not to say that there are no common features within early medieval legislation. Lisi Oliver has shown how many parallels existed among these codes regarding the evaluation of limbs and wounds.⁷ The objection is thus rather a precaution in order to withstand the temptation to explain similarities through reference to common roots, thereby risking overlooking important differences.

As Detlef Liebs points out, one such major difference between Visigoths and Burgundians on the one hand, and Franks on the other, is that the latter showed no interest in legislating separately for the Roman population under their rule.⁸ When the Visigothic king Alaric II made preparations for the looming war with Clovis' Franks in 506, he promulgated the breviary version of the *Codex Theodosianus*, which came to bear his name (*Breviarium Alarici*) and is otherwise referred to as the *Lex Romana Visigothorum*.⁹ Following suit were the Burgundians who promulgated a *Lex Romana Burgundionum*.¹⁰ The latter was not as comprehensive as the former, but nonetheless a collection of Roman law by which the Roman population of the Burgundian kingdom continued to live.¹¹ Both collections of Roman law accompanied contemporary legislation by Visigothic and Burgundian kings respectively. The Franks, however, did not produce anything similar in addition to their major compilations: the *Lex Salica* and the *Lex Ribuaria*.¹²

The *Lex Salica* is the only extant piece of Frankish legislation originating from before the mid-sixth century. Whether we can reasonably attribute the *Lex Salica* to Clovis himself or not is still undecided, but it has been suggested time and again that some of its provisions must indeed be older.¹³ Given that hints of royal authorship are rare in the *Lex Salica*, Étienne Renard argues that some of its clauses were perhaps drafted in the time of Childeric's alleged exile among the Thuringians

5 Cf. Wormald 2003, favouring strong Germanic influx, and Collins 1998, stressing the influence of Roman vulgar law; cf. also I. Wood 1986.

6 Most emphatically Ubl 2014a and Siems 2009; cf. Wormald 2003, 23, acknowledging chronological and geographic variation, but sticking to the explanatory factors of 'sub Roman provincial routine' and 'customs imported by the West's new masters.'

7 Oliver 2011.

8 Liebs 2017, esp. 76–83.

9 *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, ed. Haenel.

10 *Lex Romana sive forma et expositio legum Romanarum*, in: *Leges Burgundionum*, ed. von Salis, 123–170.

11 Cf. Amory 1993.

12 *Lex Ribuaria*, ed. Beyerle/Buchner; title numbers refer to this edition, Sohm's are given in brackets. The *Lex Ribuaria* is the best example for legal development in the Frankish kingdoms, yet this development did not affect the existing body of Roman law.

13 Cf. Waitz 1846, 75–92; Beyerle 1924; Poly 1993; Geary 1996, 124–126; Charles Edwards 2001; Ubl 2009; Renard 2009; Ubl 2014a and most emphatically now Ubl 2017, 92–97.

in the 460s.¹⁴ Karl Ubl has recently noted that the early dating of some of the text's clauses is plausible but has stuck to 'around 500' as a working hypothesis, subsequently explaining the king's absence from the law code as a deliberate disguise of a royal penal agenda.¹⁵ The notion of a fifth-century rather than a sixth-century origin is supported by Philipp Grierson and Mark Blackburn's remark on the strange silver:gold ratio of forty *denarii* making up one *solidus*, apparently referring to the *siliqua* of Honorius (393–423) and his immediate successors.¹⁶ Taking up this argument, Thomas Charles-Edwards interprets both the Visigothic *Codex Euricianus* and the Frankish *Lex Salica* as regional responses to the great Roman legal code, the *Codex Theodosianus*.¹⁷ Be that as it may, neither at the time of codification nor later did the Franks see a need to promulgate Roman law themselves.¹⁸ Instead, they subjugated the Roman population under the rule of Salic law.¹⁹ However, compensations for wrongdoing against Romans were halved. Including the Roman population in the Frankish wergild scheme ultimately meant that they were to solve their disputes along the lines of revenge and compensation, which, as Patrick Wormald dryly assessed, 'had not been Roman law's approach to social discord since the time of the Twelve Tables.'²⁰

Adding to the implied backslide in legal development is the separation of Romans and Franks manifest in the law code's wergild catalogue.²¹ There is, however, a contradiction. While the wergild ratio suggests that Romans fell victim to legal discrimination, Gregory of Tours' *Histories* do not suggest that Romans were discriminated

14 Renard 2009, 348–349; cf. Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 2, 12, ed. Krusch/Levison, 61–62; Renard considers Childeric's exile as but one among other possible contexts for the initial codification of the *Lex Salica*. Following Beyerle 1924, Renard suggests that the bulk of *Lex Salica*'s provisions must originate from a time prior to the beginning of Clovis' reign in 481/482, most probably from his father Childeric's lifetime.

15 Ubl 2014a, 425–427, 444; but cf. now Ubl 2017, 96, arguing for 475–486/7 as the most plausible date of origin.

16 Blackburn/Grierson 1995, 102–107.

17 Charles Edwards 2000, 274; a similar point is made by I. Wood 1993, stressing the relevance of the Burgundian *Liber Constitutionum*, the *Lex Salica* as well as the various Merovingian edicts for the reception of the Theodosian Code in Gaul.

18 Later on Charlemagne did make sure that Roman law was available; in a now lost manuscript containing the Visigothic Breviary (*Codex Rancaneti*), Alaric's recognition clause was followed by a reference to a reissue in the twentieth regnal year of Charlemagne (787/88): *Et iterum anno XX, regnante Karolo rege Francorum et Longobardorum, et patricio Romanorum*; Cf. *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, ed. Haenel 1849, XXII–XXIII and 4; approving Conrat 1891, 44; for a comment in relation to Charlemagne's *leges* reform see Ubl 2014b, 84–85 n. 33; further evidence is added by Liebs 2017, 79–83.

19 *Pactus legis Salicae* 14, 2–3; 16, 5; 39, 5; 41, 8–10; 42, 4, ed. Eckhardt, 64; 74; 144–145; 156–157; 164–165.

20 Wormald 2003, 30.

21 *Pactus legis Salicae* 41: *De homicidiis ingenuorum* 1, 5, 8–10, ed. Eckhardt, 154–157.

against on a large scale. This essay aims to cushion this contradiction by reappraising the legal sources. In defining the legal status of Romans, the legal sources' approach to *Romanness* is of course rather prescriptive, whereas Gregory uses it in a descriptive manner. Nonetheless, this reappraisal is a fruitful exercise that helps us better understand how *Romanness* was gradually transformed from an ethnic or rather civic identity into a legal category.

2 Legal sources, social stratification, and social practice

The study of legal sources allows us to get an idea of the complexity of early medieval society. The picture we get is rather idealized because we look through the eyes of people trying to fix all kinds of wrongs. Casuistry and legal consequences are sometimes disconcerting. We must not describe these rules in too positivistic a way. On the other hand, as historians trained in source criticism are well aware, fear of citing wishful thinking should not lead to pointblank disregard of these sources. Ploughing the field of dispute settlement therefore requires on the part of the scholar particular awareness of the sources' limitations.²² Sure enough, most arguments brought forward against the historical significance of the *Lex Salica* as a source of Frankish legal and social history have a claim to validity.²³ But, making a virtue out of necessity, we can still make sense of these texts if we look at the intention that governed them. Of course, this requires a certain readiness to accept intentionality in lieu of preexistent traditions.²⁴ Whatever other function the *leges* might have had, when they were originally set up someone had an idea of how society should be ordered. The notorious wergild tariffs can thus tell us a great deal about social stratification in the Frankish kingdoms.

There are three criteria that determine legal status in Frankish law: the first combines gender, age, marital and social status; the second is ethnic affiliation; the third is functional status.²⁵ The first category is rather simple, as any person would be either male or female, young or old, (un-)married or widowed, free or unfree. The sec-

²² On source determined research outcome in the study of early medieval conflict solution see W. Brown 2007, 323–327; for the particularities of the early Merovingian period see I. Wood 1986.

²³ To name but a few: 'in reality' the *Lex Salica* was never enacted as it was nothing but *imitatio Romana*; conflict settlement on the ground was a matter of oral customs rather than written law; the body of Salic law comprised much more than the few titles contained in the *lex scripta* (Salic law vs Salic Law); in general the *leges* are without relevance for the early days of Frankish history because manuscript tradition is not traceable before the end of the eighth century.

²⁴ Cf. Ubl 2014a, 445.

²⁵ The classification is arbitrary only in so far as the first factor can be further subdivided but the second and third criteria have a positive or negative influence independent from which boxes are ticked in the first.

ond is trickier because, contrary to our expectation, ethnic affiliation appears as something disputable but decisive for one's wergild. The third category is again rather clear-cut: independent from the first two categories, function or office in public and above all royal service increased anyone's legal status substantially.²⁶ All this can be gleaned from the *Lex Salica's* basic wergilds in title 41 *De homicidiis ingenuorum*:

1. But if anyone kills a free Frank or any barbarian who is living in accordance with the Salic law, and it can be proven that he did this, let him be held liable for 8000 *denarii*, which make 200 *solidi* known in the *malberg* as *leodi*. [...]
5. But if anyone kills him who is in the king's trust or a free woman let him be held liable for 24.000 *denarii*, which make 600 *solidi* known in the *malberg* as *leodi*. [...]
8. But if he kills a Roman man, a table companion of the king, and it can be proven, let him be held liable for 12.000 *denarii* which make 300 *solidi*, known in the *malberg* as *leodi*.
9. But if a Roman landholder who has not been a table companion of the king is killed, let him who is proved to have killed him be liable for 4000 *denarii* which make 100 *solidi*, known in the *malberg* as *uualaleodi*.
10. But if anyone should kill a Roman tributary and it can be proven let him be held liable for 2500 *denarii* which make sixty two and a half *solidi*, known in the *malberg* as *uualaleodi*.²⁷

Assuming that this was close to historical reality, *Romani* were obviously eligible for the highest positions at court while at the same time they were discriminated against in terms of personal honour and social prestige, assessed in the lower wergilds. We still, however, have to address the obvious discrepancy between the law envisaged by legislators and social practice, which we can see in Gregory's *Histories*, where *Romanness* never appears as a major shortcoming.²⁸ Firstly, there is no reason why a piece of literature should be any more trustworthy than a legal text. It should be noted once again that law codes aimed to generalize specific rules for larger groups. In contrast to Gregory's *Histories* we thus do not encounter any individual Romans in the Frankish law codes. It is important, therefore, to explore the principles under which Frankish legislators awarded Roman legal status to certain groups of people.

26 E.g. as a count: *Pactus legis Salicae* 54: *De grafione occiso*, ed. Eckhardt, 203–204: *Si quis grafio nem occiderit, XXIVM denarios qui faciunt solidos DC culpabilis iudicetur.*

27 *Pactus legis Salicae* 41: *De homicidiis ingenuorum*, 1, 5, 8–10, ed. Eckhardt, 154–157: 1. *Si quis <uero> ingenuum Francum aut barbarum, qui lege Salica uiuit, occiderit, cui fuerit adprobatum, mallobergo leodi sunt, VIIIIM denarios qui faciunt solidos CC culpabilis iudicetur. [...]* 5. *Si quis uero eum qui in truste dominica est <aut mulierem ingenuam> occiderit <qui fuerit adprobatum>, mallobergo leodi hoc est, XXIVM denarios qui faciunt solidos DC culpabilis iudicetur. [...]* 8. *Si uero Romanus homo, conuiua regis, occisus fuerit cui fuerit adprobatum, mallobergo leodi sunt XIIM denarios qui faciunt solidos CCC culpabilis iudicetur. [...]* 9. *Si uero Romanus homo possessor et conuiua regis non fuerit occisus fuerit, qui eum occidisse probatur, mallobergo uualaleodi sunt, IVM denarios qui faciunt solidos C culpabilis iudicetur. [...]* 10. *Si quis uero Romanum tributarium occiderit cui fuerit adprobatum, mallobergo uualaleodi sunt, MM(D) denarios qui faciunt solidos LXII (semis) culpabilis iudicetur;* all English translations of the *Lex Salica* and the *Lex Ribuaria* follow those of Rivers 1986.

28 Cf. Stein 1929, 1 with further references, probably the most compact presentation of the problem.

3 The subordination of Romans in the *Lex Salica*

As previously stated, contrary to their Visigothic and Burgundian neighbours the Franks did not revise Roman law in any way.²⁹ Instead, they incorporated their Roman subjects into their own Salic law, albeit not on equal terms. Quoted above, chapter 41 of the *Lex Salica*, concerning the homicide of freemen, reveals a straightforward rule: under the alleged precondition of social equality *Romanness* leads to reduced legal protection.³⁰ Wergild-wise any *Romanus* was clearly inferior to a socially coordinate *Francus*. Killing a *homo Romanus conviva regis* – a Roman table companion of the king – called for a wergild of 300 *solidi* which is equivalent to 50 % of the 600 *solidi* due for killing an *ingenuus Francum qui in truste dominica est* – a Frank who is in the king's trust or retinue.³¹ We have to think here of very high ranking people with similar political influence and possibly military functions, who are separated only by ethnic affiliation. Both members of the king's trust and royal table companions are protected by a higher wergild because of their importance as functional elites.³² They stand out from what constitutes perhaps the majority of the Frankish population or at least the main addressees of the law, the *ingenui* or *Franci* – freeborn Franks whose Roman equivalents seem to be the *homines Romani possessores*.³³ Again a Roman's wergild of 100 *solidi* accounts for half that of a Frank. According to the title's heading all these are understood to be freemen. Among them we find a third group of tribute rendering Romans – the *Romani tributarii* – whose wergild varies substantially among manuscripts from 45 to 70 *solidi*.³⁴ In the logic of *Lex Salica*'s ethnic dualism they would be equivalent to *liti*, but the latter were omitted from this chapter because they did not count as *ingenui*. However, two major problems arise from this tariff. First of all, who are these Romans and second, why are they valued less than their Frankish counterparts?

²⁹ Liebs 2017, 76–83.

³⁰ *Pactus legis Salicae* 41, 1, 5, 8, 9, ed. Eckhardt, 203–204.

³¹ Cf. *Marculfi Formulae* 1, 18, in: *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi*, ed. Zeumer, 55.

³² Terminology leaves no doubt that their higher status is derived from royal service or proximity to the king (*Königsnähe*) as opposed to ancient Germanic nobility or senatorial rank. If anything, noble ancestry may have helped to get in touch with the king. The debate around the origins of the Frankish nobility is summed up by Becher 2009, 175–187.

³³ *Possessor* is in fact a legal term directly taken from Roman constitutional law, where it denoted freeholders serving in the local administration (*curia*), who were liable to the land tax but exempt from the Roman poll tax, the *plebeia capitatio*, cf. Savigny 1828a, 327–329.

³⁴ This is striking because the other wergilds remain stable throughout the manuscripts.

Who are the *possessores* and *tributarii*?

The *homo Romanus conviva regis* must be excluded from the debate because his enhanced status is derived from affiliation to the royal dining community, i.e. the court. It is thus proximity to the king (*Königsnähe*) rather than inherent nobility that defines his social prestige.³⁵ Hence we must focus on the composition of the two other categories: the *Romanus homo possessor* and the *Romanus tributarius*. The terminology is at the same time telling and tempting. There is a very long tradition, beginning with Savigny, of identifying these two groups with different types of Roman taxpayers.³⁶ The *Romani possessores* have been identified as free proprietors liable to the Roman land tax, whereas the *Romani tributarii* have been identified as unpropertied freemen, liable to the head tax.³⁷ Savigny asserted that after most of the urban plebeians had gradually been exempted from paying tax during the course of Late Antiquity, rural *coloni* were the only significant group who remained under its liability.³⁸ The *tributarii* were thus to be identified with the class of rural tenants about whose status so much ink has been spilled.³⁹ The proposition is alluring, but not necessarily true.⁴⁰ Although there are a few laws in the Theodosian and Justinian Codes which use the term *tributarius* for *colonus*, there is no direct equation of the two terms.⁴¹ Debate evolved about the correct interpretation of the eponymous *tributum* as a head tax owed to the state or as ground rent owed to the landlord.⁴² With regard to the *Lex Salica*'s rubric, *de homicidiis ingenuorum*, the free status of *coloni* and *tributarii* as *ingenui* was disputed too.⁴³ In a purely legal perspective, however, late Roman *coloni* and *tributarii* were indeed of free status.⁴⁴

35 Cf. Becher 2009, 175–178.

36 Savigny 1828a, 369–371; Waitz 1846, 101. See also Dannenbauer 1941, 60–61 with n. 31 and 32; Goffart 1982a, 10, 19.

37 Savigny 1828a, 327–29 and 369–371; for a rather unorthodox view see Durliat 1990, 65–69, 157–159; to Durliat the *possessores* were essentially the state's local agents, who featured as both taxpayers and tax collectors.

38 Cf. Savigny 1828a, 369–70.

39 Most recently Schipp 2009; a major, clarifying contribution to the debate was made by Sirks 1993; cf. also Sirks 2008, focusing on developments in the East.

40 Cf. Schipp 2009, 373–374 and 381 who identifies the *Lex Salica*'s *Romani tributarii* with *coloni*.

41 Cf. A.H.M. Jones 1958, 2 n. 21 and 8 n. 51 referring to *CTh* 10, 12, 2, 2 and to *CTh* 11, 7, 2 respectively; for a specific treatment of the *tributarius* in the Roman codices see Eibach 1977, 219–232; Krause 1987, 88–155.

42 Cf. Savigny 1828b, 302–303; Waitz 1846, 101; Gaupp 1855, 47–48; summing up: Roth 1850, 83–93; the debate was taken up by Durliat 1990, 85–93, 175–185, who takes *coloni* and *mancipia* for free owners who paid taxes to the state through the *dominus* or *possessor*.

43 Cf. Waitz 1846, 101; Roth 1850, 84; but see also Fustel de Coulanges 1875, 547–572, ignoring the rubric when declaring both *possessores* and *tributarii* were essentially freedmen.

44 Cf. Brunner 1906, 365, calling the free status of Roman *coloni* a fiction of Roman law which was intended to prohibit their emancipation proper. Mommsen was convinced that the whole institution

Romani and leti/liti

Whether we speak of non-landowning Romans or *coloni* does not change the notion that the *tributarii* occupied a rather low position among the Roman subjects of the *Lex Salica* and that they were somehow obliged to render a *tributum*. Gregory of Tours uses *tributum* in an unspecific way and it seems to denote taxes and other duties alike.⁴⁵ Contrary to their sub-grouping among the *ingenui*, the *Romani tributarii* were even less well protected than the semi-free *leti/liti* in the *Lex Salica*, although their wergilds were aligned in later additions.⁴⁶ The issue is further complicated by Wormald's identification of Salic *letus* with *laetus*, 'the late Roman term for a barbarian settler-soldier' whereby 'the "free" (Frank?) is being marked out from those barbarians previously settled on Roman soil.'⁴⁷ If this were so it would fit the idea of conquerors setting themselves above the conquered, but the equation might as well be discarded on the grounds of *Lex Salica* 41, 1, which unequivocally puts Franks and other barbarians who live under Salic law on the same level.⁴⁸ Whatever became of the *laeti* of earlier days, in the Frankish context *letus/litus* merely refers to the intermediate class of the semi-free (*Minderfreie*), basically freedmen who remained under some sort of patronage.⁴⁹ With regard to Romans, however, we must assume that it is the *possessores* with whom the *Lex Salica*'s authors were mainly concerned. This follows from title 42, 4 of the *Lex Salica*, which suggests that *Romani* and *liti* were generally social equals, both being valued at 100 *solidi*.⁵⁰ It is indirectly confirmed by the way in which later redactors no longer understood the division between *possessores* and *tributarii*. When Charlemagne had the *Lex Salica* revised in

of the colonate rested on the serf's treatment as a freeman to keep him available for military service; cf. Mommsen 1889, 242.

⁴⁵ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 3, 25; 3, 36; 5, 26–28 (also *functionis, discriptiones*); 7, 15, ed. Krusch / Levison, 123, 131, 232–234, 336–337.

⁴⁶ *Pactus legis Salicae* 117, ed. Eckhardt, 263. This capitulary, assigned to Chilperic I (561–584) and transmitted in a single manuscript (Leiden, Voss. Lat. 119 = K17) repeals any status difference between Romans: 1. *Si quis puerum regis aut libertum occiderit, solidos C culpabilis iudicetur*. 2. *Aut Romanum ingenuum uel tributarium aut militem, solidos C culpabilis iudicetur* (cf. *Supplementa tom I*, ed. Pertz, 12); cf. *Capitulare legi Ribuariae additum a. 803*, c. 2, ed. Boretius, MGH *Capitularia* 1, no. 41, 117: *X cap. Homo regius, id est fiscalinus, et aeclesiasticus vel litus interfectus centum solidis conponatur*.

⁴⁷ Wormald 2003, 30–31.

⁴⁸ *Pactus legis Salicae* 41, 1, ed. Eckhardt, 154.

⁴⁹ *Pactus legis Salicae* 26, 1–2, ed. Eckhardt, 96–97; cf. von Olberg 1991, 161–180.

⁵⁰ *Pactus legis Salicae* 42, 4 *De homicidiis a contuberniis factis*, ed. Eckhardt, 164; *De romanis uero uel letis et pueris haec lex superius conpraehensa ex medietate soluantur*. There is serious confusion about these two groups. The manuscripts record varying wergilds for the *tributarius*, but, apart from that, imply equality of *Romanus* and *litus*. The *Lex Ribuarua* however takes the 100 *solidi* wergild of the *Romanus* for granted, but introduces a *servus* manumitted to the status of *tributarius uel litus* in chapter 62 whom it assigns a surprisingly low wergild of 36 *solidi*. As this is strangely incompatible with all Salic and Ribuarian regulations, it must remain a mystery; cf. *Lex Ribuarua* 65 (62) [*De homine qui servum tributarium facit*], ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 117.

802/03, the Roman proprietor was further specified as *Romanus homo possessor id est qui res in pago ubi commanet proprias possidet*, but no similar clarification was made for the *homo tributarius*.⁵¹

The intra-ethnic division into social ranks based on proximity to the king, land ownership, and tax obligations remains dubious. The *Romani* with whom the *Lex Salica* are chiefly concerned are the so-called *Romani possessores*, who were put on equal terms with the semi-free *liti*. The privileged group of the *Romani convivae regis* form a functional elite whose members gradually merged with the Frankish *antrustiones*. The nature and whereabouts of the *tributarii* are particularly obscure as there are hints to both their alignment with the *possessores* as well as to their decline into servitude.⁵² It is therefore reasonable to concentrate on the *Romani possessores*, who were Roman by birth and owned property recorded on the tax roll, whatever that meant in the sixth century.⁵³ Though freeborn and propertied, they were valued as second-class citizens. The general rule that Romans counted less than Franks is undisputable. It is hard to escape the *Lex Salica*'s dual structure within which legal category and ethnic affiliation overlap: *antrustiones* – *convivae regis*; *ingenui* – *possessores*; *liti* – *tributarii*. The three layers of society respectively appear to conform to the same principle, although in wergild terms this perceived equality leaves much to be desired. While within the scope of this dual structure the criteria which identified someone as a *Romanus* are not wholly obvious, it must have been quite clear in local communities where people tended to know each other.

4 The scholarly debate

The question as to why Romans were reduced to the status of *liti* in the *Lex Salica* is much debated yet unresolved. While the debate cannot be recounted in full, the major arguments must be briefly sketched. The traditional view shared by both German and French scholars in the nineteenth century is somewhat ambiguous. On the one hand, it was fed on the idea that the conquerors subordinated the conquered, hence the difference in wergild. On the other hand, it was postulated that apart from their reduced honour, Romans shared the same rights and duties as Franks and were thus equal subjects of the Merovingian kings.⁵⁴ Paul Roth for example claimed that the introduction of wergilds for Romans only revealed information on Roman class relations, not on the relationship between Franks and Romans. For Roth those wergilds were merely a legal measure provided for the inevitable collision of Roman and Germanic law. The adjustment, he argued, of the Roman social order

⁵¹ *Pactus legis Salicae* K, 41, 9, ed. Eckhardt, 157.

⁵² Cf. *Pactus legis Salicae* 78, 1, ed. Eckhardt, 263; but cf. *Lex Ribuaria* 65 (62), ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 117.

⁵³ W. Brown 2012, on the changing usage of the *gesta municipalia*; cf. Wickham 2005a, 105–109.

⁵⁴ Cf. Stutz 1934, 5–15, providing a good overview of the earlier French and German scholarship.

to the much simpler Frankish scheme of free and unfree was a necessary precondition to the integrative rule over both nations.⁵⁵

Even today the notion that victorious Frankish warriors would have claimed a higher wergild by merit remains consistent. Of course this explanation would only be viable if we had any certainty about the *Lex Salica*'s origin in the postconquest situation – which we do not.⁵⁶ But if the whole wergild scheme was actually a system based on reward, would we not find criteria which qualified people for the reward?⁵⁷ And would this not amount to a perceived difference in status? Either way, matching equal rights with legal inequality remains a challenge.⁵⁸

In 1875 Numa Fustel de Coulanges spiced up the debate when he argued that the term *Romanus* transported no ethnic meaning at all but merely denoted persons of inferior legal status. For Fustel de Coulanges *Romanus* referred to freedmen alone, becoming increasingly separate from the *Franci*, who formed a very restricted elite of freemen.⁵⁹ Julien Havet, among others, immediately refuted this thesis and declared that *Romanus* referred to both freedmen and any other national Romans,⁶⁰ provoking a clarification by Fustel de Coulanges in the same year.⁶¹ He had merely meant to say that in the *Lex Salica* the term *Romanus* could possibly denote freedmen or Gallo-Romans, but in any case persons assigned only half wergilds, who are basically treated like freedmen in other *leges*, especially in the *Lex Ribuariorum*. Fustel de Coulanges also maintained his general conviction that wergilds depended on social conditions rather than 'race'.⁶² Heinrich Brunner, a declared antagonist of Fustel de Coulanges, noted that the Roman counted for less than the Frank, which, he postulated, was the result of a social levelling that the barbarians had provided for Gallo-Roman society.⁶³ In the revised second edition of his celebrated 'Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte' Brunner skipped this passage and presented a new theory based on kinship structure, which seemed to solve all problems at once. According to the *Lex Salica*, wergilds were shared among direct heirs, the relations up to the third degree and

⁵⁵ Roth 1850, 93–96.

⁵⁶ Cf. Waitz 1846, 101–103; Waitz makes a contrary argument. The wergild difference had to be rooted in the time before Clovis integrated larger parts of the Roman provincial population and thus reflects the fifth century situation in the Franks' Northern homelands; now approving Ubl 2017, 93.

⁵⁷ Cf. Springer 1997, 83: '*Salicus* ist austauschbar mit *qui lege Salica vivit* ("wer nach salischem Recht lebt").' Living under Salic law seems to be a distinction mark but does not appear as a state attainable by others.

⁵⁸ Cf. Becher 2009, 186, taking a conciliatory position in arguing that the *Franci* in Gregory of Tours were in fact on equal terms with the members of the Roman upper classes because they exercised 'Herrschaft' over their dependents and were thus not comparable to the ordinary Roman freemen. On the other hand Roman landowners must have exercised 'Herrschaft' over their households, too.

⁵⁹ Fustel de Coulanges 1875, 547–572.

⁶⁰ Havet 1876, 120–136.

⁶¹ Fustel de Coulanges 1876.

⁶² Fustel de Coulanges 1876, 486.

⁶³ Brunner 1887, 224, 227, 229.

the *fiscus*, each party acquiring a third respectively.⁶⁴ The inherent idea that the wider kin could be held responsible for the deeds of an individual member, so ran Brunner's argument, was alien to Romans, and the kin would thus not profit from wergild payouts either. But when the family's share could be halved, the *fredus* (i.e. the fiscal share) would have to be halved too. In the result 100 *solidi* was the natural wergild for the free Roman.⁶⁵ This explanation was initially accepted among German scholars but eventually rejected.⁶⁶

Another peak in the debate resulted from Simon Stein's fervently advanced belief that the *Romani* of the *leges* and other Frankish sources were in fact peasants and rustics.⁶⁷ In a determined effort to silence Stein and everyone else, Ulrich Stutz reinforced Brunner's theory and declared it to be the only valid explanation.⁶⁸ In an article posthumously published after the Second World War, Marc Bloch rejected Brunner's thesis on the grounds that it was inconsistently argued. Why would the sons of a slain Roman have the right to compensation but not his brothers?⁶⁹ Bloch discarded the whole debate as 'un pseudo-problème' and returned to the original notion that the Romans had been deliberately reduced to the status of *liti* as a result of the Frankish invasion.⁷⁰ The German occupation of France and his subsequent execution as a member of the *Résistance* had prevented Bloch from an earlier publication. In the Third Reich, however, the debate had not paused.

In an article published in 1941, Heinrich Dannenbauer rejected the idea that the Gallo-Roman majority should have been turned into second-class citizens by a ruling 'Herrenvolk'.⁷¹ Ironically, this objection came from a scholar who himself had joined the NSDAP as early as 1932, but his argument deserves attention nonetheless. According to Dannenbauer, Stutz and Brunner had made a fundamental mistake in refusing to notice the already deteriorated status of Roman *curiales* in Late Antiquity. In fact, he argued, the Franks did not change anything at all when they graded Roman *possessores* (i.e. legally free taxpayers) at a lower level than free Franks who – like the Roman senatorial elite – were not obliged to pay any tax whatsoever.⁷² For him, the *tributarii* were of course *coloni*, and senators were not even mentioned in the *Lex Salica*, either because there were none in Northern Gaul or because they were too powerful to be subjected to the law.⁷³ This general take on the stability of the Roman classes is plausible and Dannenbauer's remarks on senators' absence from the *Lex*

⁶⁴ *Pactus legis Salicae* 62: *De compositione homicidii* and 50: *De fides facta*, 3, ed. Eckhardt, 226–228 and 194–195.

⁶⁵ Brunner 1906, 335–336; already sketched in Brunner 1892, 614, n. 7.

⁶⁶ Cf. Beyerle 1915, 394 n. 36.

⁶⁷ Stein 1929.

⁶⁸ Stutz 1934, 1–48.

⁶⁹ Bloch 1946/47, esp. 5–6.

⁷⁰ Bloch 1946/47, 9–10; cf. now also Ubl 2017, 74–76 esp. 75.

⁷¹ Dannenbauer 1941, esp. 55.

⁷² Dannenbauer 1941, generally approving is Goffart 1982a, 10, n. 29 and 19, n. 65.

⁷³ Dannenbauer 1941, 60–69.

Salica are equally convincing. Any estimate of senatorial rank under Frankish rule is an *argumentum ex silentio* in the face of the selective sample of rules contained in the *Lex Salica*.⁷⁴

The debate had been moving in circles for almost a century. The lamentable fate of legally subdued *Romani* in the sources was either blamed on German(ic) cruelty or argued away by disallowing it any importance. Not to accept the equation of *Romanus* with Gallo-Roman provincial or former imperial subject amounted to bending the sources, although it had become obvious that purely ethnic explanations were too short-sighted. Savigny's early and Dannenbauer's renewed emphasis on continuity of tax obligations was for the time being the easiest to digest, but the debate was never taken up again with the same intensity, as the scholarship took a different turn thereafter.⁷⁵

While the adherents of die-hard constitutional history steadily lost ground, new questions began to be raised. In 1983, Patrick Geary suggested that one should 'not examine primarily why specific individuals were labeled in the way they were, but rather consider why they were labeled at all'.⁷⁶ That is to say one ought to look into the intended purpose as well as the functionality of ethnic labeling in different circumstances. Spurred on by the idea of the situational constructs of ethnic identity, Patrick Wormald offered a completely different interpretation of the old puzzle. To Wormald, the legal disadvantage could be read as an invitation to Roman provincials to re-identify themselves with the Franks: 'The upshot is that anyone not already laying claim to Frankish ethnicity would find that his (or her) legal position became up to twice as secure if they proceeded to do so.'⁷⁷ Wormald's idea of 'ethnic engineering', however, can hardly be imagined in terms of a hands-on guide to social practice because it presupposes the opportunity to freely pick and choose ethnic identities, which was most probably not the case.

One way of making sense of this is to look at possible routes to assimilation. Raymond Van Dam suggests that since 'the notion of "Frank" gradually became associated more with freedom from taxation than with ethnic origins, the acquisition of tax immunities became one method of assimilation with the Franks.'⁷⁸ Van Dam's argument reconciles Wormald's ethnic engineering model with Dannenbauer's division of

⁷⁴ The *Lex Salica* is equally nondescript of king, church, and nobility; especially in comparison to the more comprehensive *leges* of the Southern *regna*; cf. Siems 2009, 269.

⁷⁵ For an overview of successive debates over royal and aristocratic 'Herrschaft' see Becher 2009, 163–188.

⁷⁶ Geary 1983, 21.

⁷⁷ Wormald 2003, 32.

⁷⁸ Van Dam 2005, 211; indicating two episodes from Gregory of Tours in support of this notion. In book 3, 36 Gregory justifies the man hunt of the *patricius* Parthenius with the Franks' bitter hatred because it was him, who had levied taxes under Theudebert's reign. In book 7, 15 Gregory again justifies violent revenge against Audo, who had, 'in the time of King Childebert, exacted taxes from many Franks who had been free men [*ingenui*]'; cf. Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 3, 36, and 7, 15, ed. Krusch/Levison, 131 and 337; trans. Thorpe, 399.

taxpaying *Romani* and tax-exempted *ingenui* in the *Lex Salica*. On the one hand, the idea is so alluring that it is hard not to succumb to it. On the other hand, one clearly risks comparing apples with oranges, because the association of ‘Frankishness’ with tax immunity that Van Dam and other authors state, is a development of the late seventh century, rather than the late fifth or early sixth century, when the wergild difference was most probably recorded in the *Lex Salica*.⁷⁹ Furthermore, quite contrary to the supposed connection, tax immunity initially enjoyed by both churches and individuals ‘was not a matter of personal status and nationality’ but rather ‘limited to a set quantity of property.’⁸⁰ Moreover, the Merovingians’ increasing reluctance to exact taxes seems to cover both the Northern Frankish regions as well as the *civitates* in the Loire valley or in Burgundy, and can thus hardly be linked to Frankish attempts to squeeze out revenue. After all, source evidence for Merovingian taxation is too selective to base an argument upon it.⁸¹ A simple division of Merovingian subjects into taxpaying Romans and tax-exempted Franks is therefore untenable. Notwithstanding the unsolved tax issue, the modern-seeming idea of a negative incentive to encourage assimilation with the Franks provides ample food for thought.⁸²

5 Romans in the *Lex Ribuaria*⁸³

The second and in many respects much more interesting Frankish law book is the *Lex Ribuaria*. The current consensus is that the *Lex Ribuaria* can be dated to the year 633 and was intended originally for the Rhineland region between Cologne and Metz that was given to the three-year-old Sigibert III as a subkingdom.⁸⁴ The so-called *pagus Ribuarius* itself was most probably not the ancient homeland of

⁷⁹ Cf. Wickham 2005a, 106 as well as Goffart 1982a, 21.

⁸⁰ Goffart 1982a, 13; it is important to note that clerics got exempted from the head tax from the fourth century onwards; for the primarily judicial aspect of Merovingian immunities see Murray 1994.

⁸¹ For a short overview on the (decline of) taxation in Merovingian Gaul see: Wickham 2005a, 105–115; see also R. Kaiser 1979 and Goffart 1982a; the standard work remains Lot 1928; arguing for a more holistic approach is Esders 2009, esp. 190–191, taking the whole system of public duties, goods and services into account rather than singling out taxes.

⁸² Military service may have been another possible route to assimilation; *Lex Ribuaria* 68 (65) [*De eo qui bannum non adimplet*], ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 119, implying that Romans were liable to render such service; cf. Goffart 2008a, 188.

⁸³ English translations and editions prefer *Ripuaria*, which is also attested in the manuscripts but is ascribed to the Carolingian reform of Latin; cf. Springer 1998, 204–212; I stick to *Ribuaria* for convenience.

⁸⁴ Cf. Beyerle 1928, 319–356, esp. 345–354; Ewig 1969, 462–471; details of the dating have been contested but Beyerle and Ewig agreed upon 633 as the Law book’s ‘historische Stunde’; for a handy discussion of rival dating see Esders (in press a) and Esders 2010, 50–51 n. 148 as well as Ubl 2008, 186–188, tending to 623 as the more plausible date. In any case, the *Lex Ribuaria* is related to the establishment of Austrasian subkingdoms, either in the reign of Chlothar II in 623, or in that of his son Dagobert I in 633.

the alleged Rhineland Franks, but rather a duchy-turned-kingdom⁸⁵ to bolster the Austrasian frontier after Dagobert's infamous defeat by Samo in the battle of the Wogastisburg.⁸⁶ The exact etymology of the word *ribuarius* has been contested, but it seems likely that it is derived from Latin *riparii/rip(ari)enses* which denoted a late Roman unit of soldiers, originally stationed to guard a riverbank.⁸⁷ Although this suggests substantial continuity in place and group names, there are no sources indicating Ribuarians specifically in or around Cologne before the middle Frankish period. Independent from the *lex*, the word *ribuarius* is first attested in the *Liber Historiae Francorum*, completed by its anonymous author in 726/727, but referring to events taking place in the year 612,⁸⁸ i. e. historically fairly close to the two successive establishments of Austrasian subkingdoms by Chlothar II and Dagobert I in 623 and 633.⁸⁹ It is therefore quite reasonable to assume that, whatever its Latin lingual or Roman military roots,⁹⁰ *ribuarius* was a seventh-century coinage rather than an ancient ethnonym.⁹¹ However, if we consider that the Austrasian subkingdom's prime task was to guard the Eastern frontier, the term *ribuarius* may well have been chosen as a deliberate reminiscence of the *riparii* of old.

Although the concrete circumstances of its compilation remain in the dark, the *Lex Ribuaria* was clearly intended to foster a regional identity and therefore had to deal with existing identities. With regard to *Lex Salica's* dual structure of Franks and Barbarians in opposition to Romans, the Ribuarian law book draws a different picture. Here, Ribuarians feature as the dominant group and main addressees of the law.⁹² The compilers routinely substituted *Francus* with *Ribuarius* throughout the text, most importantly in the definition of a 200 *solidi* wergild for the *ingenus Ribuarus*.⁹³ However, in title 61 (58), 1 the legal subject is specified as *francus Ribuar-*

⁸⁵ The text itself is inconsistent in this respect, using *pagus Ribuarus* (*Lex Ribuaria* 35 (31), ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 87); *ducato* (*Lex Ribuaria*, 33 (30); 37 (33); 75 (72), ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 86, 89, 126); and *regno* (*Lex Ribuaria* 37 (33), ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 89); historically the strongest links hint at Dagobert's elevation of his son Sigibert as king of an Austrasian subkingdom; cf. *Marculfi Formulae* 1, 40, in: *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi*, ed. Zeumer, 68; cf. also Hoppenbrouwers 2013, 252 for vacant *regna* called *ducatus* in the Carolingian Empire; the boundaries of Dagobert's and Sigibert's subkingdoms are discussed by Beyerle 1956, 357–361 and Ewig 1969, 462–471; summarizing: Ubl 2008, 186–187.

⁸⁶ Fredegar, *Chronicae* 4, 68, 74, 75, ed. Krusch, 154–155, 158–159.

⁸⁷ Springer 2003, 570; Springer 1998, 210–214.

⁸⁸ *Liber Historiae Francorum* 38, a. 612, ed. Krusch, 308–309.

⁸⁹ Fredegar, *Chronicae* 4, 47 and 75, ed. Krusch, 144 and 158–159.

⁹⁰ Lat. *ripa* 'riverside'; *riparii* or *riparienses* 'riverside guards'; cf. Springer 1998, 212–214.

⁹¹ Cf. Springer 1998, 223–226 and 232–233; cf. E. Mayer 1886, 19 n. 28.

⁹² *Lex Ribuaria* 35 (31) [*De homine ingenuo repraesentando*] and 60 (57) [*De libertis a domino ante regem dimissis*], ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 87 and 107–108; both titles shine a light on two possible ways to enlarge the number of Ribuarians, either through second generation naturalisation or through enfranchisement of the freedmen.

⁹³ *Lex Ribuaria* 7 [*De homicidio*], ed. Beyerle/Buchner 77; cf. the introduction by Beyerle and Buchner, *ibid.*, 23–24.

ius, whereas in title 35 (31), 3 and 40 (36), 1 *Francus* is used in opposition to *Ribuar-ius*.⁹⁴ Both titles refer to other Barbarians too, but unlike the *Lex Salica* they specify their names. While there are Ribuarian and other Franks in the *Lex Ribuaria* there are also varying types of the *homo Romanus*, but in contexts entirely different to those in the *Lex Salica*. The varying types of the *homo Romanus* are not gathered together in one central title or passage, like they were in *Lex Salica*'s homicide title. They feature in distinct parts of the *Lex Ribuaria*, and we can assume that different concepts of *Romanness* are veiled in each mention.⁹⁵ Basically, there are specific and unspecific usages of the *homo Romanus*. In what follows, the specific usages are discussed first, before the more general ones are examined.

Advena Romanus – the Roman foreigner

The first group of titles 1–35 (31) does not make any ethnic divisions at all.⁹⁶ The basic wergild catalogue in titles 7–16 divides free from unfree, with a couple of titles reserved for a newly introduced status group of *homines regii* and *ecclesiastici*.⁹⁷ Contrary to the general absence of ethnic terminology, there is one noteworthy exception at the very end of the first part of the *Lex*, which was identified by the editors as a remnant of a royal decree.⁹⁸ The most relevant title 35 (31), which is labelled *De homine ingenuo repraesentando*, states that ‘within the territory of the Ribuarians, whether Franks, Burgundians, Alamans or of whatever nation one dwells in, let one respond, when summoned to court, according to the law of the place in which one was born. If he is condemned, let him sustain the loss according to his own law, not according to Ribuarian law.’⁹⁹

⁹⁴ *Lex Ribuaria* 61 (58), 1; 35 (31), 3 and 40 (36), 1, ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 108, 87, 92.

⁹⁵ *Lex Ribuaria* 40 (36); 61 (58), 8, 10, 11; 64 (61); 68 (65); 69 (66) and 90 (87), ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 92, 111–112, 117, 119, 133.

⁹⁶ The second part consists of titles 36–57 (32–56) and 66–67 (63–64), with remains of royal legislation (60–65 [57–62]) inserted, and followed by a passage on public institutions (68–82 [65–79]) and another passage modelled on the Salic (and Burgundian) code (83–91 [80–89]).

⁹⁷ *Lex Ribuaria* 9–10, ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 77: *Si quis regium hominem interfecerit, 100 solid. culpabilis iudicetur aut cum 12 iuret. Si quis hominem ecclesiasticum interfecerit, 100 sol. culpabilis iudicetur aut cum 12 iuret.* The novelty is in the terminology rather than in the status; the *puer regius* features already in the *Lex Salica* 13, 7 and 54, 2 and is commonly understood to be a freedman under royal patronage. Obviously, in the *Lex Ribuaria* it is all about the equal treatment of royal and church property, dependents included.

⁹⁸ *Lex Ribuaria*, *Sachkommentar zu 35 §§ 3–5*, ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 146.

⁹⁹ *Lex Ribuaria* 35 (31) [*De homine ingenuo repraesentando*], 3–4, ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 87: *Hoc autem constituimus, ut infra pago Ribavario tam Franci, Burgundiones, Alamanni seu de quacunque natione commoratus fuerit, in iudicio interpellatus sicut lex loci continet, ubi natus fuerit, sic respondeat. 4. Quod si damnatus fuerit, secundum legem propriam, non secundum Ribariam damnum sustineat.*

This spells out the so called principle of the personality of law in the Frankish kingdoms.¹⁰⁰ It is centred on the defendant's perspective in affirming him the right to be tried under his own law rather than the law of the plaintiff or judge. Parallel to this, title 40 (36) *De diversis interfectionibus* introduces wergilds for foreigners or migrants as well as for clerics, who were not considered in the original Ribuarian wergild catalogue in titles 7–14.¹⁰¹ Here, the perspective is turned around, establishing the worth of foreigners killed by Ribuarians.¹⁰² The 200 *solidi* wergild of a foreign Frank equals that of a native Ribuarian. All other foreigners are valued at a lower rate of 160 *solidi* which equals the wergilds of the lowest classes of Burgundian, Alaman and Bavarian freemen respectively in their *leges* (with Saxons and Frisians most probably being interpolations).¹⁰³ Brunner believed that these wergilds were essentially the same, and that the difference resulted from different modes of *fredus* payment.¹⁰⁴ Against the background of title 35 (31), it seems appropriate that the Ribuarian law should apply ethnic or rather regional wergild standards for migrants. A conspicuous exception, however, is the *advena Romanus* who is valued at only 100 *solidi*. Most scholars suggest that this refers to migrants from Aquitaine, because from the seventh century onwards *Romanus* is frequently used in historiography to denote people from South of the Loire.¹⁰⁵ Since there were no wergilds at hand in Roman law, this wergild was of course borrowed from Salic law, in which the *Romani* were demonstrably incorporated.¹⁰⁶ The introduction of wergilds for subjects from

100 Cf. Gutermann 1990, 104–105; Amory 1993, 19–23; Hoppenbrouwers 2013, 267–269.

101 The introduction of clerics' wergilds is a topic on its own and cannot be considered here; cf. Siems 2009, 270–271; Brunner speculated that in the early days all clerics must have been Romans because the *clericus ingenuus* was valued at 100 *solidi* in the A manuscripts; while in the B manuscripts he would be compensated according to his birth status (*iuxta quod nativitas fuerit ita conponatur*); cf. Brunner 1906, 336 n. 17.

102 *Lex Ribuaria* 40 (36) [*De diversis interfectionibus*], ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 92: 1. *Si quis Ribvarius advenam Francum interfecerit, ducentos solidos culpabilis iudicetur.* 2. *Si quis Ribvarius advenam Burgundionem interfecerit, bis octoginta solid. multetur.* 3. *Si quis Ribvarius advenam Romanum interfecerit, bis quinquagenos solid. multetur.* 4. *Si quis Ribvarius advenam Alamannum seu Fresionem vel Bogium, Saxonem interempserit, bis octogenos solid. culpabilis iudicetur.*

103 Cf. *Lex Burgundionum* 2, 2, ed. von Salis, 42; *Pactus legis Alamannorum* 14, 6 and *Lex Alamannorum* 60, 1, in: *Leges Alamannorum*, ed. Lehmann/Eckhardt, 24 and 129, as well as *Lex Baiuvariorum* 4, 29, ed. von Schwind, 334.

104 Brunner 1906, 333–334; while Franks and Ribuarians included the *fredus* in the wergild, Alamanni and Bavarians would pay an extra fee of 40 *solidi* on top of the 160 *solidi* wergild, thus adding up to 200 *solidi*.

105 Cf. for instance Hoppenbrouwers 2013, 268–269; but see Fustel de Coulanges 1876, 474–475, being much more skeptical; cf. also Geary 1996, 156.

106 Although it has been suggested that large parts of the barbarian codes must indeed be considered as stemming from Roman vulgar law, wergild did most probably not; cf. Collins 1998, 3, 9 for Roman vulgar law descent, but see Wormald 2003, 30 for the incompatibility of feud and compensation with Roman law.

other subkingdoms (*Teilreiche*) and regions certainly helped solving conflicts among the mobile elites of the Frankish kingdoms.

The key point here is that the personality principle only refers to people born in other places.¹⁰⁷ Anybody born within Ribuaria could rightfully lay claim to Ribuarian legal status, which can indeed be described as ethnic engineering. This ethnic engineering represents a migration policy that aimed at strengthening the layer of Ribuarians fit for military service, thus marking them out from the rest. No matter how diverse the influx of migrants was, in the second generation everyone would become a Ribuarian by birth and would thus profit from the enhanced legal status – but from the perspective of the local Roman population, this remained an empty promise.

***Civis Romanus* – the Roman freedman**

Apart from foreign Romans, the *Romani* of the Ribuarian law are socially and economically determined and the second specific usage has to do with manumission. In the passage dealing with manumission practices and the precedence of cartulary evidence in legal transactions (cc. 60–65 [57–62]), royal influence is writ large. With title 61 (58), 1–8 *De tabulariis* it includes a royal decree by Chlothar II.¹⁰⁸ The *homo Romanus* in this passage did not acquire his status by birth but by manumission. There are three ways to manumit slaves and other dependents in the *Lex Ribuaria*: 1) manumission by penny-throw in front of the king, which would grant the *libertus* full freedom; 2) manumission in churches, which puts the *tabularius* under this same church's guardianship or *patrocinium*; and 3) manumission according to Roman law, which guarantees a freedman freedom of movement (*portas apertas*) and bestows Roman citizenship on him.¹⁰⁹ This last option is described in title 64 (61) *De libertis secundum legem Romanam*:

1. If anyone makes his slave a freedman and openly bestows Roman citizenship and liberty upon him, and if he dies without heirs, let none other than the *fiscus* have his inheritance.
2. If he commits a crime, let him be judged according to Roman law. And let him who kills him be fined 100 *solidi*.

¹⁰⁷ I. Wood 1990, 55 n. 24 stresses *Lex Ribuaria*'s emphasis on territorial origin (vs. ancestry) as a clue on the non relevance of Burgundian ethnicity in the seventh century.

¹⁰⁸ *Lex Ribuaria* 61 (58) [*De tabulariis*], 1–8, ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 108–111; cf. *Introduction*, *ibid.*, 17 and Ubl 2008, 187 n. 324.

¹⁰⁹ For the sake of completeness a fourth option is given in *Lex Ribuaria* 65 (62) [*De homine qui servum tributarium facit*], ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 117, but as the resulting status of *tributarius* (worth 36 *solidi*, just like a slave) is neither plain nor comparable to the other freedmen, it has been omitted from this survey.

3. If his master wishes to manumit him by penny throw before the king, let him have permission.¹¹⁰

This first paragraph is particularly puzzling because it highlights the complexity of post-Roman continuity. Obviously people continued to share an idea of Roman citizenship by the early seventh century. This was most certainly not the citizenship concept of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, which had extended Roman citizenship to virtually all freemen within the Roman Empire. Quite to the contrary, the *civis Romanus* is reminiscent of the threefold subdivision of *liberti* contained in the *Gai Epitome*, an abridged version of the *Institutiones* written by the second-century jurist Gaius, which was part of the *Breviarum Alarici*.¹¹¹

A recently discovered set of glosses in the ninth-century manuscript *Paris BN lat. 4416* necessitates a reassessment of the coexistence of Frankish and Roman law in the Carolingian period.¹¹² On folio 50 verso, the manuscript presents the *Gai Epitome* 1, 1, a text which divides *ingenui* from *servi* before introducing three kinds of *liberti*¹¹³, namely *cives Romani*, *latini*, and *dediticii*. They constitute a hierarchy in which becoming a *civis Romanus* is the most desirable option.¹¹⁴ This text is important in itself because it may have influenced the various types of manumission contained in the *Lex Ribuaria*.¹¹⁵ Particularly thought-provoking are the four marginal glosses that give as wergilds for a *Romanus possessor* (himself not in the text) 100 *solidi*, for a *civis Romanus* 40 *solidi*, for *latini homines* 35 *solidi*, and for *dediticii* 20 *solidi*. Is this proving the eventual adaptation of wergild to Roman law? Why did the Carolingians assign wergilds to these bygone categories? The implications of this discovery are as yet unclear.

However, as the second paragraph of the Ribuarian title 64 (61) reveals, for the freedman in question Roman citizenship translated into being judged under Roman law in the future. The enfranchised person should then be compensated with a wergild of 100 *solidi*, just like the *advena Romanus* of title 40 (36) or the *Romanus homo*

110 *Lex Ribuaria* 64 (61) [*De libertis secundum legem Romanam*], ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 117: 1. *Si quis servum suum libertum fecerit et civem Romanum portasque apertas conscriberit, si sine liberis disceserit, non alium quam fiscum habeat heredem.* 2. *Quod si aliquid criminis amiserit, secundum legem Romanam iudicetur. Et qui eum interfecerit, centum solidos multetur.* 3. *Quod si dominus eius eum ante regem dinariari voluerit, licentiam habeat.*

111 *Lex Romana Visigothorum, Liber Gai I*, 1, ed. Haenel, 314–316.

112 Ubl 2014c, referring to the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 4416 f. 50v. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b85287653/f110.zoom.r=4416%20.langDE> (seen 25.4.2017).

113 Legal historians differentiate between *liberti* and *libertini*; while *libertus* referred to a freedman in relation to his patron, *libertinus* referred to freedmen in relation to their societal status.

114 *Lex Romana Visigothorum, Liber Gai I*, 1, ed. Haenel, 314–316.

115 Cf. *Lex Ribuaria, Sachkommentar zu 64–65*, ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 165–166.

possessor in Salic law.¹¹⁶ There is no legal caveat against the possibility to raise a *civis Romanus* to full Ribuarian freedom. Additionally to the foreign *Romanus*, who most certainly gained his legal status by birth, the *civis Romanus* of title 64 is a Roman by manumission. The act of manumission can thus be seen as a kind of re-birth, similar but not equal to manumission by penny-throw (*denaratio*) in front of the king. According to title 60 (57) *De libertis a domino ante regem dimissis* this practice would turn any freedman into a Ribuarian freeman:

If anyone manumits his freedman according to Ribuarian law by his own or by another's hand in the presence of the king and throws a denarius, and the freedman receives a charter of manumission, we shall not permit him in any way to fall back into slavery. Indeed, let him remain free as the other Ribuarians.¹¹⁷

The mechanism described here is important because the Ribuarian law assumes the proximity and approachability of the king, who guarantees for the newly-won freedom.¹¹⁸ It was the king and the king only who was able to raise a former slave into the category of *Ribuarius* and thus enlarge the happy few. In full awareness of the concept's questionable nature one could reasonably call people elevated in such way *Königsfreie*.¹¹⁹ Royal authority ultimately defined who was protected by the 200 *solidi* wergild. Yet the king did not grant freedom or liberate people himself. He merely recognized the correct act of manumission and guaranteed a person's free status against possible attempts of re-enslavement (*revocatio*).

The apparently least desirable third option is *manumissio in ecclesia*. It stands in sharp contrast to the other two and resulted in limited freedom for the manumitted:

This we also command so that any free Ribuarian of whatever sort who wishes to free his own slave for the salvation of his soul or for his price in accordance with Roman law shall hand him over with charters in a church in the presence of priests and deacons, or let him hand over the slave into the hand of the bishop before all the clergy and the laity. And let the bishop command

¹¹⁶ Cf. Chlotharii II. *Praeceptio* 584–628, c. 4, ed. Boretius, MGH Capitularia 1, no. 8, 19: *Inter Romanus negotia causarum romanis legebus praecepemus terminari*; cf. Esders 1997, 82, 84 and 157–169; cf. also Amory 1993, 16.

¹¹⁷ *Lex Ribuaria* 60 (57) [*De libertis a domino ante regem dimissis*], ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 107, 1: *Si quis libertum suum per manum propriam seu per alienam in presentia regis secundum legem Ribvarium ingenuum dimiserit et dinarium iactaverit, et eiusdem rei cartam acciperit, nullatenus permittimus eum in servicio inclinari; sed sicut reliqui Ribvarii liber permaneat*. N.B.: the text differentiates between the original status of persons subject to each manumission procedure. While manumissions to the status of *civis Romanus* or *tabularius* applied to *servi*, the practice of manumission through penny throw presupposes that the subject of manumission is already a *libertus*. In theory it was impossible to be directly elevated from slave to Ribuarian.

¹¹⁸ The title is modelled on *Pactus legis Salicae* 26, where the *denaratio* takes place *ante regem*, too. The context is somewhat different, because it is limited to *manumissio in hoste* where the king is more likely to be at hand (not in the A redaction though); cf. *Pactus legis Salicae* 26: *De libertis dimissis*, ed. Eckhardt, 96–97.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Schulze 1974.

the archdeacon to compose charters for him in accordance with Roman law under which the church lives. And let one and all descendants of him remain free and be under the church's protection, and let the entire income of [their social] position remain with the church. And let no one presume to manumit [a man who became] a church freedman by penny throw before the king. If he does [this], let him be held liable for 200 solidi. Nevertheless, let the church freedman and his descendants remain freedman, and let the entire income of [their social position] remain with the church. And let them hold court nowhere else than at the church where they were freed.¹²⁰

As Stefan Esders has shown in his book *Die Formierung der Zensualität*, the eastern Frankish practice of manumission in churches stood in the tradition of late antique developments in Roman law, namely the general tightening of *patrocinia*¹²¹ over freedmen and Constantine's acknowledgment of *manumissio in ecclesia*¹²² as a legal way to obtain Roman citizenship in particular.¹²³ In the *Lex Ribuaria* this practice was intentionally reframed to the end that it no longer brought about Roman citizenship but instead aimed at the extension of ecclesiastical *patrocinia* over the manumitted.¹²⁴ People manumitted in churches were called *tabularii* as their former masters were meant to present them to the bishop *cum tabula*. *Tabularii* and their descendants were to remain under the guardianship and jurisdiction of the same church in which they were manumitted. Interestingly, the Church itself was understood to live under Roman law (*secundum legem Romanam, quam ecclesia vivit*). But did this apply to its clients, too? Last but not least it should be stressed that the *Lex Ribuaria* prohibited raising *tabularii* to full Ribuarian freedom through penny-throw, which was penalized by a fine twice as high as their 100 *solidi* wergild, attributed to them in the act of manumission. Obviously this fine served as a safeguard against the alienation of church property. If someone dared to manumit a *tabularius* by penny-throw, the church would lose a dependent with all the expectable dues (*et omnis reditus status eorum*), including his potential wergild. Whilst the sta-

120 *Lex Ribuaria* 61 (58) [*De tabulariis*], ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 108–110: 1. *Hoc etiam iubemus, ut qualiscumque francus Ribvarius [seu tabularius] servum suum pro animae suae remedium seu pro pretium secundum legem Romanam liberare voluerit, ut eum in ecclesia coram presbyteris et diaconibus seu cuncto clero et plebe in manu episcopi servo cum tabulas tradat, et episcopus archidiacono iubeat, ut ei tabulas secundum legem Romanam, quam ecclesia vivit, conscribere faciat; et tam ipse quam et omnis procreatio eius liberi permaneant et sub tuitione ecclesiae consistant vel omnem reditum status eorum ecclesiae reddant. Et nullus tabularium [aut servum tabularii] denariare ante regem praesumat. Quod si fecerit, ducentos solidos culpabilis iudicetur et nihilominus ipse tabularius et procreatio eius tabularii persistant, et omnis reditus status eorum ad ecclesiam reddant; et non aliubi quam ad ecclesiam, ubi relaxati sunt, mallum teneant.* Square brackets in the Latin text denote possible interpolations left out by the translation; cf. *Lex Ribuaria, Sachkommentar zu 61*, ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 160.

121 Cf. Andersen 1974, 44–149 on rural patronage in Late Antiquity and 150–185 on continuity in the early Middle Ages; cf. also Esders 2010, 19–36.

122 *CTh* 4, 7: *De manumissione in ecclesia*, ed. Mommsen/Meyer, 179.

123 Esders 2010, 30–36 and 50–60.

124 Esders 2010, 50–60, esp. 57.

tus of *civis Romanus* could serve as a way station on the road to Ribuarian freedom, that of *tabularius* appears to be a dead end for the person in question and for his descendants. Hence Esders argues that *Lex Ribuaria* 61 (58) is a decisive text because the two manumission practices resulting in Roman citizenship and ecclesiastical dependency respectively were put on different tracks for good.¹²⁵

In the *Lex Ribuaria*, *Romanness* is much more explicitly linked to living under the jurisdiction of Roman law than in the *Lex Salica*. One could thus half expect that *tabularii* counted as *Romani*, because the church itself lived under Roman law. The *Lex Ribuaria* is however quite clear in dividing *tabularii* from *cives Romani*. In the tenth and eleventh paragraph of title 61 (58) *tabularius* and *Romanus homo* or *tabularia* and *Romana femina* are named separately but are subject to the same rule, i. e. the ‘principle of the lower hand’,¹²⁶ which claims that in marriages between persons of unequal status, if not husband and wife themselves, then the children shall descend to the lower status:

61, 10 If a church freedman takes a Ribuarian maid servant in matrimony, let not him, but his offspring serve. Similarly if a church freedwoman or a royal or a Roman woman takes a Ribuarian slave in matrimony, let not her, but her offspring serve.

61, 11 If a churchman, a Roman or a king’s man takes a Ribuarian freewoman in matrimony, or if a Roman woman or a king’s or a church freedwoman takes a Ribuarian freeman, let their descendants always descend to the lower status.¹²⁷

Technically, this shows that *tabularii* were not equal to *cives Romani*, but as they were both former *servi* with the same 100 *solidi* wergild (just like the *homines regii* and *ecclesiastici*), they were taken for members of the same estate, at least when it comes to intermarriage. What is more, due to ecclesiastical patronage, *ecclesiasticus/ecclesiastica* and *tabularius/tabularia* are interchangeable in those clauses. These are only two of many regulatory statutes which are attached to the title on *manumissio in ecclesia*. Some regulate the status of *tabularii* in particular; others deal with how individuals from different social groups relate to one another. The very fact that such statutes were included hints at the permeability of social boundaries, despite the rigidity perceived on the surface. In their striving to create a Ribuarian identity, legislators opened the door to migrants, while they equally sought to leave the non-privileged at that very door.

¹²⁵ Esders 2010, 50–60, esp. 57.

¹²⁶ ‘Der Grundsatz der ärgeren Hand’; see Voß 1985, esp. 169–172 n. 248 and 254.

¹²⁷ *Lex Ribuaria* 61 (58) [*De tabulariis*], 10–11, ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 112: 10. *Si autem tabularius ancillam Ribvariam acciperit, non ipse, sed generatio eius serviat. Similiter et tabularia vel regia aut Romana femina, si servum Ribvarium acciperit, non ipsa, sed generatio eius servat.* 11. *Si ecclesiasticus, Romanus vel regius homo ingenuam Ribvariam acciperit, aut si Romana vel regia seu tabularia ingenuum Ribvarium in matrimonium acciperit, generatio eorum semper ad inferiora declinentur;* the same array is found in *Lex Ribuaria* 61, 8, *ibid.* 111, on unauthorised manumission, but the editors assume an interpolation, cf. *Lex Ribuaria, Sachkommentar zu 61 §§ 8, 9, 10/11, 14–16 and 18, ibid.*, 162–163.

Other uses of the *homo Romanus*

Examples discussed so far have dealt with the rather specific treatment of Roman foreigners, the acquisition of Roman legal status through manumission and the interrelated marriage regulations. In a final step, some more general implications of individual *Romanness* shall be addressed. The remaining titles which mention a *homo Romanus* deal with public institutions. Apart from the foreign *Romanus* in title 40 (36) and the *civis Romanus* in title 64 (61), the *Romanus* in the Ribuarian law was always matched with the *homines regii* and *homines ecclesiastici*, usually identified as ecclesiastic *coloni* or royal *fiscalini*.¹²⁸ They, like the *civis Romanus*, are *de iure* free but not *de facto* free of bonds, which is why they are always treated as a group with equal rights and duties.¹²⁹ Referring to these people's *auctor*, title 68 (65) spells out their dependent status. The first paragraph penalizes a Ribuarian's non-compliance to conscription or other royal service with a fine of sixty *solidi*, i.e. the *heriban*, the standard fine for failing to render military service when ordered. The second paragraph decrees: 'If, however, a Roman, a king's man or a church man does this, let his patron (*auctorem suum*) be held liable for thirty *solidi*.'¹³⁰

Again this confirms that the *Romanus* of the Ribuarian law must be understood as a recently manumitted freedman standing under the extended authority of his *auctor*. The principle according to which freedmen remained under the *patrocinium* of their former owners was derived from Roman tradition.¹³¹ It was handed down to the Franks via the Theodosian Code and its Visigothic Breviary.¹³² What is really new in the *Lex Ribuaria*, however, is the notion that in case of the *tabularii* these rights of patronage were conveyed to the church as the place of manumission.¹³³ In case of *Lex Ribuaria* 68 (65) we will have to reckon with three different *auctores*: king and church for *homo regius* and *homo ecclesiasticus* and whoever was the former owner for the *Romanus*.¹³⁴ But what we can learn from this title is that, like *Ri-*

¹²⁸ Cf. *Capitulare legi Ribuariae additum a. 803*, c. 2, ed. Boretius, MGH Capitularia 1, no. 41, 117: *X cap. Homo regius, id est fiscalinus, et aeclesiasticus vel litus interfectus centum solidis conponatur.*

¹²⁹ Obviously this has to do with being bound to *patrocinia* and, in the case of *fiscalini* and *coloni*, to the soil, too. This seems to be a major difference; there is no hint to *Romani* being bound to the soil.

¹³⁰ *Lex Ribuaria* 68 (65) [*De eo qui bannum non adimplet*], ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 119: 1. *Si quis legibus in utilitatem regis sive in hoste seu in reliquam utilitatem bannitus fuerit et minime adimpleverit, si egri tudo eum non detenuerit, sexaginta solidos multetur. 2. Si autem Romanus aut regius seu ecclesiasticus homo hoc fecerit, unusquisque contra auctorem suum 30 solidos culpabilis iudicetur.*

¹³¹ Cf. Andersen 1974, 5–149 for the emergence of patronage in Rome and 150–185 for early medieval continuity in the *leges*; on page 183 Anderson claims 'freedom could be experienced not wholly, but partially. A man could be free, an *ingenuus*, and at the same time under the patronage and protection of someone else.'

¹³² Andersen 1974, 150–185; see also Esders 2010, 30–32.

¹³³ Esders 2010, 60.

¹³⁴ Cf. Goffart 2008a, 188 n. 74; Goffart names king or church as the respective *auctor*, which is convincing for *homines regii* and *homines ecclesiastici*, but not for *Romani*.

buarians, the group consisting of socially equal *Romani*, *coloni* and *fiscalini* were obliged to render military and other royal services. The implication here is that in spite of their dependent status, there was an interest to count these persons as pseudo-free men in order to have them at hand for military duties.¹³⁵ Since there are no hints at any native Romans in the Ribuarian law, the law has to refer to the *cives Romani* discussed above, unless Roman foreigners were also subject to military recruitment.¹³⁶ Once again this may be attributed to the *Lex Ribuaria*'s special character as a sort of frontier law.

This and the similar title 90 (87) *De homine forbannito*¹³⁷ make clear that *Romanness* had been transformed into nothing more than a label to denote an intermediate legal status group, compensable by only half a wergild. On the one hand, its members were legally free and had to render public service. On the other hand, fines owed for disrespecting the public ban were also halved. In other words, Romans were valued less, but proportional to this evaluation they were granted a discount on public fines. This proportionality, the most striking feature of a monetized penal system, seals the deal. While *Romanness* developed from a category of ethnic to one of legal affiliation, the legislative approach changed from subordination to integration. This shift from Salic discrimination to Ribuarian proportionality is becoming clear in comparison to the *Lex Salica*, in which any discount on behalf of the discriminated Romans is unheard of. Under Salic law, Franks paid less for wrongs committed against Romans, but Romans had to compensate Franks in full.¹³⁸

6 Conclusion

Although it is not possible to determine the intrinsic motivation for earlier discrimination against Romans in the *Lex Salica*, it is quite evident that the suppression of Romans to the status of dependent *liti* led to the subsequent alignment of both groups, not solely in wergild terms. This is not to say that freeborn Roman proprietors were drawn into some kind of French press in the course of the sixth century, only for their descendants to emerge as semi-free dregs in the early seventh. Nothing can be said about the fate of specific individuals, but recalling Geary's caveat to consider the intention behind any ethnic labeling, we rather have to explain how this conceptual

¹³⁵ Cf. Mommsen 1889, 242.

¹³⁶ Cf. Goffart 2008a, 188 n. 74, uttering doubts at this view as expressed by Beyerle in his 'Sachkommentar', cf. *Lex Ribuaria*, *Sachkommentar zu 68*, ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 167.

¹³⁷ *Lex Ribuaria* 90 (87) [*De homine forbannito*], ed. Beyerle/Buchner, 133: *Si quis hominem, qui fur bannitus est, in domo recipere praesumpserit, si Ribvarius est, 60 sol., si regius, Romanus vel ecclesiasticus, 30 sol. culpabilis iudicetur.*

¹³⁸ Unfortunately there is no comparable public fine which differentiates between Franks and Romans in Salic law, but laws on personal offenses show that Romans were liable to compensate the full amount; cf. *Pactus legis Salicae* 14, 1 3 and 32, 1 3, ed. Eckhardt, 64 65 and 122 123.

change came about. Patrick Amory laid bare how in the Burgundian kingdom the ‘consistent linking of ethnic distinctions with legal roles deriving from the political process of settlement [suggested] that the social and political roles played by members of the different groups may have been determinants of membership rather than consequences of it.’¹³⁹ As far as the Frankish material is concerned, this is too much of a stretch. Amory’s argument rests on a perceived change in the usage of ‘*barbarus* and *populus noster* in conjunction with and in opposition to the national labels and territorial terms’, which he interpreted as legislators’ reactions to reality.¹⁴⁰ The Frankish *leges*, with their very sparse hints at royal objectives, are not as telling in this respect as the laws and edicts convened in the Burgundian *Liber Constitutionum*. One plausible explanation that can indeed be gained from the Frankish *leges*, however, is that the reduced value of Roman status in the *Lex Salica*, as seen through its wergild prescriptions, rubbed off on the label itself.¹⁴¹ After all, this highlights the self-regulatory power of the wergild system. The almost complete monetization of the Frankish penal system produced a coordinate system that entailed a certain solidification of social stratification. In that coordinate system a single spot was shared by all subjects who had in common the halved wergild of 100 *solidi*. In (re-) defining this intermediate level, the Ribuarian law surpassed the alleged dichotomy of free and unfree. The 100 *solidi* wergild can be seen as a threshold isolating its members up and downwards alike. A more elevated spot priced at 200 *solidi* was shared by all freemen fit to bear arms. This may have included other groups from within the kingdoms, but Ribuarian status itself was only attainable by birth or by *denaratio*. It certainly excluded *Romani*, even though this term had developed into a mere legal category attached to the 100 *solidi* threshold.

¹³⁹ Amory 1993, 26; see also Innes 2006.

¹⁴⁰ Amory 1993, 26.

¹⁴¹ A notion already charily expressed by Beyerle 1915, 394 n. 36.

Javier Arce

Goths and Romans in Visigothic Hispania

The aim of my contribution is very specific. By means of a few examples I will try to answer the first of the questions posed by Walter Pohl as one of the themes of the meeting that was the basis for this volume on “Being Roman after Rome”. It is the following: ‘Who identified him/herself or was identified by others as *Romani* after the end of Roman imperial rule?’ I shall address the question within the context of the Visigothic kingdom in Hispania in the sixth and seventh centuries.

In the enormous number of recent historical works on the ‘Visigoths’ in Hispania, the arrival date of Gothic people *en masse* in the Iberian Peninsula is a subject of considerable argument and debate; such a diversity of opinions highlights the contrast between the interpretation of the archaeological sources and the interpretation of the texts or documentary evidence. Many scholars argue that the Goths arrived as early as the second half of the fifth century, a process that they relate to the presence of cemeteries in the northern Meseta, sites dated by archaeologists such as G. Ripoll to this period.¹ Others maintain that the entry in the *Consularia Caesaraugustana* – *Gothi in Hispaniam ingressi sunt* – which belongs to the year 494, or the following entry, of 497, *Gothi intra Hispanias sedes acceperunt*, are clear proof of the migration date.² However, Manuel Koch has demonstrated – and in my opinion correctly – that in these expressions, *Gothi* refers to the Gothic army rather than the Gothic people. Therefore, although there may have been a Visigothic military presence and attempts at taking control of certain cities, it cannot be deduced that there was a massive Gothic influx and settlement at that point in time.³ Finally, there are those that believe that it was immediately after the Battle of Vouillé in 507 that the migration took place, since the sources state that the *regnum Tolosanum destructum est*.⁴

There is, however, a text by Procopius that has not been sufficiently taken into account by historians, a text that shows that, in fact, this arrival took place much later. I am referring to *De Bello Gothico* V, 13, 12–13, which recounts the defeat of King Amalaric in Narbonne by the Franks, who as a result obtained the part of the Visigothic territory in Gaul that corresponds to *Aquitania Prima*. Afterwards, as Procopius states, ‘the survivors of the vanquished emigrated from Gaul with their wives and children and went to Hispania, where Theudis ruled’.⁵ This event can be dated to 531; it is the first time that we read in an ancient source a reference to a Visigothic migration to Hispania, of not just soldiers, but also of people with their families

1 See Arce 2011, 301–307. Ripoll 2006, 59–74 (with full bibliography); Eger 2005.

2 *Consularia Caesaraugustana*, 494 and 497, ed. Cardelle de Hartmann, 22–23, nos. 71a and 75a.

3 Koch 2006 and previously Domínguez Monedero 1986.

4 Castellanos 2007, 69.

5 Procopius, *De bello gothico* V, 13, 12–13, ed. Dewing, 136–137. See Arce 2011, 38–39.

and children. Until this moment, we cannot speak of a Visigothic presence in Hispania; hitherto it had only occurred on specific, isolated occasions related to warfare. It should be emphasized that it was a migration and not a conquest; this fact endows the nature of the Visigoths' settlement with specific features – that is not those of a military supremacy imposing its rules in order to occupy land, property and cities; instead, it supposes agreements, negotiation and coexistence. In contrast, we have no idea how many people might have arrived, and no reference is ever made in the surviving sources regarding which areas of the peninsula they settled in. Undoubtedly, many still remained in Gaul, adapting to Frankish rule.

These incomers were to find a land already populated by others – called *Romani*, *Hispani*, Hispano-Romans – who inhabited the cities and countryside; this body of inhabitants comprised the whole social range characteristic of Late Antiquity: slaves, freemen, *honestiores*, *humiliores*, *coloni*, *curiales* and *potentes*, the owners of *villae* and lands whose family traditions dated back to the Roman period.

We can take as an example of this contact or integration the case of the marriage of Theudis, who was subsequently to become the *rex Gothorum*: 'He (Theudis) [...] took as wife a woman from Spain; she was not, however, of the race (*genos*) of the Visigoths, but belonged to the house of one of the wealthy inhabitants of that land, and not only possessed great wealth, but also owned a large estate in Spain.'⁶ The marriage took place before Theudis succeeded Amalaric as king in 531. With his wife's wealth (most probably in the form of land), Theudis was able to create a group of personal guards (*dorifori*) of two thousand men, according to Procopius.⁷

Theudis' unnamed wife is a worthy continuator of the extremely rich estate-owning families in late fourth-century Hispania, the best-known example of whom is Melania the Younger, who held property in Italy, Sicily, Africa, Britannia and Hispania, the income from which produced 120,000 *solidi* a year.⁸ A recently discovered Spanish mosaic, from a *villa* in Noheda (Ciudad Real), to the south of Toledo, helps illustrate this world: it clearly highlights not only the wealth of such families, but also reveals aspects of their culture, level of refinement and love of classical culture. The mosaic has been dated by the archaeologists who carried out the excavation to the closing years of the fourth century, but I would not exclude an even later date, within the fifth century; it depicts, among a variety of scenes, the judgment of Paris and a *mimus* performed in the theatre, with the title, mentioned in the inscription, of 'The Mime of the jealous husband' (MIMUS ZELOTIPI NUMTI).⁹

The case of Theudis clearly reveals two facts: firstly, the continued existence of this class of landowners in late-Roman Hispania, a class that was encountered by the Visigoths on their arrival; and, secondly, the existence of marriages between Goths

⁶ Procopius, *De bello gothico* V, 12, 50–51, ed. Dewing, 130–131.

⁷ Jones/Martindale/Morris 1980, 1112: 'he was able to provide himself with a bodyguard 2000 strong.'

⁸ Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae* 1, 15, ed. Gorce, 156–159, at 157.

⁹ On the mosaics see Uscatescu 2013.

(Theudis was actually an Ostrogoth) and *Hispani*, at least among the uppermost ranks of society and, thus, the permeability between these social classes.

From the outset, some of these *domini*, *potentes*, and *possessores* manifested their opposition to the Visigothic presence. They had already attempted to take over cities and other territories by force of arms. The episodes at *Caesaraugusta*, *Tarraco* or *Dertosa* towards the end of the fifth century are mentioned by the *Consularia Caesaraugustana*, which have already been alluded to. This would explain the ‘usurpations’ that took place in the closing years of the fifth century and the first years of the sixth century, also recounted in the *Consularia Caesaraugustana*. Such usurpations are a symptom of a certain ‘Romanism’ or nostalgia for the Roman system, which it sought to perpetuate by resisting the presence of an external force, even though the latter was closely identified with Roman values. In our case, the attempts made at usurping power were an expression of the efforts being made to maintain the prestige and privileges (whether juridical, economic, social or cultural) of the group that supported and encouraged the usurper.

The inhabitants of Tarraconensis did not approve of the incursions by Euric’s troops in 472 and 473 or more precisely of the entrance of the Goths into the peninsula (*Gothi in Hispania ingressi sunt*, where *Gothi* is equivalent to the Gothic army, as was mentioned above.¹⁰) This set in motion Burdunelus’ usurpation (*Burdunelus in Spania tyrannidem assumit*), which subsequently was brutally crushed by Alaric II. Later, an insurrection by Petrus met the same fate (*Petrus tyrannus interfectus est*¹¹). Although Burdunelus’ name seems to indicate a non-Roman origin, it is clear that he could have been a Goth acting in the name of Rome against the Goths (historians such as Thompson, Schmidt or Abadal considered him to have been a Roman).¹²

Nevertheless, after the peaceful arrival of Visigothic immigrants in 531, no further uprisings led by anyone securely identified as a Roman (or Hispano-Roman) are ever recorded in the entire history of the Visigothic kingdom in the Iberian Peninsula down to 711, with the exception of Paulus’ rebellion of 673 in Wamba’s reign.¹³ Throughout this period, the Hispano-Romans forming part of the population of the Iberian Peninsula are almost invisible in the documentation of the Visigothic period. However, they are mentioned indirectly, and we might reasonably suppose that those who appeared in inscriptions or texts with characteristically Roman titles belonged to this category. For instance, in an inscription of 545 from *Nabrissa* (Lebrija in Baetica), a certain Alexandria, *clarissima femina* who *vixit annos plus minus XXV* is recorded.¹⁴

The title of *clarissima* could indicate that she was a woman from a Roman family. In Mérida (*Augusta Emerita*), the former capital of the diocese, the *Vitas Patrum*

¹⁰ See Koch 2006.

¹¹ *Consularia Caesaraugustana*, 506, ed. Cardelle de Hartmann, 27, no. 87a.

¹² Schmidt 1940 1941, 497; Abadal 1960, 45; Thompson 1982, 303, no. 31.

¹³ Arce 2011, 297.

¹⁴ Vives 1963, 131; *ILCV* 187.

Emeretensium refer to a woman 'of *inlustris* descent' (*ipsa inlustris stigmata progenita nobilem traebat prosapiam* – 'she too was of glorious descent and a noble family'). Her husband was *primarius civitatis ex genere senatorum nobilissimus vir* ('a most noble man, one of the leading citizens of the town, who was born of senatorial stock').¹⁵

The *Romani* could be and were indeed generals who led the Visigothic armies, and are identified as such in the sources. The case of Claudius, the *dux* of Reccared's armies who was made responsible for putting down the problems in Septimania/Narbonensis, is the best known: *nobili genere natus Romanis fuit parentibus progenitus*.¹⁶ Paulus, Wamba's *dux*, in whom the monarch placed his confidence, was also probably such an individual.¹⁷ Many posts within the army are likely to have been occupied by 'Romans', but there are only few cases in which they are labelled so in the sources.

However, although Hispano-Roman aristocrats occupied important posts in the military administration, often co-existing with Visigothic nobles, as can be deduced from the lists of those who signed the acts of certain councils, there was a significant area of exclusion: they were not eligible to be elected to the throne. None of the members of this aristocracy had the right to be a *rex Gothorum*, a role that was reserved for those who were clearly and exclusively of Gothic origin, of the *gens Gothorum*. In fact, Canon 17 of the Sixth Council of Toledo, convened by King Chintila in 638, expressly states 'that nobody shall take the throne tyrannically, nor he who has received the tonsure while wearing the religious habit, nor he who is of servile extraction, nor any foreigner' (*vel extraneae gentis homo*). Rather, only 'a Goth by blood and of dignified customs will be designated king' (*nisi genere Gothus et moribus dignus provehatur ad apicem regni*).¹⁸ Earlier, at the Fifth Council of Toledo (Canon 3), also convened by Chintila in 636, it was declared that *quo nec origo ornat nec virtus decorat* could not be king; and it was also emphasized that no one who came from outside the *nobilitas Gothicae gentis* could aspire to be king.¹⁹

The problem posed by the text of canon 17 is that it does not expressly mention the *Romani* (in the sense of the Hispano-Romans); instead, it refers to a 'man *extraneae gentis*'. These *extraneae gentes* were not exclusively *Romani*; in my opinion, the expression refers to any foreigners – Franks, Burgundians, *Romaioi* from the *pars orientis* or any other *gens*. Only Goths could be eligible. This norm implies that, even in the (mid-)seventh century, despite the unity provided by the Catholic faith, and in spite of *Romani* holding posts of patriotic or military confidence or taking part in Church council meetings (although this participation declined from this moment

¹⁵ *Vitas sanctorum patrum emeretensium*, 4, 2, 4–5, ed. Maya.

¹⁶ *Vitas sanctorum patrum emeretensium*, 5, 10, 29–30; 5, 10, 39 (*vir inlustris*), ed. Maya.

¹⁷ Iulianus Toletanus, *Historiae Wambae regis* 5, ed. Levison, 533.

¹⁸ Vives 1963, 244–245.

¹⁹ Vives 1963, 228.

on, as Thompson so astutely observed),²⁰ integration was incomplete and the feeling of being a Goth and belonging to the *gens Gothorum* was predominant and exclusive. The text also implies that there was an awareness of the difference between the two peoples that was to last down to the end of the Visigothic kingdom.

A few years before the Fifth Council of Toledo sometime between 589 and 590, an inscription was made in *Cartago Nova* (Cartagena) that describes the Goths of the Peninsula as *hostes barbaros*.²¹ This was the well-known inscription of Comentiolus (or Comitiolus), *dux, gloriosus, patricius, magister militum Spaniae*, sent by the Emperor Maurice from Constantinople to the lands of the south-east of the peninsula, occupied by 'Byzantine' troops from 551–552 onwards. At the end of the sixth century, the Visigoths continued to be seen from Constantinople as *hostes barbari*, since the legal form of '*Romanitas*' lay in the Eastern Empire and not in the Visigothic kingdom.

For Emperor Maurice, respecting the orthodox faith was not the same as *Romanitas*, so Goths' conversion from Arianism did not imply '*Romanitas*'. In spite of all the rhetoric that there might be in the text of the Comentiolus inscription, the *crux* of the matter lies in the way in which these *hostes barbari* were seen from the standpoint of Constantinople. The only true or legitimate *Romani*, we might say, must have been the Hispano-Romans, those who did not belong to the *gens Gothorum*.

The term *Romani* seldom appears in the Visigothic texts as referring to the descendants of the population of the peninsula prior to the settlement and consolidation of the Visigoths within its confines. However, for Isidore, the Byzantine troops sent by Justinian, who remained in the peninsula for almost seventy years, and against whom there were, as is well-known, continuous battles and wars, starting with Leovigild and ending with Suintila's definitive victory in 621, were, for example, *Romani*. Reccared had to face up to *romanas insolentias* (Reccared often pitted his strength against the excess of the Romans).²² And in the *Recapitulatio* of Isidore it can be read that the Roman soldier has become the servant of the Goths (*serviat illis Romanus miles*).²³

It is clear that in Isidore's works the 'Romans' are identified with the *Romani* of the Empire; in contrast, and as far as the *Romani* in the Iberian Peninsula were concerned, the Goths co-existed with them, although certain very clear differences were laid down, such as, for example, access to the throne.²⁴

Still in the seventh century we find in the *Formulae Visigothicae* the term *cives Romanus* in relation to the manumission of a slave: *Quamobrem ingenuum te civem-*

²⁰ Thompson 1971, 328–337.

²¹ *CIL*, II, 3420; Vallejo Girvés 2012, 270–272 and 294; Vizcaino Sánchez 2009, 736–740; Abascal Palazón/Ramallo 1997, no. 208.

²² Isidore of Seville, *Historia Gothorum* 54, ed. Mommsen, 289–290.

²³ Isidore of Seville, *Historia Gothorum (Recapitulatio)*, ed. Mommsen, 295.

²⁴ Velázquez 2003; Liebeschuetz 1998, especially 149–152.

que Romanum esse constituo.²⁵ Many scholars agree that the term is here merely symbolic without any political significance and that it is indicative only of status,²⁶ but whatever the meaning of *cives Romanus*, the use of it implies a certain degree of continuity of the idea of '*Romanitas*'.

Latin, moreover, was the common language in Visigothic Hispania. Latin was the language of administration, legislation, the canons of the Church councils, of all the texts, treatises, letters and inscriptions. It was also the normal means of spoken communication. But it was also the language of the *rustici*, the language that was taught and learnt. The clearest expression of this is found in the slates of the Visigothic period that, in the vast majority of cases, reflect everyday life. After demonstrating that no more than a dozen Germanic (Gothic) terms can be found in the Latin vocabulary used in them, Isabel Velázquez (the editor of the Visigothic-period slates) reaches the conclusion that 'it seems that there was no surviving Germanic [Gothic] or other language among the population of Hispania during the period under consideration. [...] Isidore's *Etymologies* [do] not shed any light on the diversity of languages used at the time. There is no mention of a different language being spoken by the Goths.'²⁷ As regards this question, Edward Thompson directly wondered: 'Could Leovigild and his court still write Gothic? And if they could, on what occasions did they do so?' For Thompson 'most Goths still conversed in their own language at least until 589', when the Third Council of Toledo was held.²⁸

Roman legal cases were tried before Roman courts and Gothic ones in Gothic courts (according to the law codes of Euric and Alaric), but in neither case is a definition of Gothic nor Roman provided.²⁹ What was the distinguishing feature that made them identifiable? Their language? And until what date did this custom last? This difference is unlikely to have existed from the time of Recceswinth onwards, according to Thompson.

But if it was not their language, what was it? Some archaeologists and historians state that after the Third Council of Toledo, at which the conversion of the Arian Goths to Catholicism was announced, the Visigothic people largely abandoned their characteristic style of dress and adopted new styles and forms of personal adornment.³⁰ In other words, they made themselves appear the same as the *Romani*. The origins of this explanation lie in the need to account for the changes in grave goods. Although this may have taken place, I do not think it was related to the conversion to Catholicism; these changes may well have been attributable to other causes.

²⁵ *Formulae Wisigothicae* 2, ed. Gil; see also *ibid.* 3, 5, 6.

²⁶ Koch 2012, 394–399; Barnwell 1997, 69; Liebeschuetz 1998, 152 and Mathisen 2006, 1038–1039.

²⁷ Velázquez 2003, 185, and *ibid.*, 182–186.

²⁸ Thompson 1969, 314.

²⁹ I follow here Thompson 1971, 354, but see *contra* Liebeschuetz 1998, 141–143.

³⁰ Ripoll 1989, 391; King 1972, 18: '[...] traditional Gothic art forms and dress were abandoned after the conversion.' This was also the opinion of E.A. Thompson.

Not all the peoples or population inhabiting the Iberian Peninsula, however, are described as *Romani* or *Gothi*. One of the most important documents for our understanding of the different provinces of the Late Roman Empire is the one known as the *Laterculus Veronensis*, which is a list of the provinces of the Empire, reflecting the administrative situation brought about by Diocletian's reforms (304), but in fact was drawn up around 334. At the end of this list of provinces, there is a list of a series of peoples described as *gentes barbarae, quae pullulaverunt sub imperatoribus*, that is, as 'barbarian peoples who grew under the dominion of the emperors'. Forty-four different peoples are mentioned (among them *Heruli, Alemanni, Suevi, Iuthungi, Quadi* etc.), the majority of whom were located in a geographic space outside the limits of the Roman Empire. But others mentioned in the same list were to be found inside the Roman frontiers (Armenians, Isaurians, *Palmyrenes, Osroenes*, etc.). According to this list, therefore, not only were external people (*externae gentes*) considered to be barbarians in the official documentation of the fourth-century Roman administration, but also some who, even though they lived within its confines, continued to be considered as such from a Roman point of view.³¹ It is interesting, and perhaps significant, that the *gentes* who inhabited *Mauritania Tingitana* and also, the document states, 'the Celtiberians, the *Astures*, the *Ausetani*, the *Carpetani*, the Cantabrians and the *Edetani*', all of whom were peoples that lived in the Iberian Peninsula, are included and listed in the relation of these *gentes barbarae*.³² As Brent Shaw has observed as regards this text with reference to the people of North Africa³³, the problem is not so much that these groups were inside or outside the provinces of the Roman Empire (obviously in the case of Hispania they were inside), since they were all subject to the authority of the emperors, but rather that, by listing them, the *Laterculus* established a division between 'civilized' areas of the provinces and 'uncivilized' barbarian zones, which were not integrated. The Cantabrians, Celtiberians, *Astures* etc. were classified within the general 'civilized' system of the Iberian Peninsula as ethnic groups characterized as autonomous 'uncivilized' peoples, barbarians. It should also be emphasized that the *Vascones*, who have always been considered by certain schools of Basque nationalist historical writing as having been outside and never integrated within the Roman system, are not among the peoples listed for the Iberian Peninsula. Curiously, some of these peoples (and other totally unknown ones) emerge as protagonists in the chronicles of the Visigothic age. John of Biclar and Isidore mention, for instance, the *Rucones* and the *Sappios*, the *Argenses* and the *Vascones*. Some of these (the *Sappios* and the *Runcones*) are not even mentioned in Strabo's Geography or by Pliny. They are otherwise unknown. The question that one might ask is whether these peoples would have been included among the Hispano-Romans or *Romani*. The answer surely would have been 'no' because they

³¹ *Laterculus Veronensis* XIII, ed. Seeck, 251–252.

³² *Laterculus Veronensis* XIV, ed. Seeck, 252.

³³ Shaw 1995b.

always remained on the margins and were never completely integrated. The presence of Visigothic armies within their lands, a situation that had not arisen for centuries throughout the Roman period, gave rise to their resurgence.

We can perhaps draw two conclusions: Visigothic-period Hispania was not inhabited by a uniform society, and it does not seem to have been the case that both *Gothi* and *Romani* were included within the concept of *gens Gothorum*.

Ann Christys

'Made by the ancients': Romanness in al-Andalus

If al-Andalus was one of the heirs to Rome, this was only through a distant and long-lost relative.¹ The Islamic settlement of Hispania was not a *Völkerwanderung*, but the arrival of the armies of a centralised empire. Islam rather than Christianity was now the religion of the state and Arabic rather than Latin its official language. The new rulers made no claim to be the heirs of the Roman Empire. Muslims, both incomers and indigenous converts, manipulated their genealogies, tracing their origin to legendary inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula. Christians in the north of the peninsula identified themselves as Goths, not Romans. In the south, they may have remained in the majority for two centuries after the conquest of 711. Some of them continued to read and write in Latin. They were, however, very much a minority in cultural terms and they are difficult to find in the written sources. In his recent history of the Umayyad conquest and settlement, Manzano talked of 'social changes that were irreconcilable with the legacy of the former Visigothic realm'.² The transition from Roman to Visigothic rule in the peninsula had left many of the physical manifestations of Romanness intact.³ Yet, in contrast to other rulers of Europe after Rome such as Theodoric and Charlemagne, the Umayyads of al-Andalus made little attempt to appropriate the status symbols of Rome. The Islamic conquest seems to mark the end of the Roman world in Hispania.

Yet there is a little evidence in the written sources from al-Andalus of continuity with the Roman and Visigothic past. It must be handled with scepticism since it is late and often implausible. Apart from a Latin chronicle compiled c. 754, there is a lacuna in peninsula historiography until the first Arabic chronicles, written in the middle of the ninth century;⁴ the earliest surviving inscriptions in Arabic date to the 830s. Most of the historiography in Arabic consists of compilations made from the eleventh century onwards of citations from the works, now lost, of historians active in the second half of the tenth century. Later historians citing the same tenth-century works sometimes give very different accounts of them; in the present state of scholarship it is impossible to know to what extent they are manipulating their sources. Material of a similar provenance also made its way into Latin and Romance translations, or more likely versions, of the work of historians active at the Umayyad

1 I would like to thank, as always, Ian Wood, and also Rosamond McKitterick and all those who commented on the first version of this paper, in particular for suggesting comparisons between al Andalus and elsewhere in the former Roman empire.

2 Manzano 2006, 10.

3 Arce 2000; debates continue over the correct assignment of material remains to the Roman or post Roman periods: Caballero Zoreda/Mateos Cruz 2000.

4 Ibn Ḥabīb, *History*, ed. Aguadé; Ibn 'Abd al Ḥakam, *Conquest of Africa*, ed. and trans. Vidal Beltrán.

court in tenth-century. Both Christians and Muslims made their compilations at a period when there was an appetite for accounts of wonders and marvels, which were interpolated into the more annalistic versions of earlier centuries. Andalusī historians occasionally commented on earlier civilisations and the inspiration for their creative reworking of the past included Roman buildings and other artefacts such as survive across the lands of the former Roman Empire to this day. It is in medieval accounts of this material culture that much of the Romanness of al-Andalus may be found.

Nearly two centuries after the conquest, a version of Orosius' *Seven Books of History Against the Pagans* was translated into Arabic. It survives only in a single late manuscript, but references to the translation by al-Bakrī (d. 1095) suggest that it was made at the end of the ninth century.⁵ Interpolations from Isidore and other Latin sources continued this version of Orosius' story to 711, although unfortunately the end of the manuscript is missing, and as a result, the account of the conquest has been lost. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the translation was commissioned by the caliph al-Ḥakam II (961–976). At least one historian active at the court of al-Ḥakam and his father 'Abd al-Raḥmān III (929–961) read Latin history, probably in Arabic, and incorporated it into his own work. Many later historians writing in Arabic cited from this author, al-Rāzī (d. 955), and a version of one of his works was later translated into Portuguese and Castilian.⁶ In the eleventh century, Sa'īd the Andalusī, in his *Book of the Categories of Nations*, used some of this information to construct a short but fairly accurate account of the history and geographical extent of the Roman Empire.⁷ Yet, just as Latin authors of universal chronicles divided history into before and after the coming of Christianity, so the pre-Islamic sections of the history of Hispania in Arabic was the story of an age of ignorance, echoing the situation in the Arabian peninsula before the coming of the Prophet. The peoples of pre-Islamic Spain were characterised as pagans, idol worshippers and unbelievers. There was no suggestion that the Muslims of al-Andalus were their heirs.

Other aspects of Andalusī high culture perpetuated Late Antique models and look Roman, at least to our eyes. Gold coins minted in the years immediately after the conquest imitated the Byzantine coinage of North Africa, including the indiction. An institution with a Roman name, *al-qaysariya* (from *Caesar*) gave its name to *alcaceria*, one of the synonyms for 'market'. As we shall see, the incomers exploited the infrastructure of Hispania's Roman cities and their surroundings. Some of the villas around Córdoba, such as al-Rusāfa, founded by 'Abd al-Raḥmān I (756–788) re-occupied former Roman sites, taking advantage of Roman aqueducts and roads. Others seem to be new foundations, but they were influenced by the same Roman garden palace aesthetic.⁸ In al-Andalus, as in Umayyad Syria, buildings followed Roman

⁵ *Arabic Orosius*, ed. Penelas; Penelas 2008; Christys 2002, 135–157.

⁶ *Crónica del Moro Rasis*, ed. Catalan/de Andrés.

⁷ Sa'īd the Andalusī, *Book of the Categories of Nations*, ed. and trans. Salemn/Kumar, 31.

⁸ Anderson 2013.

models, incorporated Roman *spolia* and were decorated by workmen sent from Byzantium. Arabic historians writing about the famous buildings of al-Andalus, such as the Great Mosque of Córdoba, emphasised their debt to Byzantium. Hispano-Roman architectural practices such as the horseshoe arch and the distinctive use of space, which were to be so influential in the Christian north of Hispania also made an impact on Córdoba's Mosque. As Dodds observed, 'It is no wonder the formula was thought for some time to be originally an Islamic one; it is the means by which the Christian architecture of the Iberian Peninsula is set apart from that of the rest of Europe'.⁹ It was in the Great Mosque that court rituals that developed in Umayyad Syria under Byzantine influence were rehearsed in al-Andalus.¹⁰

The impact of Rome and Byzantium on the material culture of al-Andalus could be further explored. For the purposes of this volume, however, the results of such an analysis would be meagre, since the Roman origin of these aspects of Andalusí culture were rarely acknowledged. The vocabulary that was employed for what we would conceptualise as Roman lacks precision. In the Arabic translation of Orosius, the terms 'Rome' (*Rūma*) and 'the Romans' (*al-Rūmānyūn*) are both used more than one hundred times. This usage followed Orosius' Latin. Most historians writing in Arabic about the pre-Islamic past of the peninsula classified all the earlier inhabitants of Spain, back to the sons of Noah, under the two general headings 'pagan' and 'ancient', for which they had a number of synonyms.¹¹ They also used the term '*Rūm*', which sounds like 'Rome' or 'Roman' but has a much wider spectrum of meaning.¹² Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 1076) used *Rūm* in its original sense when he noted that, after famine affected Córdoba in 874, the governor of the city appealed to the emir to distribute food 'because we have heard that the tyrants of the *Rūm* used to do this in Constantinople and Rome'.¹³ More commonly, when writers used the term *Rūm*, however, they meant the Byzantines of their own times, who sent several embassies to Córdoba in the ninth and tenth centuries. The ships of the Byzantine fleet that Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād sought to avoid when he crossed to Spain in 711 were called '*Rūm*'; Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 853) distinguished them from the population of Hispania.¹⁴ *Rūm* was also increasingly employed for any Christian from a land outside the *dār al-Islam*, such as Norman Sicily, and this usage was later extended to Andalusí Christians. *Rūm* was sometimes used of Christians of low status; *Rūmiyya* could denote a Christian female slave. From the etymological point of view at least, Romanness does not seem to be a distinct category from Christianity, which was not, in the Andalusí

⁹ Dodds 1990, 111.

¹⁰ Al Azmeh 2001, xv, 63–65, 148; Safran 2000, 51–97.

¹¹ The ancients (*al awā'il* 'the first men'); among the terms for 'pagan': enemy of God ('*adū Allāh*'), infidel (*kafir*), polytheist (*mushrik*), tyrant (*ṭaghīa*), uncivilised (*ilj*), magus (*majūs*).

¹² Lapiedra Gutiérrez 1997, 114–142.

¹³ Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtabis*, ed. Makkī, 172.

¹⁴ Ibn Ḥabīb, *History*, ed. Aguadé, 232, 234.

sources, focussed on Rome. It would be anachronistic to impose such a distinction on our sources.

Yet there was one way in which al-Andalus was undisputedly still Roman. Al-Andalus was sprinkled with ancient monuments. Roads and bridges, cities with their walls, towers, aqueducts and palaces were Roman in plain sight. The remainder of this paper explores this legacy of Rome in al-Andalus from two aspects. How did these material remains influence the Islamic settlement of al-Andalus and, more importantly for our purpose, how were they interpreted?

My starting point is a letter addressed to the emir ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II (822–852). The letter itself does not survive, but a later historian quoted the following passage from it:

Coming from Beja may God honour the emir I saw along the banks of the river of Cordoba [the Guadalquivir] the remains of cities (*madā’in*), fortresses (*ma’āfil*), castles (*ḥuṣūn*) and watch towers (*marāqib*), linked and close together, until, arriving at Qa’lat Ghazwān,¹⁵ these fortifications connect with Italica and Coria as far as Seville, and then extend to Qa’lat Ward, Jerez, Sionia, and Aṣṭah as far as Cádiz and the coastal zone; I am certain the ancients (*al Awā’il*) built these fortifications and watchtowers simply as a defence against the pagans (*al Majūs*) who kept on arriving at different periods. Here we have the city of C.... in the region of Niebla, over whose gate there are, made by the ancients, statues of men whose shape is the shape of those pagans, as well as images of their boats, which without doubt were made and reproduced over this gate as talismans to help to drive them back to their country.¹⁶

In the single manuscript that preserves the letter, the name of the city where the writer saw images of pagans is illegible and the city has not been identified. The letter does not give any clues to the origins of the builders of the gate, nor of their enemies. The term *Majūs* used for pagans in this passage is, however, also that most commonly used for Vikings, who raided al-Andalus during the ninth to eleventh centuries. The supposed author of the letter, Abdullāh b. Kulayb, was one of the commanders of the Andalusī forces that repulsed the first Viking raid on al-Andalus in 844. The letter forms part of a dossier on the attack of 844 put together by an eleventh-century historian, Ibn Ḥayyān.¹⁷ Indeed, the letter reads as though it was written as the general was on his way back to Córdoba from the coast after his victory. This passage came to Ibn Ḥayyān from Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-‘Ash’ath al-Qurashī, the little-known author of a history of Seville, which has been lost apart from the citations from it that Ibn Ḥayyān preserved.¹⁸ The fact that the protagonist is known to have existed from other sources does not mean that the letter is authentic. Many of the

¹⁵ Alcalá de Guadaira, a few km. south of Seville; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtabis*, trans. Makki/Corriente, 317, n. 673.

¹⁶ Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtabis*, ed. Vallvé Bermejo, 187r; trans. Makki/Corriente, 317. The English translation is mine.

¹⁷ Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtabis*, trans. Makki/Corriente, 312–322.

¹⁸ Pons Boigues 1893, 124–125.

details of the Viking campaigns in the Iberian peninsula seem to have been added, several centuries later, to a basic outline of fact.¹⁹ The letter, however, serves to introduce several of our themes.

Ruins had a special place in Arabic culture. A nostalgia for ruins, stopping in front of ruins was a *topos* of Arabic poetry;²⁰ it may have been imported wholesale from pre-Islamic poetry, as the nostalgia of the émigré for his abandoned campsite in far-off Arabia. The *topos* was utilised by writers active in al-Andalus after the fall of the caliphate and the destruction of Córdoba and many of its buildings, when they had reason to be nostalgic. The poet Ibn Zaydūn (d. 1070), walking among the ruins of the palace of Madīnat al-Zahrā', outside Córdoba, compared it to the Garden of Eden.²¹ 'And with the destruction of Madīnat-al-Zahrā', said Ibn Ḥayyān, 'the carpet of the world was folded up and the beauty that had been an earthly paradise was disfigured'.²² Roman ruins were not evocative in this way, but they had certain powers. As we shall see, pre-Islamic statues, in particular, were preserved, re-erected and even copied for their talismanic properties. And if the evidence of the letter is to be believed, Andalusī builders thought that they shared with 'the ancients' their belief in the efficacy of these talismans.

'Abd al-Raḥmān's victorious general may not have been exaggerating the scale of fortification of the coast and major waterways of the former Roman province of Baetica, now the heart of al-Andalus. Toponyms and archaeology suggest that there were thousands of watchtowers, sited on high points and along the principal roads and rivers throughout the peninsula. In general, they are difficult, if not impossible, to date. Place names are rarely helpful, since the term used in Spain and Portugal for such watchtowers – *atalaya*, from the Arabic *ṭālī'a*, to view – was also used by Christian authors referring to constructions of a later period. Archaeological evidence remains for more than 300 watchtowers. A few have been excavated and some of these provide ceramic evidence of occupation from the Roman period onward. *Castra* from the Visigothic period were used by the Andalusis;²³ incoming troops were stationed here after the conquest. Accounts of rebellions towards the end of the ninth centuries linked rebels of Arab and Berber origin as well as indigenous Christians and Muslim converts to walled cities and fortresses, which do not seem to have been newly-built for this purpose.

The survival of a defensible infrastructure may have been one of the main factors that determined the outlines of the Muslim settlement. Although some of Hispania's Roman cities had been abandoned in the Visigothic period, others remained relatively intact, and were taken over and modified by the conquerors. Very little material evidence survives for the first centuries of Umayyad rule. New cities were not found-

¹⁹ Christys 2015.

²⁰ Garulo 1998.

²¹ Stewart 2000, 312.

²² Ibn Ḥayyān cited by Ibn Bassām, in García Gómez 1947, 281.

²³ Manzano 2006, 67, 283.

ed in al-Andalus until the ninth and tenth centuries. This was in marked contrast to the pattern of settlement in the eastern Islamic empire, where, as well as occupying Damascus and other important cities, the conquerors also founded garrison towns away from the main centres of population. The re-occupation of the Roman cities of Hispania may have been a pragmatic response to political instability and the limited means at the disposal of the Umayyads. It was only to historians writing with several centuries of hindsight that Umayyad dominance seemed inevitable. During the early period they were confined to the south-west of the peninsula, rather than taking over the Visigothic capital, Toledo. The earliest, and probably most reliable, source for the Muslim conquest, the *Chronicle of 754*, says that between 714 and 716, the governor was based in Seville, but this arrangement was short-lived. Córdoba is mentioned as the capital in connection with al-Ḥurr (716–718), when ‘the Saracens set up their savage kingdom in [...] Córdoba, formerly a patrician see and always the most opulent of cities’.²⁴ Although the *Chronicle of 754* and some of the later Arabic sources claim that Toledo was taken in the first years of the conquest, the city did not pass to firm Umayyad control until the tenth century. Elsewhere in the peninsula, Muslim rebels occupied other former Roman cities such as Mérida, where recent work has shown an Islamic phase ‘entirely dependent on the Roman-Visigothic past’;²⁵ Zaragoza, which still preserves much its Roman walls, bridge, street plan and forum, also resisted Umayyad rule. Umayyad governors and emirs were not able to take their pick of the peninsula’s cities. The south-western corner of the peninsula, rather than being central to a greater whole, appears to have been a bridge-head. The Umayyads concentrated their efforts on holding Córdoba, whence they could fall back when attempts at expansion failed.

The topography of the Roman and Visigothic city settled by the conquerors is obscure. In the late Roman period, residences were built on the southern forum. Visigothic Córdoba played an important role in political events, but the sources say very little about what it was like. Changes in the Visigothic period included the founding of churches, the encroachment of domestic building and burials onto public spaces and the partial dissolution of the road network. A complex of buildings including the bishop’s palace, perhaps a governor’s palace and the church of St. Vincent, encroached on the *cardo maximus*.²⁶ Yet at least one of the principal Roman streets was still in use in the tenth century and Islamic urbanisation developed within the Roman city plan, which may be traced in the modern street network.²⁷ Two centuries after the conquest, the palace city of Madīnat al-Zahrā’ followed a similar, essentially Roman plan, using *spolia* from Cercedilla, which may have been a Christian basilica from the fourth century, 500 metres to the northwest of the city walls.²⁸ Little remains

²⁴ *Chronicle of 754*, trans. Wolf, 133.

²⁵ Mateos Cruz/Alba Calzado 2000, 144.

²⁶ Kulikowski 2004, 119–120.

²⁷ Pavón Maldonado 1997.

²⁸ Marfil Ruiz 2010–2011; but see Arce 1997.

today of the Roman walls of Córdoba, and it is not clear how much was still standing in 711 of the wall built in the reign of Augustus, which may have been re-built or extended in the late Roman period. The walls of Islamic Córdoba, however, followed the outline of the Roman city, apart from an extension to the south-east to take in the Rawḍa, the burial ground of the emirs. Several of the gates of the Islamic city opened onto Roman roads, such as the road to Seville, which ran along the right bank of the river. One of these gates, which led to Toledo and was usually known by that name, was sometimes called the Gate of *al-Rūmiyya*;²⁹ this may refer to the three Roman roads that met there, but we may also speculate that a statue of a Roman lady stood above the gate. Roman Córdoba had been supplied with water from two aqueducts and at least one of these seems to have been in use in the Islamic period.³⁰ Excavation at Cercedilla uncovered a water channel, which may have been diverted from a second-century aqueduct by al-Ḥakam II (961–976) to supply the Great Mosque.³¹

Many of these Roman features are, however, easier to identify from their modern remains than from the written sources. Arabic historians and geographers, even those who had visited Córdoba, often represented restored Roman and Visigothic features as new construction. This is most obvious in references to the bridge over the Guadalquivir. It linked the city with the suburb of *Secunda*, founded in the Roman period at the second milestone on the Via Augusta from Córdoba, and known in Arabic as *Shaqunda* or as *al-rabaḍ* (the suburb). The bridge, which is still extant, is clearly Roman. An anonymous chronicle of the twelfth century or later, the *Conquest of al-Andalus*, remembered something about its pre-Islamic past:

When the Muslims conquered al Andalus, they found in the city of Cordoba the ruins (*athār*) of a massive bridge that spanned the river, held on several arches of firm pillars, the work of ancient civilizations now vanished (*al umam al māḍīa al dāthara lam yabaq minha*), of which only traces remained.³²

Most of the Arabic sources, however, do not refer to its origin, but only to restoration commissioned by governors, emirs and caliphs, beginning with the governor al-Samḥ in 720. The same governor also ordered that cemeteries should be laid out beyond the bridge. They were located in the former Roman suburb of *Secunda* and were characterised in Arabic sources as 'the ancient cemeteries' (*al-maqbarāt al-ātiqa*). This could mean that the Muslims were acknowledging their re-use of Roman or Visigothic burial grounds, a practice that is found at the possible site of the Umayyad palace of Rusāfa, outside Córdoba, and elsewhere in Spain, for example at Segobriga.³³ Yet

²⁹ Al Maqqarī, *Analectes*, ed. Dozy, 1, 303.

³⁰ Alvarus, *Vita Eulogi* 15, ed. Gil, 1, 341.

³¹ Castro del Río 2005, 148.

³² *Conquest of al Andalus*, ed. Molina, 46.

³³ Christys 2009.

these references merely hint at Córdoba's former glories. The Arabic sources do not give the impression that the conquerors were induced to make Córdoba their capital simply by the state of the city's material remains.

Yet Córdoba may have been preferred over Seville for this very reason, because it had walls that made it easier to defend. It is difficult to compare Seville with Córdoba, because the sources for the former are much briefer, but Seville may not have had walls in the eighth century.³⁴ Several Arabic historians report that 'Abd al-Raḥmān built a wall around Seville only in 845, as a response to the Viking attack of the previous year.³⁵ Reading the written sources for Córdoba, in contrast, gives the impression that a distinction is often being made between the walled *madīna* and what lay outside, and that until the tenth century the city remained within the confines of its Roman and Visigothic predecessor.³⁶ Walls are prominent in the narratives of the capture of the city. The earliest Arabic accounts of the conquest are fantastic tales originating in Egypt in the ninth century, in which the conquerors of al-Andalus discover idols and fabulous treasures and unleash the *jinn* that King Solomon had imprisoned on his visit to Spain.³⁷ These stories were concerned with the Visigothic capital, Toledo, not with Córdoba. Most of the references to Córdoba at the time of the conquest come from works of the twelfth century and later. The *Conquest of al-Andalus* recounts that, returning from a campaign against the Basques, Rodrigo, the last Visigothic king, went to Córdoba to mobilize 'the people of his realm' against Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād and his army of Arabs and Berbers; the writer supposes that Córdoba was already the capital. Ṭāriq marched on Córdoba but hesitated to enter the city. He sent men on horseback to hide in a wood of cedars south of the Guadalquivir. A shepherd told the Muslims of a weak point in the walls of the *madīna*, through which they were able to enter.³⁸ There are elements of *topos* in all the accounts of the conquest of Córdoba, with walls serving as metonymy for a strong place, which could be penetrated only through betrayal. Yet these historians may have remembered the walls as being substantially intact in the eighth century.

Beyond Córdoba, some Roman remains did attract the attention of medieval authors. In c. 1068, an Andalusī geographer, al-Bakrī, compiled an itinerary of the Islamic world and its borders, which is peppered with anecdotes both true and fantastical. It includes information from the history of Rome and the founding of Constantinople. Describing northern Iberia, al-Bakrī attributed the building of Braga to the *Rūm*:

³⁴ Although the course of the pre Islamic walls has been traced in the modern street plan: Valor Pi chota 2007, 143–144.

³⁵ Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtabis*, ed. Vallvé Bermejo, 188v; trans. Makki/Corriente, 163; Ibn al Quṭīya, *History of the Conquest of al Andalus*, ed. al Abyārī, 81; trans. James, 101.

³⁶ Christys 2010.

³⁷ Ibn 'Abd al Ḥakam, *Conquest of Africa*, ed. and trans. Vidal Beltrán, 41–49.

³⁸ *Conquest of al Andalus*, ed. Molina, 20–21; trans. Penelas, 13–14; see also *Collection of traditions*, ed. Lafuente, 10–12, trans. 23–25; Taha 1989, 92.

The city of Braga is the first city of the construction of the *Rūm* and her commanders. Their kingdom was commanded resembling the city of Merida in the skill of its construction and the workmanship of its walls and today it is destroyed, [...] the Muslims destroyed it and filled her people with fear.³⁹

Together with several other geographers writing in Arabic, al-Bakrī knew Orosius' description of the Iberian peninsula.⁴⁰ Citing Orosius' famous dictum that 'Hispania is triangular', al-Bakrī mentioned a tower at the peninsula's third angle (Farum Brigantium, La Coruña) that resembled the tower at Cádiz. He based the similarity on the fact that both were surmounted by 'idols' (*aṣṇām*), and had been built by Hercules, 'one of the kings' [of the Greeks] 'the people of law who brought philosophy'.⁴¹ This attribution was a common feature of a number of geographical works, which include the *Crónica del Moro Rasis*,⁴² a Castilian version of a work attributed to the court historian al-Rāzī, mentioned above. This text named Hercules as the founder of Córdoba, Beja and Toledo. Andalusī chroniclers elaborated the relationship between Hercules and Espan, the legendary founder of Hispania and the former's powers of divination.⁴³ One of the most extravagant works in this genre was the fourteenth-century al-Ḥimīyārī's geography of al-Andalus, which is often cited as a historical source in spite of the author's appetite for marvels.⁴⁴ We might assume that, although some writers in al-Andalus had read Christian history in Arabic, most had little apart from local traditions and their own imagination with which to interpret the monuments they saw. Contrast this with Flodoard of Reims, who, c. 950, used his reading of Livy to construct a new narrative for his city to explain the sculpture of Romulus and Remus on the triumphal arch of the city.⁴⁵

Much later, al-Maqqarī's seventeenth-century compilation of a huge variety of the Arabic sources for al-Andalus and the Maghreb, directly addressed the question of Roman remains. He listed, among other wonders, the milestones, and the bridges of Toledo and Mérida.⁴⁶ Al-Maqqarī cited a passage on the Roman roads of the peninsula. He took it from a work by Ibn Ghālib, entitled 'Contemplation of the ruins found in Andalus'. Several biographical dictionaries listed Ibn Ghālib and mentioned this remarkable title, but its author, who may have died c. 958 in Elvira, near present-day Granada, is obscure and his work has been lost.⁴⁷ Al-Maqqarī may have been citing him from the work of Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī (1213–1286),

³⁹ Al Bakrī, *The geography of al Andalus and Europe*, ed. el Hajjī, 52.

⁴⁰ Molina 1984.

⁴¹ Al Bakrī, *The geography of al Andalus*, ed. el Hajjī, 70; also cited by al Maqqarī, *Analectes*, ed. Dozy, 1, 82.

⁴² *Crónica del Moro Rasis*, ed. Catalan/de Andrés, 9, 64, 80.

⁴³ Carlos Villamarín 1996, 241–270; Clarke 2012, 82–83.

⁴⁴ Al Ḥimīyārī, *Book of Gardens*, ed. Abbās.

⁴⁵ Flodoard, *Historia remensis ecclesiae* 1.1, ed. Stratmann, 62; McKitterick (in press).

⁴⁶ Al Maqqarī, *Analectes*, ed. Dozy, 1, 125.

⁴⁷ Pons 1893, 123–124.

whom he mentions a few lines later as an authority on the Roman past of al-Andalus. Ibn Sa'īd noted that the aqueducts and Roman roads of the peninsula were still extant.⁴⁸ It seems, however, that the ultimate origin of at least some of Ibn Ghālib's text was Christian history in Arabic, since the author had read the *Cosmographia of Julius Honorius*, a short fifth-century geography that was one of the sources for the pre-Islamic history of Spain in Arabic. The *Cosmographia* was well-known in both Muslim and Christian Iberia. The earliest surviving version in Latin dates from the ninth century and extracts from it were interpolated into the Arabic translation of Orosius.⁴⁹

We read [from Ibn Ghālib or Ibn Sa'īd] in some of the histories of Rome that when Julius, known by the surname of Jāshar (Caesar) reigned, he began to measure the earth, and conquered it. He began [to make roads] from Rome to the east, west, north and south of the earth, until they reached half the circumference of the globe. One of these led to Andalus, and ended to the east of Cordova, near the Gate of Ibn 'Abd al Jabbār.⁵⁰

Little survives in the written record that would allow us to interpret the re-use of Roman columns and other *spolia* in new prestige buildings such as the Great Mosque of Córdoba. The most elaborate description of Córdoba is found in the compilation of al-Maqqarī; most of it taken from a writer active in the twelfth century, Ibn Bashkuwāl. This includes an account of the fortified palace (*qaṣr*) of the Umayyads within the *madīna*, its individual palaces, salons and gates and royal ceremonial.⁵¹ A *qaṣr* is mentioned in connection with the arrival of the first Umayyad, 'Abd al-Raḥmān I, in 756.⁵² It was probably on the site of a former Visigothic palace. Certainly, Ibn Bashkuwāl connected the *qaṣr* with the pre-Islamic past of the city.

He said that the *qaṣr* was first used by the kings of the people of L.d.n⁵³ in the time of Moses the prophet [...] and in it there are buildings of the ancients (*al Awā'il*) and wonderful remains of the Greeks (*al Yūnānīn*) and then the Rūm and the Goths (*al Qūṭ*) and the people of bygone ages (*al 'umam al sāliḥa*) which are impossible to describe.⁵⁴

Ibn Bashkuwāl remarked on the water supply to the palace and its distribution to various fountains, although only in the latter case were the Romans given credit for these artifacts.

[The Umayyads] brought sweet water [to the *qaṣr*] from the mountains of Cordoba, from a great distance and conveyed it to the city and distributed it to all parts through lead pipes, through

48 Al Maqqarī, *Analectes*, ed. Dozy, 1, 124.

49 Arabic Orosius, ed. Penelas, 32–42.

50 Al Maqqarī, *Analectes*, ed. Dozy, 1, 124; the Gate of Ibn 'Abd al Jabbār was also known as *al Rū mīyya*; see above.

51 Al Maqqarī, *Analectes*, ed. Dozy, 1, 302–303; García Gómez 1965.

52 Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtabis*, trans. García Gómez, 87.

53 Following the usual practice, this name was written without its vowels.

54 Al Maqqarī, *Analectes*, ed. Dozy, 1, 207.

which it flowed into structures of different shapes made from the most excellent gold, the purest silver and plated copper, into gigantic reservoirs and wonderful pools and amazing cisterns into basins of wonderful sculpted Roman marble [...].⁵⁵

In Ibn Bashkuwāl's description, everything about Córdoba is full of wonders and equally 'impossible to describe'. This is both a *topos* of the genre and the literal truth, since the author was writing after the partial destruction of the city, as he acknowledged.⁵⁶ Yet it is possible that Ibn Bashkuwāl had seen, at the very least, 'basins of wonderful sculpted Roman marble' similar to the Roman sarcophagi that were used as basins in the courtyards of Madīnat al-Zahrā and the garden palaces outside Córdoba.⁵⁷ Vallejo assumed that they came from the Roman ruins of Cerdilla, but they may have been transported to Córdoba from other parts of the peninsula; two or three of the sarcophagi at Madīnat al-Zahrā are unlike any others found in Córdoba, but they are identical to others found in Mérida.⁵⁸ Comments on building in the Arabic sources could however, be completely misleading, both in their hyperbole and in their details; marble used in the construction of Madīnat al-Zahrā, which was said to have come from Carthage, and the columns supposedly sent from Byzantium, were in fact quarried nearby. Al-Maqqarī preserved the story that the caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān III sent an envoy, perhaps a bishop, to Constantinople to fetch a basin that was to be used as a fountain in his new palace. This is likely to be an explanation *a posteriori* for the presence of richly-decorated objects of non-Islamic design. The question of the use or re-use of *spolia* is controversial, since medieval sources rarely elucidated it.⁵⁹ But there may often have been what Kinney called 'a historicist gesture' towards the earlier civilization whose traces were still visible on the landscape. Unfortunately, the paucity of sources and modern studies on the Islamic use of *spolia* limits the conclusions that may be drawn.⁶⁰ We may assume that such *spolia* were used both for practical reasons and for their high status materials and decoration, but, since the origin of these *spolia* was not recorded at the time of their re-use, it could be subjected to the imagination of later generations.

Yet some of these works of the ancients had a different significance. The main defence of any city lay in the physical, and magical properties of walls and the presence of the holy man. In al-Andalus these powers were sometimes reinforced by Roman figures placed on walls and over gates for their talismanic properties. The Muslim builders of al-Andalus created few figural sculptures. There was little interest in figural art, although this was not an aniconic culture. Around the time of the con-

⁵⁵ Al Maqqarī, *Analectes*, ed. Dozy, 1, 207.

⁵⁶ See below.

⁵⁷ Anderson 2013, 78.

⁵⁸ Vallejo Triano 2010, 116; Caballero Zoreda/Mateos Cruz 2000, 454.

⁵⁹ Kinney 2006.

⁶⁰ Brenk 1987; Greenhalgh 1989; Greenhalgh 2006, 11; Eaton 2000; Sena 2012.

quest of al-Andalus, Islamic patrons in the east created the portraits of the six kings at Quṣayr ‘Amra, among them Rodrigo, the last Visigothic ruler of Hispania.⁶¹ Representations of human and other living figures appear on ivory caskets from the end of the Umayyad period in al-Andalus. Several sources of the tenth century and later commented on pre-Islamic figural sculptures in Córdoba, which they described as ‘idols’ (*asnām*). The palace that the conquerors discovered in Córdoba had the figure of a lion either on its south wall, or on the wall of a tower, according to different sources.⁶² In a list of the gates of Córdoba’s *qaṣr*, Ibn Bashkuwāl noted that:

Among the gates opened by Allāh to bring help to the oppressed, abundant rain to the anxious and right judgement, there was a gate over which there was a roof terrace commanding a site without equal in the world. Here there was an iron gate on which there were brass rings attached at their bases and on each was represented a man with his mouth open. These rings came from the gate of the city of Narbonne in the land of the Franks; the emir Muḥammad captured [the city] and brought the rings to this gate.⁶³

Ibn Bashkuwāl was mistaken on at least one count. Narbonne was briefly under Umayyad control after 793, when the ruler was not Muḥammad (852–886) but Hishām I. The author may not have seen the gate himself, since he noted that ‘many of these gates were destroyed during the civil war [...]’ in 1009.⁶⁴ He may have misidentified the gate with the rings, since other authors said that the figure of a woman stood over the gate, almost certainly a Roman pagan goddess.⁶⁵ At the end of the ninth century, the founders of the port city of Pechina, near Almería, may have placed a copy of this figure over the gate of their new city.⁶⁶ But his account of the gate seems to come from someone who had seen a Roman door and its furniture. At Madīnat al-Zahrā, the only gate clearly mentioned in the sources, which led to Córdoba, was known as the Gate of the Statue (*Bāb al-Ṣūra*). Over the gate there was the figure of a woman, again, no doubt a Roman statue. She has been identified with al-Zahrā, a favourite slave girl of the ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III who gave her name to the palace, with Venus, and as the personification of victory over the Fatimids.⁶⁷ Without a label, the image remains an enigma. As Theodulf of Orleans remarked of another female figure, only a label can say whether the image of a woman is of Mary or Venus.⁶⁸ The comments of the sources should not be over-interpreted. But

⁶¹ Fowden 2004, 144.

⁶² *Conquest of al Andalus*, ed. Molina, 21; *Conquest of al Andalus*, trans. Penelas, 14; Ibn Idhārī, *Report on the Maghreb*, ed. Colin/Lévi Provençal, 2, 213.

⁶³ Al Maqqarī, *Analektes*, ed. Dozy, 1, 302–303.

⁶⁴ Al Maqqarī, *Analektes*, ed. Dozy, 1, 303.

⁶⁵ García Gómez, 1965.

⁶⁶ Al Himyari, *Book of gardens*, ed. Abbās, 79.

⁶⁷ Ocaña Jiménez 1982; Fierro 2004.

⁶⁸ Theodulf of Orleans, *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum* 4, 16, ed. Freeman/Meyvaert, 529.

it seems plausible that the preservation and re-erecting of Roman statues over gates was common, and done for the same reasons that Anglo-Saxon builders located Roman statues near the windows and doors of their churches.⁶⁹ Some of these idols may have survived to this day in the form of the Roman statuary discovered in Córdoba and Madinat al-Zahrā.

There are several stories about talismans in the narrative sources for al-Andalus. Like the idol that Hercules is said to have erected over one of his towers at Cádiz to warn sailors not to sail into the great ocean in the west that led to cold and complete darkness, they marked a boundary that was not to be overstepped. Sometimes an idol has been interpolated into a narrative taken from an earlier source, in order to make it more compelling. Here is one example. The ninth-century historian Ibn Ḥabīb recounted the campaigns of Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr, the first governor of al-Andalus on the border between his new realm and Francia. His generals argued that he had gone far enough:

[...] then Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr advanced into the land of the enemy until the people became more and more weary. They said 'Where do you want to go with us? We have considered what is before us. Where do you want to take us out of this world, to seek greater things than God has already conquered for us?'. Mūsā laughed and said 'I will go on to Constantinople and conquer it, if God wills it'.⁷⁰

The twelfth-century *Conquest of al-Andalus*, which had recreated the conquest of Córdoba by Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād elaborated this story too:

At the beginning of the year 712, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [...] entered the lands of the Franks. He went on until he came to a great desert, a plain where there were the remains of ancient monuments. Among them was a huge statue erected on a column on which was an inscription written in Arabic [...] [saying] 'Sons of Ishmael, if you have reached here, turn back!'⁷¹

We should not dismiss all the stories involving idols, even though many of them, such as here, were clearly invented. Idols in the form of images on the walls and gates of cities had apotropaic powers. These images were, as the letter-writer Abdullāh ibn Kulayb observed, 'made by the ancients'. We may speculate that the image of the pagans and their boats on wall that the victorious general reported could have been something similar to the tomb markers of the *barcarii* surviving in the ports of the former Roman Empire. The image that Abdullāh ibn Kulayb saw, that had turned back the sea-borne raiders who approached the cities of south-eastern Hispania in ancient times, might be just as powerful against Vikings and other current threats. Idols, either in situ or moved to a more significant position, evoked the power of the ancients to protect Córdoba and Madinat al-Zahrā. Andalusis could

⁶⁹ Eaton 2000, 91.

⁷⁰ Ibn Ḥabīb, *History*, ed. Aguadé, 142.

⁷¹ *Conquest of al Andalus*, ed. Molina, 29; *Conquest of al Andalus*, trans. Penelas, 22.

have collated what they saw with the Latin histories that had been translated into Arabic, and connected the surviving walls and sculptures with the presence of the Romans in Hispania, but they rarely did so. We should not rush to attribute this oversight to ignorance or superstition. By the eleventh century, the pre-Islamic history of the peninsula was well-known, at least in outline. But, with a very few exceptions, Arabic historians and geographers were content to lump the Romans with Hercules and the sons of Noah among the ancients whose footprints they saw on al-Andalus without being conscious that they were following in them.

Ingrid Hartl

Walchen, Vlachs and Welsh: A Germanic ethnonym and its many uses

In the early Middle Ages a new ethnonym emerged, which in many variations proved persistent over many centuries and had a renewed impact on identification processes in the 19th century.¹ The names *Walchen*, Welsh, Walloons, Vlachs and Walachians are all derived from it. The term originally came from the Celtic ethnonym *Volcae*², but when it appears in early medieval sources such as chronicles, glosses or place names, it was mostly used to describe the neighbouring Romans, with whom early medieval speakers of Germanic languages had contact in many regions of Europe.³ Later, the name was also used in Slavic languages and in Greek, and sometimes it could be transformed from an outside designation into a self-identification. Thus we have variations of *w(e)alh* in Old Saxon / Old English, denoting a Briton, Middle Dutch *wale* for Frenchman, Old High German *wal(a)h* for Italian or Frenchman, Old Norse *valir* for northern Frenchmen, *vlah* for Italians or Vlachs in Slavic languages, *olasz* for Italians and *oláh* for Rumanians in Hungarian and *bláchoi* for Vlachs in Greek.

The emergence of this onomastic field from the British Isles and the Germanic-Roman contact zone along the Rhine, in the Alps and to the Balkans has, for the first time, been treated comprehensively in the 2017 collaborative volume '*Walchen, Romani und Latini. Variationen einer nachrömischen Gruppenbezeichnung zwischen Britannien und dem Balkan*'.⁴ It offers a broad overview of the state of research and of new perspectives on the use of the name *wala(h)* in its variations and alternative forms of self-designation and outside designation for Romans in the early Middle Ages and beyond. The contributions focus especially on the relationship between self-perceptions of Romans and perceptions of Romans by others in different parts of Europe. Based on this, conclusions are drawn about the continuity of 'Romans' or speakers of Romance languages and their social integration from the early Middle Ages onwards.

Philological and historical contributions in the volume complement each other in their examination of four linguistic areas: the southeastern European *wala(h)*-variations *vlach*-, *blach*-; central Europe and its *walch*-, *welsch*- appellations; self-desig-

1 This article gives an overview over the collective volume: Pohl, Walter / Hartl, Ingrid / Haubrichs, Wolfgang (eds.) (2017), *Walchen, Romani und Latini. Variationen einer nachrömischen Gruppenbezeichnung zwischen Britannien und dem Balkan*, Vienna. All articles quoted are published in this volume. The research leading to these results received funding from the European Research Council in the Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–13) under the ERC grant agreement No. 269591.

2 Haubrichs 2017, 82.

3 Kramer 2017a, 202.

4 Pohl/Hartl/Haubrichs 2017.

nations of Romans in southern Europe and appellations for (Romano-)Celts in early medieval England.

Thematically several strands of inquiry emerge. Several articles follow an established tradition of studying different variations of *wal(a)ha* in place names or personal names.⁵ Additionally, group names and their uses as self-designations and outside designations are addressed. This includes the collective names *Romani* and *Latini* with their derivatives, in the context of the transformations of early medieval Roman identities and of the Latin language.⁶ Two contributions consider the significance of this onomastic field for identity formation in the Modern Era.⁷ Walter Pohl sums up the evidence in a comprehensive introduction and discusses the implications for Roman identity formation in the early Middle Ages.⁸

Generally, *wala(h)* and its variations were used to indicate linguistic and ethnic differences – ‘otherness’ – from the majority of the population in a given area. From the ancient / early medieval Germanic perspective, *walisk* / Welsh neighbours in the west and south corresponded to *windisk* / Wendish people in the east; this name was derived from the ancient *Winedi* and later used for the Slavs.⁹ A great variety of sources, such as glosses of the ninth to twelfth centuries (for example Notker’s glosses on ‘Martianus Capella’ or the so-called ‘Kasseler Glossen’), in which derivations of **Walaha* were translated with *Latini*, *Romani*, establish their equivalence for speakers of Germanic languages.¹⁰ In order to explore the complex dynamics of this group designation the contributions investigate a wide range of sources.

Herwig Wolfram provides an overview of early medieval material from Alemannia, Bavaria and the Eastern Alps to show which conclusions about early medieval Roman presence, identity or language can be drawn from them. For evidence of a consistent Roman population living south of Salzburg, Wolfram for example refers to Salzburg catalogues of property (*Güterverzeichnisse*) of the eighth century, in which *Romani tributarii* eventually become *tributarii*. Apparently the name *Romani*

5 Wolfgang Haubrichs, *Kontinuität und Ansiedlung von Romanen am Ostrand der alten Gallia und östlich des Rheins: Sprachliche Indikatoren (500–900)*; Peter Wiesinger, *Die Romanen im frühmittelalterlichen bayerisch-österreichischen Raum aus namenkundlicher und sprachwissenschaftlicher Sicht*; Peter Wiesinger, *Das Rottachgau Fragment im Licht der Ortsnamenkunde*; Thomas F. Schneider/Max Pfister, *Romanen und ihre (Fremd-)Bezeichnungen im Mittelalter: Der Schweizer Raum und das angrenzende alemannische Gebiet*; Klaus Dietz, *Benennungen von Romanen und Kelten (und ihrer Sprache) im frühmittelalterlichen England*; Georg Holzer, *Der Walchen Name im frühmittelalterlichen Slavischen*.

6 Herwig Wolfram, *Die frühmittelalterliche Romania im Donau- und Ostalpenraum*; Bernhard Zeller, *Über Romanen, Räter und Walchen im frühmittelalterlichen Churrätien*; Mihailo St. Popović, *Vlachen in der historischen Landschaft Mazedonien im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*; Johannes Kramer, *Romanen, Rumänen und Vlachen aus philologischer Sicht*.

7 Michael Metzeltin, *Rumänien: Das Werden eines Staatsnamens*; Johannes Kramer, *Ladinisch*.

8 Walter Pohl, *Walchen, Römer und ‚Romanen‘* Einleitung. See also his introduction in this volume.

9 Pohl 2017, 24.

10 Haubrichs 2017, 85.

disappeared from the sources as early as the late eighth century, although the language and special legal status of this group can still be verified after this time. Wolfram emphasizes that these ‘Roman’ tributaries were part of the supply base for secular and ecclesiastical institutions, and lists several early medieval examples from the Danube and eastern Alpine regions – ranging from law to trade, agriculture, the military and administrative sphere, which all strongly suggest the involvement of *Walchen* / *Romani* in their handling and development during the early Middle Ages.¹¹

In order to distinguish these Romans, the Alemanni and the Bavarians called them *Walaha*, the Slavs called them *Vlahi*. Wolfram emphasizes two aspects of the term *walch-* and its variations: first, it remained an appellation imposed by others, and in most cases it seems nearly impossible to determine by which name the Walchs called themselves. Second, it developed in the vernacular – the written Latin sources of that time usually document *walch-* only in place-names and hydronyms.¹² Moreover it has to be noted that although the majority of our sources in the early Middle Ages were written in Latin, their authors relatively infrequently identify themselves or the Latin / Romance-speaking population groups as ‘Romans’.¹³ Similarly, in a co-authored article Thomas Schneider and Max Pfister, investigating the area of present-day Switzerland and its neighbouring regions in Southern Germany, Alsace and Vorarlberg, interpret *Romani* / *Rūmān* and *Wal(s)chen* to be both outside designations.

However, explicit identifications as *Romanus*, both in outside designation and self-designation, seem to be quite common in legal texts.¹⁴ Some Roman legal traditions even suggest in certain contexts a Roman group set apart from others. One example for this is the so-called Rottachgau fragment, an eighth-century charter from the diocese of Passau, which preserves a surprising amount of late antique terms and word forms and contains particles of spoken Latin and Roman names throughout. Peter Wiesinger dedicates a contribution to the latest findings on this document and localizes it in today’s Upper Austria, an area, where a local continuation of Latin up to the eighth century seems quite surprising.¹⁵ Other examples of legal texts are investigated by Bernhard Zeller, who delineates historical evidence of Roman tradition in Raetia as well as legal and geographical changes of this area between Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, with reference to the charters of that time. Early medieval Raetia, which comprised the modern-day regions of eastern and central Switzerland (including the Upper Rhine and Lake Constance regions), south-

¹¹ Wolfram 2017, 39–53.

¹² Wolfram 2017, 40–41.

¹³ Pohl 2017, 22.

¹⁴ A freed slave could receive the status of *cives Romanus*, for example; similarly other ways of most likely dependent legal statuses were provided for *Romani* in early medieval legal texts; Pohl 2017, 22. See also the contributions by Esders, Bothe and Pohl in this volume.

¹⁵ Wiesinger, 2017b.

ern Bavaria and Upper Swabia, Vorarlberg, part of Tirol and of Lombardy, was usually regarded by contemporary sources as corresponding to the late Roman province Raetia prima. Its documents indicate a continuity of Roman tradition and language well into the ninth century.

Practices and formulae of Roman vulgar law dominate in Raetian charters of the eighth and ninth centuries to such an extent that Zeller describes early medieval Raetia as an '*Urkundenlandschaft*', an area in which the (private) charters share certain formal characteristics, which differ from those of neighbouring regions.¹⁶ The tradition of Roman law (the *Lex Romana Curiensis*) and documentary practice, whose importance in the daily life of early medieval Raetia seems to be clearly indicated in the charters, distinguished the Raetian inhabitants substantially from their northern Alpine neighbours. This corresponds with the Roman or Romanized names of people and places, which appear in high density. The homonym *Romani* seems to have been used within Raetia primarily for the local inhabitants, who were also supposed to live by Roman law, whereas in neighbouring Alemannia it more commonly described Romans of antiquity or contemporary inhabitants of the city of Rome.¹⁷

Regions in which onomastic traces of Romans appear north of the Alps and east of the Rhine rarely point to a consistent settlement area featuring distinct linguistic boundaries (as in the area around Salzburg or Trier). More frequently, they refer to individual settlements in contact zones or dispersed among a majority population. Of course, *Walch* and its variations occur much more frequently in scattered settlements to which the name given by the majority population became attached. For the mostly small-scale settlements of the *Walchs* in the bilingual areas and cultural interference zones of the Middle Rhine and Moselle regions, Alemannia, Bavaria, present-day north-western Austria and the Eastern Alps, present-day Switzerland, Alsace and Vorarlberg, the contributions of Wolfgang Haubrichs, Thomas Schneider and Max Pfister, and Peter Wiesinger offer rich linguistic evidence,¹⁸ which adds to the historical context provided by Herwig Wolfram and Bernhard Zeller.

Two temporally and geographically distinct areas of 'Walchen'-names emerge in the area of present-day Switzerland. The one, documented in the eighth and ninth centuries, covers a region from the Alpine Rhine and Lake Constance to the High Rhine and Basel, and represents a Romance-speaking population which either merged into or receded from the increasing Germanic-speaking part, as substantiated by '*Romani*'-names of this area (*Romanshorn*, *Rümikon*, *Rümmingen*). The other extends along the linguistic and cultural interference zone between Aare and Saane / Sarine, and records Walchen appellations as late as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹⁹

¹⁶ Zeller 2017, 155. See also Erhart/Kleindinst 2004.

¹⁷ Zeller 2017, 161.

¹⁸ For example inscriptions, personal names, place names, loanwords and other indirect references.

¹⁹ Schneider/Pfister 2017, 151.

Likewise, compound place-names ranging from Flanders, Brabant, and the Netherlands to Aachen, the Middle Rhine area, Alsace and Swabia in which the exonym *wal(a)h-* is found, served, according to Wolfgang Haubrichs, first as boundary markers in the south and south-east of the *Romania* at the Moselle, and second as an indicator of ethnically distinct settlement, of contact zones during the Merovingian and early Carolingian period.²⁰

The integration of Roman place-names in Austro-Bavarian territory seems to indicate three distinct areas. While in the south-west²¹ the density of place-names and hydronyms with Roman influence is high, it is low in the upper Danube region²². Further to the east,²³ Roman origins can only be verified in hydronyms; most toponyms in this area are of Slavic extraction. Only the north-west²⁴ seems to have been the first Bavarian-German settlement area displaying the oldest types of German place-names. The time during which these Roman place-names were integrated into a Germanic language can be established, depending on the area, from the sixth and seventh centuries until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.²⁵

In early medieval England a general term for Romans hardly existed, as Klaus Dietz argues in his contribution. Old English uses two different terms to denote Celts: *Bret*, *Bryt*, Pl. *Brettas*, *Bryttas* ~ *Brittas* 'Briton(s)' and *w(e)alh*, Pl. *wēalas* ~ *wālas* 'foreigner, slave; Briton(s), Welsh'. For the inhabitants of Rome and the Romans, *Rōmware* was the more common name, strongly connoting the city of Rome; the term *læden* was often used to designate Latin as language of scholars.²⁶ *Bret*, *Bryt* and *w(e)alh* were generally also employed as toponyms, with the latter appearing more frequently in English place-names than the former. The age, distribution and wealth of these toponyms seem to indicate a peaceful coexistence between the Celtic population and the Germanic settlers under Anglo-Saxon rule.²⁷

The distribution of the name Vlach in Southeast Europe is addressed in two contributions of historical linguistics.²⁸ As Georg Holzer argues, it seems historically conceivable that the term may have come to the early Slavs from the Goths, who were dominant in Southeast Europe for some time in the fourth to sixth centuries, where it changed through l-metathesis from **wal(a)h* to *vlah*.²⁹ Today West Slavic languages use *vla(c)h*-variations to denote Italians: *Włoch* (plural and the country Italy *włochy*, adj. *włoski*) in Polish; in Czech and Slovak *vlach* (though antiquated and little used);

²⁰ Haubrichs 2017.

²¹ Vorarlberg, Tyrol, Upper Carinthia and Salzburg.

²² Upper and Lower Bavaria, Salzburg and Upper Austria, Flachgau.

²³ East Tyrol, the Lungau and Ennspongau in Salzburg, southern and eastern Upper Austria.

²⁴ Upper and Lower Bavaria, the Flachgau in Salzburg and Upper Austria to the rivers Traun and Enns.

²⁵ Wiesinger 2017a.

²⁶ Dietz 2017, 167.

²⁷ Dietz 2017, 174–176.

²⁸ Holzer 2017; Kramer 2017a.

²⁹ Holzer 2017, 178–179.

láh (adj. *láški*) in Slovenian. From the Slavonic, the term passed into Greek where *bláchoi* are attested from the eleventh century. In the twelfth century the word emerges in Hungarian as *olasz*, initially denoting Romans in general, but then it quickly became limited to Italians, while in the thirteenth century the loanword *oláh* was used for Romanians.³⁰

In Southeast Europe, the name Vlach mainly connoted nomadic pastoralism, the predominant way of life for speakers of Romance languages in the Balkan Peninsula after Byzantine rule and urban infrastructure had faded out in the early seventh century. These Vlach herdsmen preserved their language and identity in largely Slavic and Greek environments, so that their name also remained available as an ethnonym.³¹ Nevertheless, Mihailo Popović shows in his contribution that pastoral transhumance was not necessarily linked to the Vlach name. Slavic and Albanian herdsmen on the one hand could be referred to as Vlachs, on the other hand could be distinguished from them.³² In the Western Balkans the medieval name Vlach could also designate Romans or Romance-speaking residents of Dalmatian cities, for which Georg Holzer gives some examples in his article.³³ However, the greater part of the Romance-speaking Vlachs seem to have used self-designations derived from *Romanus*, as Johannes Kramer and Michael Metzeltin suggest in their articles.³⁴

In the 19th century, the terms *Walchen*, Romans, Ladins were (re-)appropriated as canvasses for new identities in the Alpine regions, as Johannes Kramer shows.³⁵ At the same time, the political use of Welsh identity in Britain increased, and the concept of Wallonia was pitched against the Flemish in Belgium.³⁶ The most spectacular recovery of a Roman tradition was the development of the Romanian nation, discussed in the contributions by Kramer and Michael Metzeltin.³⁷ Even this process did not advance unimpededly: the ancestors for the emerging Romanian nation were not predetermined, but could apparently be chosen from the different ethnic groups of Dacians, Dacoromans, Vlachs, Walachians, or Romans / 'Romanians'. Furthermore many Vlachs and Aromunians living outside or even within the Romanian territory refused to become part of the new national identity. In South Tyrol it required scholarly efforts in the second half of the 19th century to generalize the name Ladin sufficiently to provide the basis of a Ladin ethnic group.³⁸

³⁰ Kramer 2017a, 202.

³¹ Pohl 2017, 15.

³² Popović 2017, 194–195.

³³ Holzer 2017, 179–180.

³⁴ South of the Danube: Aromunes; *rumân* / *român* for Walachian, *țara rumânească* for Walachia; Kramer 2017a, 197–198; Metzeltin 2017, 217–218.

³⁵ Kramer 2017b.

³⁶ Pohl 2017, 16.

³⁷ Metzeltin 2017.

³⁸ Kramer 2017b.

Still, the use of the term *Walchen* and its many variations for cultivating new identities proved in many cases to be long-lasting. It is fascinating to observe these variations. As Walter Pohl notes in his introduction, medieval identities of many (former or actual) Romans had often come a long way from ancient Roman identities. While many cultural idioms of ancient Romanness, including a Latin language of Church and State, were preserved in the post-Roman kingdoms, the *Romani tributarii* in Bavaria or the *wealas* in Britain had lost touch with these reminders of Roman identity. In the Balkans, Greek-speaking *Rhomaioi* denied the Romanness of romance-speaking Vlachs. Thus, the survival of all these groups was hardly due to their identification with the ancient prestige of Rome, but often rather to their economic or ecological specialization: vintners in the Moselle region; maintenance of the pass roads and high-altitude agriculture in the Alps; transhumant pastoralism in the Balkans.³⁹ Still, it is remarkable how tenaciously the low-prestige identities of these *Walchen*, Welsh or Vlachs were preserved in many regions. The traces of both, the resilience and the ambivalence and mutability of these identifications in the sources make it possible to discern possibilities and limits of ethnic group formation. For this, the contributions of the volume offer rich material, which helps us to understand the complexity, dynamics and contradictory nature of premodern group designations.⁴⁰

³⁹ Pohl 2017, 23–25.

⁴⁰ Pohl 2017, 23.

Robin Fleming

Four communities of pot and glass recyclers in early post-Roman Britain

The story of the rise and fall of Roman material culture is a crucial one for scholars interested in issues revolving around Romanness, regionalism, and identity in the post-400 CE world.¹ In Britain careful attention to the period's material record is a necessity because few contemporary texts survive; but even in places with relatively fulsome documentation, a material culture approach allows historians to chart transformations in the lived experience of Romanness in ways that few texts enable us to do. In this chapter, I will be asking a series of material-culture oriented questions:

- How, materially, did Roman ways of life, identity, burial, and status-marking change in provinces where the Roman economy had collapsed and connections to the wider Roman world were unraveling?
- What happened when people, whose parents' lives had been shaped by Roman material culture, no longer had access to the same kinds of objects?
- What lengths did people go to get hold of everyday Roman objects once they started to disappear? And when they found them, did they use them as they had always been used, or were these objects deployed in novel ways?

Questions like these are especially pertinent for scholars of Britain, because the diocese experienced stunning economic and political dislocations in the later fourth and early fifth centuries. As a result, although Britain in 300 CE had been as Roman as any region in the Empire, in the generation on either side of 400, urban life, industrial-scale manufacturing of basic goods, the money economy, and the state collapsed.² One of the results of these dislocations is that many of the most ubiquitous and fundamental categories of Roman material culture ceased to be manufactured in Britain. Skills related to iron and copper smelting, wooden board and plank making, stone quarrying, and tanning were disappearing.³ So, too, was the knowledge standing behind the production of wheel-thrown, kiln-fired pottery and workshop-made

This paper was finished in 2014, more recent results can be found in forthcoming or already published work by the same author.

¹ I would like to thank Keith Fitzpatrick Mathews for allowing me to see ceramics taken from the California cemetery and generously sharing with me a mountain of unpublished material on Baldock. I am also grateful to Jennifer Price for information on the glass found at OD XII, Julie Godden for making an inspection of the Welwyn Hall material possible, and Isobel Thompson and David Petts for providing me with copies of unpublished work.

² Wickham 2005a, 806; Mattingly 2007, 497; Fleming 2010, 1–29.

³ Fleming 2012, 3–45; van Driel Murray 2002, 261–262; van Driel Murray 2001, 55–67; Goodburn 1992, 112–114; Sutherland 1990, 102–113; Stocker/Everson 1990.

glass vessels. Thus, the question arises: what did people in Britain do when confronted with the material losses that accompanied the rapid deskilling of the population?⁴ And more importantly, what can their responses tell us about transformations of Romanness in this particular time and place? To answer these questions, we will examine four different communities in post-Roman Britain, which were recycling old Roman ceramic and glass containers after these classes of objects ceased to be readily available. A study of different communities' recycling practices will allow us to see the ways some groups were marshaling residual Roman material culture to help them maintain some semblance of Romanness, while others were using it in a manner that suggests that they were not the least bit interested in its maintenance.

In Britain's first two centuries under Rome, imported, workshop-produced, wheel-thrown, kiln-fired pots became staple, everyday items.⁵ By the turn of the fourth century, pottery production had expanded dramatically within Britain itself.⁶ By this time, pots from Romano-British kilns were ubiquitous, not only because they could be purchased cheaply in local markets, but because they served as shipping containers for salt and agricultural products; as a result, they sat at the center of the late-Roman redistributive economy and were used to move and store late-Roman in-kind food taxes and rents.⁷ Consequently, by the early fourth century even British peasants living in rural backwaters found themselves in possession of mass-produced, kiln-fired ceramics.⁸ Pottery crucially affected the ways people cooked, ate, stored their surplus, socialized, interacted with their betters and inferiors, and practiced rituals associated with death. The fact that late-Roman pottery was part of so many and so many different kinds of people's daily routines is suggestive of the impact Rome had on everyday life.⁹

Romano-British pottery, like pottery across the Empire, was manufactured and distributed with the help of complex networks of clay diggers, fuel providers, kiln masters, boatmen and teamsters, merchants, villa overseers, and state provisioners.¹⁰ As the systems and institutions that held these groups together began to unravel in the late fourth century, pottery manufacturing and distribution became unsustainable, and sometime in the decades on either side of 400 the pottery industry in Britain collapsed.¹¹ At this point the majority of people living in Britain ceased to have access to the kinds of newly made Romano-British ceramics that had once cluttered

4 On the phenomenon of deskilling more generally, see Mannoni 2008; Fleming 2012.

5 De la Bédoyère 2000; Tyers 2003; Willis 1996, 214, 219; Pitts 2005.

6 Fulford 1977, 301–316; Swan 1988; Whyman 2001, 153–155, 170.

7 Evans 1989, 43, 78; Cooper 1999, 86–88; Roskams 1999; Whyman 2001; Gerrard 2002.

8 McCarthy 2013, 115; Mould 2011, 164–165; Cooper 1999, 85, 89; Hingley 2005, 105–109.

9 Roth 2003, 37–41; Woolf 1992.

10 Jackson/Greene 2008, 501–504; Wilson 2008, 396–402.

11 For explanations for why this happened, see Evans 2000, 41; Whyman 2001, 357–362.

the houses of their parents and grandparents.¹² And because so much pottery in the fourth century had been fashioned by professional potters, the knowledge and skills needed to produce it were not things that most households possessed.

Glass drinking equipment was also ubiquitous in Britain in the late-Roman period: by 300 small, thin-walled, free-blown, locally made drinking vessels were common on many sites. The size of the glassblowing industry, however, was never comparable to the pottery industry, and as a result the distribution of glass was more limited. In the fourth century it was often used in villa, military, and urban contexts, but rarely found on low-status rural sites, and it was not as readily available in the northern, military zone.¹³ Glass's deployment on the table doubtless signaled an individual's or a household's particular relationship with Roman ways of living, dining, eating, and socializing, and it would have marked its users' ways of being in the world as different from those who did not have the means to procure it. Although glass was plentiful in many places up to c. 350, it became harder to come by after mid-century. It was found on a diminishing number of sites in the following decades, and the range of qualities contracted as well.¹⁴ It is not clear when late-Roman glass production ended in Britain. There is some evidence that after 400 a few craftspeople operating within Romano-British glass-working traditions continued to produce glass; but 'Anglo-Saxon' style glass, which appears in the archaeological record in the second half of the fifth century, represents a break in Romano-British glass-making practices. Little of this later glass, based on chemical analysis, appears to have been made from recycled fourth-century Romano-British glass, and the shapes and styles of glass made in Britain in the later fifth-century have their closest affinities to contemporary glass made in the Rhineland, northern France, and Belgium, rather than to that manufactured in fourth-century Britain.¹⁵ As supplies of freshly made, mass-produced pots and glass disappeared in Britain, many communities turned to the recycling of older material. The practice seems to have been ubiquitous, but the ways in which communities used old Roman pots and glass could, as we shall see, differ dramatically.

Our first group of Roman pot and glass recyclers lived in the West Country. Here, as imperial institutions and structures collapsed, many households abandoned their homes and moved to ancient hillforts. These had been built long before the Roman conquest and had been abandoned for hundreds of years by the time they were resettled in the early fifth century.¹⁶ One such place, Cadbury Congresbury, in Somerset, became home to a community for much of the fifth and sixth centuries.¹⁷ The

¹² For much smaller scale, but continued production of Roman wares see Evans 1989, 74–80; Whyman 2001, 362; Gerrard 2010.

¹³ Cool/Baxter 1999, 79, 87; Price 2000b; Stern 2008, 541–542.

¹⁴ Price 2000b, 21.

¹⁵ Evison 2008, 1–20; Freestone/Hughes/Stapleton 2008, 29–37; Price 2000b, 21–23.

¹⁶ Alcock 1963; Burrow 1981; Alcock 1995; Rahtz *et al.* 1992.

¹⁷ Rahtz *et al.* 1992, 227–231.

people who first resettled the hillfort were culturally Romano-British, but they arrived with only an impoverished, residual version of Roman material culture. Nonetheless, in their first couple of decades at least some members of the community were using fast-wheel, mass-produced Romano-British pottery: the remains of at least 170 Roman pots have been found on the site.¹⁸ They also had Roman glass in the form of bottles and beakers, in total the remains of a minimum of ten glass vessels have been found which had been manufactured between the first or second century and the middle of the fourth.¹⁹ The site's excavators, based on analyses of the break patterns and distribution of the glass and ceramic sherds, have argued that this material arrived at the site whole, and that people were using it for domestic purposes, in particular for high-status dining.²⁰ The bulk of this material, however, had been manufactured one hundred years or more *before* its reuse at the hillfort.²¹ So where was this pottery and glass coming from?

Although it is possible that some of this material was brought to Cadbury Congresbury as cherished family heirlooms, much of it had probably been scavenged.²² The most obvious place in the fifth century where one could find large quantities of centuries-old, unbroken vessels is a closed context, that is, a place where delicate objects like these had been taken out of circulation for a time; and, the most likely closed contexts for glass and pottery are Roman cemeteries.²³ This is because the majority of people in Britain in the second and third centuries were cremated (as were people across the Empire at this time), after which their ashes were decanted into glass vessels or wheel-thrown pots. These cinerary urns were then sometimes accompanied in the ground by collections of other pots and glassware.²⁴ Then, as Romano-British people moved to inhumation in the later third century (as many people, again, did across the Empire),²⁵ they sometimes placed pots in the graves of their dead.²⁶ So, it is likely that people living at Cadbury Congresbury in the fifth century, who continued to have access to centuries-old, mass-produced, wheel-thrown pottery and glass were systematically grave-robbing in order to supply themselves with useable vessels. The presence of such material at Cadbury Congresbury points to people determined to continue, as best they could, with the material culture and foodways of their forbearers.

¹⁸ Rahtz *et al.* 1992, 147–154, 230.

¹⁹ Rahtz *et al.* 1992, 131–139.

²⁰ Rahtz *et al.* 1992, 230; Burrow 1979. A more recent taphonomic study of the site supports Rahtz's arguments (Campbell 2007, 103).

²¹ Rahtz *et al.* 1992, 131–139, 228.

²² Rahtz *et al.* 1992, 132–133, 137, 228. Annette Haug has usefully defined heirlooms as objects which are about the remembrance of the relatively recent past, and are, therefore, objects that cannot be more than three or four generations old (Haug 2001, 112).

²³ Rahtz *et al.* 1992, 228, 230; Price 2000b, 5–7.

²⁴ Rahtz *et al.* 1992, 147–148.

²⁵ Morris 1992, 52–61; Cooke 1998, 240–241.

²⁶ Cooke 1998, 228. For the kinds of pottery, see Biddulph 2005.

The society forming at Cadbury Congresbury evolved rapidly from this final Roman phase into something quite different. The mix of people who had moved into the hillfort – refugees from defunct urban communities, villa owners and their peasants, small farmers and communities whose livings had been tied to temple complexes in the area – had resided in different worlds before the fall, but they now lived in a new place, in a single community, and under these circumstances and in the face of economic collapse, their little society moved rapidly from Roman to something else. Within a generation of the hillfort's reoccupation, and quite possibly from its inception, some individual, family or clique was in charge. By c. 500 serious refortification efforts were underway and an impressive watchtower, reminiscent of late-Roman military architecture, was built from timber and sod.²⁷ Over the course of Cadbury Congresbury's second life, as many as two hundred structures were built. None were of mortared stone, a lost art in much of fifth-century Britain, but there was a large timber longhouse, doubtless the residence of some great man. Other structures at the hillfort, however, were closely related to the modest roundhouses of the pre-Roman Iron Age, a vernacular building style that had continued throughout the Roman period in rural backwaters,²⁸ and was reasserting itself in the face of the deskilling of the population.

For a seventy-five year period, from the later fifth to the middle of the sixth century, as the stock of scavenged Roman pottery and glass ran out, new mass-produced, wheel-thrown pottery and glass appeared on the site.²⁹ Here as elsewhere in western Britain archaeologists have recovered sherds of fifth- and sixth-century tableware and amphorae from the Aegean, the eastern Mediterranean, North Africa and perhaps southern Spain, some of which had been used as shipping containers for wine or olive oil.³⁰ A few glass vessels from the late antique Mediterranean also arrived at the site.³¹ These extraordinary finds bespeak the resumption of a small, but significant long-distance trade in which merchants and sailors found it worth their while to cross the whole of the Mediterranean and then brave the western sea routes to Britain, a round-trip journey of some 10,000 kilometers.³² Whoever controlled the community at Cadbury Congresbury, in the wilds of the lost colony, must have had something Greek-speaking traders badly wanted. What they probably had was tin, a rarity in Europe, and a commodity known in Late Antiquity as 'the British metal'.³³ In return for this, and whatever else they had worth trading, a thin trickle of Roman ceramics, glass, and foodstuffs once again came into the hands of some of the hillfort's inhabitants. Infrequent though these contacts might have been, this ex-

²⁷ For the buildings, see Rahtz *et al.* 1992, 230–237.

²⁸ Pope 2008.

²⁹ Rahtz *et al.* 1992 134, 161–183.

³⁰ Campbell 2007, 14–26, 128.

³¹ Rahtz *et al.* 1992, 134.

³² Campbell 2007, 122–128, 132.

³³ Penhallurick 1986, 237; Fleuriot/Giot 1977, 114; Campbell 2007, 76.

change allowed the most important members of the community to reassert their Romanness and to underscore their superior position within the society of the rebuilt hillfort with the aid of Roman ceramics and glass. During great feasts and celebrations held in their timber hall, they dined on Roman tableware and drank rare, Greek wine.³⁴ This was hardly the good life as described by Classical authors during Rome's Golden Age, but it was the continuation of a political style centuries old by Roman Britain's fall, a social strategy of marking one's grand status by connecting oneself to Rome and things-Roman. In this, Roman ceramics and glass played a central role.

Our second group of recyclers lived in a couple of communities in northern Hertfordshire, just north and east of St Albans. In the fifth century a few people were still living in and around the former Roman small town of Baldock, a once lively place with a hardworking population of craftsmen and traders,³⁵ and others were residing on the nearby –and now defunct – Dicket Mead villa estate at Welwyn Hall.³⁶ In both places, people continued in the fifth century to bury their dead in cemeteries established during the Roman period. At Baldock, they were using a cemetery now known as 'California',³⁷ which had served as a burial site since the second century CE.³⁸ At Welwyn Hall, families buried their dead at a cemetery that had probably been founded in the fourth century by estate workers labouring in the Dicket Mead villa's iron-working operation.³⁹

During the Roman period, mourners in this part of Hertfordshire had participated in a number of quintessentially Romano-British funerary rites.⁴⁰ Most of the dead, for example, were placed in the ground in nailed coffins,⁴¹ and a few were decapitated post-mortem or buried with hobnail boots.⁴² Or they were accompanied in their graves by domestic fowl and mass-produced, wheel-thrown pots, many of them color-coated beakers and bowls.⁴³ After 400, as pottery and iron production faltered

³⁴ Rahtz *et al.* 1992, 237, 241–242; Campbell 2007, 103.

³⁵ Fitzpatrick Matthews/Burleigh 2010, 15–16, 37–43.

³⁶ Rook 1987. This villa was related to another defunct villa, the one at Lockleys, Welwyn (Ward Perkins 1938, 351; Thomas 2000, 4–5).

³⁷ This cemetery is also known as BAL 1. For detailed information on this cemetery and its finds, see Fitzpatrick Matthews/Burleigh 2010; Burleigh/Sterns 1992; Burleigh/Fitzpatrick Matthews 2010, 14–21, and Appendix 2; Fitzpatrick Matthews 2010, 135–149; Fitzpatrick Matthews 2012; Burleigh/Fitzpatrick Matthews, *Draft Catalogue*.

³⁸ Burleigh/Fitzpatrick Matthews 2010, 45.

³⁹ McDonald/Pearson 2012, 14, 28–29.

⁴⁰ Philipott 1991; Cooke 1998; Burleigh 1993.

⁴¹ E.g., Burleigh/Fitzpatrick Matthews, *Draft Catalogue*, nos. 632, 642; McDonald/Pearson 2012, no. 1026.

⁴² E.g., Burleigh/Fitzpatrick Matthews, *Draft Catalogue*, nos. 642, 1005, 1198; McDonald/Pearson 2012, nos. 1089, 1165, 1100.

⁴³ E.g., McDonald/Pearson 2012, 14–30 and nos. 1069, 1152; Burleigh/Fitzpatrick Matthews, *Draft Catalogue*, nos. 642, 1005, 1198.

in the region and as towns and villas disappeared,⁴⁴ people burying here carried on, as best they could, with time-honored Romano-British funerary traditions.⁴⁵ Domestic fowl and coffins (although some now perhaps partially or wholly fastened with wooden dowels rather than increasingly scarce iron nails) continued to play a part in some funerals;⁴⁶ and post-mortem decapitations and hobnail-boot burial persisted, as did the placing or breaking of pots in the grave.⁴⁷ It is the pottery that is of special interest here, because some of it was very old by the time mourners placed it in the ground.

One of California's fifth-century burials, for example, was furnished with an extraordinary pot – an *extremely* worn fourth-century, color-coated beaker (see Figure 1) that had to have been at least a half-century old when buried. Unlike the ceramics at Cadbury Congresbury, this pot had not come from a closed context. Much of its slip-coat had rubbed off from long years of use, and its rim and base were chipped and worn with age.⁴⁸ Although mourners burying at California and Welwyn Hall had often favored color-coated beakers in the fourth century,⁴⁹ the appearance of this one is startlingly different, because pots as hard-worn as this were never used in fourth-century burials. This pot is an extraordinary survival, an heirloom carefully husbanded by people determined to carry on funerary practices in which their families had participated for generations, rituals, with the collapse of industrial-scale pottery production, that must have required determination and the careful preservation of whatever pots they had left.

Another late grave, this one at Welwyn Hall, included a flanged, rimmed, wheel-thrown, fourth-century Nene Valley color-coated dish.⁵⁰ Judging from the very worn condition of this pot, it, too, must have been a hard-used antique by the time someone repurposed it as a grave offering.⁵¹ A post-400 CE grave at California contained a similar bowl, which, on first inspection, looks much the same as this one. The California bowl, however, is lopsided and hand-built. So, the person who made it fashioned it to look like a fourth-century Nene Valley bowl, and he still knew how to slip-coat a pot, but he created the piece without a potters' wheel. This pot, too,

⁴⁴ Fleming 2012; Esmonde Cleary 1989, 162–165.

⁴⁵ On the moral tradition, compelling people to bury in the present based on past practices, see Rebay Salisbury 2012.

⁴⁶ E.g., Burleigh/Sterns 1992, nos. 1318, 1422, and 3632.

⁴⁷ Burleigh/Fitzpatrick Matthews, *Draft Catalogue*, nos. 643, 1132, 1141, 1413, 1422; Burleigh/Sterns 1992, no. 1318; McDonald/Person 2012, nos. 1089, 1110 and 1186. It looks as if old hobnail boots were also curated and used in some fifth century burials (Burleigh/Sterns 1992, no. 1413 is a fifth century grave with a single hobnail shoe, and no. 1132, another fifth century grave, has a pair of nailed shoes).

⁴⁸ Museums Resource Centre, Hitchin, Hertfordshire, BAL.1, 3633.8872.

⁴⁹ For an example of one such a beaker, buried in the fourth century at Welwyn Hall, see Mill Green Museum, Hatfield, Hertfordshire, HAT 165.42.190.

⁵⁰ Mill Green Museum and Mill, Hatfield, Hertfordshire, HAT 165.1153.70.9.

⁵¹ McDonald 1995, 10; McDonald/Pearson 2012, 14–30.



Fig. 1: A fourth-century, Nene Valley color-coated beaker, found in a fifth-century grave in the California cemetery. Museums Resource Centre, Hitchin, Hertfordshire, BAL.1 3633.8872. (Image reproduced with permission of the North Hertfordshire District County Council Museum Service).

was so worn when placed in the ground that most of its color-coated slip had worn off.⁵² It was likely produced in the fifth century, at a time when Nene Valley ware was no longer available, and when wheel-throwing techniques had been forgotten. Another fifth-century California grave contained a little bowl with a rimmed lip and

⁵² Museums Resource Centre, Hitchin, Hertfordshire, BAL.1, 1193; Burleigh/Fitzpatrick Matthews, *Draft Catalogue*, no. 1187.

a foot, made in this particular shape to give it the look of a wheel thrown pot.⁵³ What its maker probably had in mind was a Hadham-ware bowl-jar, a ceramic type that had been locally mass-produced in the fourth century and had been placed in fourth-century graves in the area, including one at Welwyn Hall.⁵⁴ Our fifth-century pot, though, was hand-built, and made by a person who had a very clear idea of what a pot should look like, that is, it should look like it had been thrown on a wheel; but this person had not mastered the techniques that had been used by professional potters a generation or two earlier. Thus, we can see people in the area moving, in their funerals, from recently purchased pots in the fourth century, to hard-worn, carefully husbanded pots by the fifth, and finally a couple of decades later to hand-built facsimiles of fourth-century ceramics.

At some point in the late-fifth or early-sixth century, however, the last of the surviving late-Roman pots in Hertfordshire broke, and both Roman pots as grave goods and as models for new pots ceased to exist. There is some evidence that people making pots in Hertfordshire in the very late fifth or early sixth century were still carrying some Roman notions in their heads about what made a pot a pot, but that they had begun to take on board ideas held by immigrants new to the area, settlers who were coming from across the sea.⁵⁵ At Pirton, just down the road from Baldock and Welwyn Hall, part of a late fifth- or early sixth-century pot has been found that points to the development of a new, hybrid potting tradition. The sherd was decorated in a way similar but not identical to contemporary 'Anglo-Saxon' pottery, but the fabric and the shape of the pot were Romano-British, although it was hand-built and not wheel-thrown.⁵⁶ The cultural mixing witnessed in this one small pot should make us think twice before assigning all fifth- and sixth-century hand-built wares the ethnic label 'Anglo-Saxon'. In the end, North Hertfordshire's post-400 ceramic finds reveal groups whose recent ancestors had once made their livelihoods in Roman Britain's small towns and villa estates, and who can be seen preserving and deploying Roman-style ceramics so that they might continue with the kinds of Roman-period ritual practices that had long accompanied the deaths of not very important people.

Our third group of recyclers lived in Wiltshire on Overton Down at a site called OD XII, a settlement founded in the early fourth century, but one which, unusually for Britain, has incontrovertible evidence for continued occupation well past 400.⁵⁷ The fourth-century complex of buildings discovered here – a workshop, a grain processing building, a two-roomed house, and a barn – were likely part of a larger late-Roman settlement, which housed agricultural workers attached to a villa estate. The settlement itself was modest, more involved in production than consumption: the site's fourth-century inhabitants raised and processed grain and reared sheep,

⁵³ Museums Resource Centre, Hitchin, Hertfordshire, BAL.1, 3632.

⁵⁴ Mill Green Museum and Mill, Hatfield, Hertfordshire, HAT 165.1153.69, 68, 71, 72.

⁵⁵ For a detailed discussion of the post Roman fabrics at Baldock, see Fitzpatrick Matthews 2012.

⁵⁶ Went/Burleigh 1990, 8; K. Matthews 1995, 590; Fitzpatrick Matthews 2010, 141 and fig. 6.

⁵⁷ Fowler 2000b, 20.

probably for their wool.⁵⁸ The large number of coins and impressive amounts of mostly mass-produced, coarse ware pottery found at OD XII show that its inhabitants were integrated into the broader Roman economy.⁵⁹ Still, the fourth-century domestic quarters were unassuming, and those who lived and worked here were the kinds of people who produced surplus not for themselves, but for the period's astonishingly prosperous villa owners and its resource-hungry state.

Although there are no traces of high-status buildings at OD XII, archaeologists have identified several villa centers within three kilometers of the site.⁶⁰ None has been excavated, but other villas in the area have, and a number witnessed substantial expansions and elaborations during the fourth century.⁶¹ This is likely related to the intensification of farming much in evidence in the region during the late-Roman period.⁶² The clearest manifestation of the fourth-century state in this part of Wiltshire was the small town of *Cunetio* (Blackfield, Mildenhall, Wiltshire), eight kilometres east of OD XII.⁶³ This town was the beneficiary of several major building projects, most notably the construction, after 360, of a freestanding circuit of stone walls around the settlement, replete with bastions and at least one monumental gate.⁶⁴ After the walls were completed, two substantial stone buildings were constructed in the already crowded area within the walls,⁶⁵ one over forty meters in length.⁶⁶ It has been convincingly argued that the revamped site functioned as an imperial administrative and fiscal center – in particular, a place from which the *annona militaris* could be enforced and collected.⁶⁷ As the state, however, faltered in Britain, the places and institutions that depended on it began to fail as well, not just administrative centres like *Cunetio*, but villas too.

Although *Cunetio* was abandoned and high-status estate centers in the neighbourhood disappeared, people continued living at OD XII in at least one building, 4 A, a small stone structure, which remained in use until c. 440. This phase was more or less coinless (although there were some very late, very worn coins found here which may have still been circulating in the years just after 400).⁶⁸ But as at Cadbury Congresbury, people here were also using Roman-period pottery and glass.⁶⁹ It

⁵⁸ Fowler 2000c, 106–111.

⁵⁹ Fowler 2000c, 43–44, 104; Fowler 2000a; Fowler 2000d.

⁶⁰ Possible villa sites include Fyfield, Barton Down in Preshute, and 'Headlands' (Hostetter 1997a, 398–399; Pastscape, Monument no. 221457; Fowler 2000c, 228).

⁶¹ Hostetter 1997b, 46.

⁶² Hostetter 1997b, 46; Fowler 2000c, 228.

⁶³ Corney 1997, 349.

⁶⁴ Burnham/Wacher 1990, 149–152.

⁶⁵ Corney 1997, 343–345, 348; Gerrard 2013, 53–55.

⁶⁶ Hostetter 1997b, 48.

⁶⁷ Corney 1997, 349.

⁶⁸ Fowler 2000c, 229; Fowler 2000b, 2, 15, 21–22.

⁶⁹ Fowler 2000c, 104. The ceramics found in and around building 4 A ranged later than pottery else where on the site; Fowler 2000d.

is impossible to tell what percentage of the pot sherds found on site were residual and had come from pots broken in the generations leading up to 400, and what percentage represents fifth-century use of very late or even scavenged fourth-century ceramics. More certain, however, is the fact that glass was being used at OD XII for the first time, much in and around building 4 A.⁷⁰ By and large the remains are from late-Roman, thin-walled, yellow-green cups and beakers, the same kind of glassware found on very late villa and urban sites.⁷¹ What is special about this collection of glass is that it is the largest Romano-British glass assemblage from a low-status, rural site recovered to date,⁷² and the amount of glassware per capita in use must have been greater here in the fifth century than at the much larger and grander settlement at Cadbury Congresbury. The glass suggests that the people living at OD XII – the descendants of villa farm workers (and thus not the kind of people who had participated in late-Roman dining practices that included glassware at meantime) – were living it up post-400 in ways that would have been unimaginable while Britain was an imperial possession and farm families were being bled dry by landlords and state officials. The likely source for all this glass was an abandoned villa in the neighborhood. Now that local high-status sites were derelict, rural people seem to have taken advantage of the situation, and helped themselves to glass cups scavenged from deserted villas. Bits of painted wall plaster have also been found around building 4 A. Since none of the buildings at OD XII had ever been decorated in such an elaborate way, the site's excavator argues that these decorative bits had been taken from abandoned high-status buildings as well, perhaps as keepsakes.⁷³ The glass found at OD XII hints at the ways people living here may have now been drinking for the first time in a manner that reflected something of what had gone on the dining rooms of these people's social betters a generation or two earlier.⁷⁴ So here, rather than upholding the status quo, the use of old Roman glass seems to have reflected a world turned upside down. Roman material culture was still being used, but it was no longer being deployed to uphold the old social order that Roman had long imposed.

Our fourth and final group of post-Roman pot recyclers were living far to the north, in the military zone just south of Hadrian's wall, at Crossgates, near Scarborough, in Yorkshire.⁷⁵ The remains of a fourth-century settlement were first uncovered here ahead of gravel extraction in the 1940s. This excavation and several later rescue operations have led to a piecemeal publication of this very interesting site; as a result, it has not received the attention it deserves. The people residing here during the late-Roman period lived in roundhouses, as members of lower-status communities

⁷⁰ Fowler 2000b, 57–61 and fig. 27.

⁷¹ Price 2000b, 2.

⁷² Jennifer Price, personal communication.

⁷³ Fowler 2000b, 20.

⁷⁴ Jennifer Price, personal communication.

⁷⁵ Rutter/Duke 1958, 5–67.

often did in the west and north of Britain, even in the late-Roman period.⁷⁶ A few fourth-century coins were recovered in and around the settlement's roundhouses, suggesting connections with the broader economy, as do the remains of oysters and a jet pendant, which would have been brought in from elsewhere.⁷⁷ It is, however, the surfeit of coarse ware pottery, in particular the remains of considerable amounts of Crambeck parchment ware and Huntcliffe-type cookpots, both made in east Yorkshire and both typically found in assemblages dating from c. 360 on, that provide the most compelling evidence for this community's connections to the outside world, especially its entanglements with the redistributive late-Roman economy.⁷⁸ The site's ubiquitous Huntcliffe jars had hand-built bodies and wheel-made rims.⁷⁹ They were especially common on military sites in the late-Roman north, which suggests that they played a central role in military supply.⁸⁰ Large amounts of this pottery have not only been found at Crossgates, but at the nearby military outpost, the Scarborough 'signal station', built c. 370.⁸¹ Perhaps what we are seeing here is both the giving-over and the receiving ends of the *annona militaris*.⁸² But pottery like this is also found on villa sites in the north, and Mark Whyman has convincingly argued that low-status tenants used it to transport their in-kind rents.⁸³ Thus, the pottery suggests that people living at Crossgates were entangled in economic relationships with the late-Roman state – locally manifest in the nearby coastal 'signal station' – and with powerful landed interests – represented by the recently discovered remains of a Roman-period limestone villa building nearby.⁸⁴ But with the collapse of the state and traditional, late-Roman surplus-extraction mechanisms, potters

⁷⁶ For a general discussion of roundhouses with bibliography, see Bradley 2012, 189–191; Pope 2008.

⁷⁷ Pye 1976, 14.

⁷⁸ Rutter/Duke 1958, 35–36; Evans 1989, 43; Bidwell/Croom 2010, 26.

⁷⁹ Swan 2002, 71.

⁸⁰ Collins 2012, 64; Evans 1989, 77–79.

⁸¹ Collingwood 1931; Hull 1932. For a discussion of the date of these signal stations more generally, see Ottaway 2000, 137–141, 186–188; Hind 2005, 22.

⁸² See, for example, Rutter/Duke 1958, 38–40 and fig. 10, and Hull 1932, 240–243 and Plate II. At Fil ey, the next signal station south of Scarborough, the excavation of which was published more recently, the site produced a high percentage of jars – 88% of the ceramics assemblage – and the animal bones suggest that already butchered meat was being brought to the site, and was the result of 'organized victualling' (Ottaway 2000, 144, 164, 177). Generally in the north during the late Roman period the range of ceramic shapes narrowed, and courseware jars and cooking pots dominated (Bidwell/Croom 2010, 35). For the late Roman date and function of these 'signal stations', see Hind 2005, 22.

⁸³ Whyman 2001, 136, 357–362.

⁸⁴ Excavations ahead of development in 1998–2001, just on the other side of the modern A64 and railway line uncovered a Roman limestone building, interpreted as part of a Roman villa (English Heritage Pastscape, Monument No. 1300420).

stopped producing these ceramics. Indeed, their production does not seem to have outlived the withdrawal of the Roman state in Britain by more than a few years.⁸⁵

The people who had long made their homes at Crossgates shifted their settlement site sometime in the early fifth century and moved slightly to the west.⁸⁶ Elsewhere in Britain we see settlements shifting during this period, sometimes, as here, by only a few hundreds metres.⁸⁷ That the people residing at this later site, who the 1940s excavators identified as 'Anglian', were actually indigenous, is suggested by the earliest so-called 'Anglian huts' at the new site, which were, in actual fact, roundhouses;⁸⁸ and by evidence for the continued use of late-Roman pottery, albeit alongside a new class of hand-built pots, which the excavators also labeled 'Anglian'.⁸⁹ Besides the continued use of Huntcliffe-type pottery here in the fifth century, two of the hand-built pots used by Crossgates' 'Anglian' settlers have shapes very reminiscent of Romano-British globular beakers.⁹⁰ Here, as at Baldock, it seems that old, Romano-British ceramic forms continued to inform some pot-makers, even though they had lost much of the technical expertise that had stood behind their models.⁹¹

The ghosts of Roman pottery's past haunted Crossgates in other ways. An area just to the northeast of the late-Roman settlement was transformed into the locus of periodic communal feasting. Here, several dozen fire-pits have been uncovered.⁹² Some were stone lined (and, indeed, quarried limestone had been used in one: perhaps this material had been scavenged from the now abandoned high-status building nearby).⁹³ All the pits were used for cooking copious amounts of meat. The most common animals were oxen, but sheep, pigs and even horses were also prepared in the pits.⁹⁴ Some of these cooking pits also contained the remains of Huntcliffe-type cook pots,⁹⁵ and one explanation is that stockpiles of late-Roman ceramics that in-

⁸⁵ Whyman 2001, 376.

⁸⁶ Pye 1976, 2.

⁸⁷ Hamerow 2012, 12–16.

⁸⁸ Pye 1976, 2. The 1940s excavators believed that the Romano British population disappeared, and the lands around Crossgates came under the control of Anglian incomers (Rutter/Duke 1958, 63–65). One of these structures, labeled a 'probable Romano British hut' because of its cobbled floor, had 'Anglian pottery', but no Romano British pottery (Pye 1976, 21, and no. 116), which suggests, rather, that indigenous people, whose families had long lived in the neighbourhood, were using hand built pots in the post Roman period.

⁸⁹ Pye 1976, 12, 15, 19–21.

⁹⁰ Whyman 2001, 382; Rutter/Duke 1958, fig. 12, nos. 33/1 and 33/2.

⁹¹ Whyman 2001, 382–383.

⁹² Rutter/Duke 1958, 21–33; Pye 1976, 9–22; Pye 1983.

⁹³ Rutter/Duke 1958, 23, 31–32.

⁹⁴ Rutter/Duke 1958, 21–33. They specifically associate horse eating with 'Anglian' practices, but there is evidence for horse butchery in Roman Yorkshire and beyond (Roskams/Neal/Richardson/Leary 2013, section 5.1).

⁹⁵ Rutter/Duke 1958, 21, 23–27. Allen and Fulford have gathered ethnographic evidence concerning the typical longevity of pots in twentieth century, ceramic dependent cultures. They record that me

habitants had once used to render their agricultural rents and in-kind taxes, were now being brought out at gatherings centered on communal feasting, and that the animals being eaten on these occasions had been culled from the now unnecessarily large herds of horses and oxen, animals for which the late-Roman state had had an insatiable appetite,⁹⁶ and which had had important roles, as well, as riding and drayage animals in the old economy, an economy no longer in operation. Now that tax officials, bailiffs, and soldiers were either no longer in the neighbourhood or unable to enforce tribute demands, local farmers may have had been literally living high on the hog (or, in this case, high on the horse), at feasts where repurposed late-Roman ceramics were no longer symbolic of depravation and oppression, but of plenty.

Each of our four communities of post-Roman recyclers responded differently to the disappearance of mass-produced Romano-British material culture and treated residual Roman objects in their own way. Old Roman pots and glassware at Cadbury Congresbury were used by elites to maintain and underscore social distinctions that were one of the hallmarks of the late-Roman period across the Empire, and they used scavenged Romano-British pots until new supplies of Mediterranean tableware arrived in the late fifth century. By the looks of it, elite members of the community were determined to invoke Romanness however they could, even in the face of economic collapse, and they were able to maintain food ways and dining practices that evoked those of the Roman past, and then carry on with them once they had reestablished links with the Roman Mediterranean, and could tap into supplies of newly made Roman pottery and glass. The working people living in north Hertfordshire also used pots made in the late-Roman period to maintain Romano-British traditions that were important to them, in this case funerary rituals, and some people in the area continued to make pots that were meant to look like Roman pots, but which were now made using techniques that were different from the ones standing behind the fourth-century wares they were attempting to imitate. In both these places, albeit in very different ways, Roman material culture was deployed in projects of cultural continuity. Peasants living at OD XII, on the other hand, were scavenging objects that had once marked the food ways of their social betters, which allowed them to emulate restricted dining practices. The appearance of glass drinking vessels at the humble rural settlement at Overton Down suggests that rural households were ‘helping themselves’ to surviving Roman objects. At Crossgates pots that had been deployed by the state and landowners to extract surplus from low-status farm communities, were being repurposed both for local domes-

dium cooking pots last for seven to ten years. Large cooking pots and storage vessels last between fifteen and twenty years (Allen/Fulford 1996, 253).

⁹⁶ Episodes of large scale, late Roman or just post Roman animal processing at the Roman fort at Binchester (near Bishop’s Auckland) have been uncovered in recent excavations and hint at the size of the demands by and renders made to the state in the waning days of Roman Britain (Petts 2013, 319–321; Binchester report 2012, 8–11). Large scale meat processing was also taking place at late Roman Stonea, a site under state control (Jackson/Potter 1996, 605, 690).

tic use and for the occasional feast. The activities both at Overton and Crossgates represent a relatively brief post-Roman phase, rather than a permanent revolution, because the supplies of late-Roman pottery and glass were finite and no longer being produced. But one does wonder if rural people benefited for a generation or two and lived more prosperous lives than their ancestors, in the face of the state's collapse.

So, to answer the questions with which this chapter began, we can see a variety of responses in Britain to the disappearance of Roman material culture in the fifth and early sixth centuries. People of differing social statuses and resources continued to search for and use Roman pots and glassware, but their engagement with this material varied from region to region and community to community. This, in turn, hints at a great variety of ways local groups must have thought about, perpetuated, or turned their backs on Roman ways, as Britain moved from Roman to something else.

Katharina Winckler

Romanness at the fringes of the Frankish Empire: The strange case of Bavaria

*Onulfus vero praecepto fratris admonitus universos iussit ad Italiam migrare Romanos.*¹

When writing this sentence in 511, Eugippius had a clear perception of who was Roman and who was not.² Anachronistically, he makes Severin predict already in 480 that the *Romani* of *Noricum ripense*, in what is now upper and lower Austria, will migrate to *Romani soli provinciam* – as if the Roman Empire had already disintegrated and if the Italian peninsula was the only home-country of the Romans.³ In contrast to this account, the archaeology tells us that the life of the provincial population went on.⁴ In some cases the continuity in former Roman cities is also documented by accounts in Carolingian times. *Lauriacum*, *Iuvavum* and even *Teurnia*, the former capital of *Noricum mediterraneum*, lived on in the texts, though as settlements clearly in different and much reduced forms.⁵

By the beginning of the sixth century the Roman Empire, as an organization and a point of reference for the identity of the former provincial population, disappeared from this area. All sources from the sixth and seventh centuries describe the region as being under Frankish influence. The inhabitants are called Bavarians and, later in the eastern parts of Noricum, Slavs and Avars.⁶ Around 200 years later, in the mid-eighth century, the territory of the early medieval Bavarian duchy comprised roughly one half of the Roman province of Noricum and one half of Raetia. In the eighth century, Bavaria expanded and acquired territory in the former region of *Venetia et Histria*, in the now Slavic parts of Noricum and later even in Pannonia.⁷ Also some areas north of the Danube were part of Bavaria, areas that had never been under Roman rule.⁸

At first sight, all aspects of Romanness have left the area: by the eighth century a Germanic language was the main language spoken and Bavarian politics looked to-

1 Eugippius, *Vita Severini* 44, ed. Noll, 112: Onulfus ordered by command of his brother all Romans to migrate to Italy.

2 Even a converted catholic and long time monk was signified as *barbarus genere*. (Eugippius, *Vita Severini* 35, 1, ed. Noll, 100).

3 Eugippius, *Vita Severini* 31, ed. Noll, 98. Eugippius evokes this image by equating the Romans with the chosen people of the Old Testament who set out for the Holy Land. This shows the exegetical background of the text, but nevertheless it remains a telling picture.

4 Konrad 2012, 46–53; Rettner 2012, 282–290 for the difficult question of ‘Romans and Germans’, see also Fehr 2012, 329–332 and Lotter 1976, 170–176.

5 Ewig 1976b, 424–425; Winckler 2012, 241–249.

6 Wolfram 1995b, 76–81.

7 Pohl 2005c, 61–65.

8 Wolfram 1995b, 290.

wards Francia, not Italy.⁹ The eighth-century political centre of Bavaria was Regensburg – formerly a Roman *castrum* (Castra Regina) but not the capital of Raetia.¹⁰ With Freising and monasteries such as Staffelsee and Chiemsee, strong centres had emerged that had no Roman predecessor at all. The ruling family of Bavaria, the Agilolfings, had a Germanic name, and the family itself stemmed from the heartlands of the Merovingian kingdoms.¹¹

In the spatial concepts of the eighth century the *partes Baiuvariorum* – a duchy that was, except for a small area north of the Danube, completely on former Roman soil – were somewhat a place ‘in-between’ – neither part of the former Roman Empire nor part of the Barbaricum. Contemporaries had difficulties in finding the right terminology. For example, in a letter to Boniface Pope Gregory II explicitly asked him to be active *tam de Germaniae gentibus [...] sed et in Baiuvariorum provincia*.¹² Also, in sharp contrast to other early medieval *regna*, but much like neighbouring *Alemannia*, a Bavarian *gens* with a proper *origo gentis* or migration story does not exist in contemporary sources.¹³

The main language spoken in Bavaria was a Germanic one. However, in large areas of southern Bavaria a Romance language was still spoken in the eighth century. This language zone stretched beyond the northern side of the main alpine ridge far into the lowlands. In German scholarship, the word ‘Romane / Romanen’ used to be the established term for the speakers of this language. This word, however, is controversial and not easily translatable into English.¹⁴ Moreover, the word ‘Romane’ in German is used not only to signify a speaker of a Romance language but also the bearer of a certain ‘Roman’ culture, a view that by now is much contested.¹⁵ In this article I will use the word ‘Romance’ for the language and the Latin word *Romani* for people speaking it. At the core of my investigation will be the question of whether we have indications of a ‘Romanness’ which goes further and deeper than the use of a Romance language in that area and time. I will not elaborate on the subject of lan-

⁹ The exact nature of the linguistic change is far from clear and the reconstruction of medieval linguistic borders used to be obstructed by political intentions. Fehr 2010, 70–96.

¹⁰ Rettner 2012, 290–294 supposes Augsburg to have been the main centre of Bavaria of the sixth century.

¹¹ Haubrichs 2014a, 31.

¹² Letter to Boniface no. 45, ed. Rau, 128 and 130, also in the *Vita Bonifatii* by Willibald, ed. Rau, 482: *Incognitosque Baguariorum et confines Germaniae terminus adgrediens in Thyringeam*; Arbeo, *Vita Haimhrammi*, ed. Bischoff, 10: *caepit Germaniam austri ingredere ad fluenta Danubii amnem in partibus Baiuvariorum*, also *ibid.* 35, ed. Bischoff, 44, and Arbeo, *Vita Corbiniani* 15, ed. Brunhölzl, 108: *deinde Germanorum peragrans termina, Valeriam* (Arbeo uses this curious term to indicate Bavaria, see n. 115) *penetrans et ibidem quamdiu demoratus*.

¹³ Plassmann 2012, 163–168.

¹⁴ Dictionaries propose ‘speakers of a Romance language’, but the German word *Romane* is more exclusive and is most of the time used for the medieval population of Romance speaking people in the linguistic border zones between Germanic and Romance languages only.

¹⁵ Fehr 2010 126–132; Hartung von Hartungen 2005, 161–214.

guage any further, as this is the topic of a separate volume.¹⁶ In this context it is only important to note that the people speaking a Romance language were called *Walchen* in the German tongue of Bavaria. This word already appears in charters from the eighth century and still can be found today in many village names along a line that was supposedly at some point in the earlier Middle Ages the border zone between the languages, for example in Walgau or Wals.¹⁷ In modern academic literature, the so called ‘Salzburger Romania’ is the only region of the Romance language zone of Bavaria where we actually have a large corpus of sources from the eighth century.¹⁸ Notable for example is the above mentioned village Wals that in the sources is called *vicus Romaniscus* and *Walchwis* in the same instance.¹⁹ The word *romaniscus* seems to indicate people who speak a Romance language. This word was only used for this village and is not a common Latin term.²⁰ Sources from other alpine and pre-alpine areas of Bavaria are much sparser, but they indicate similar conditions. Therefore, we can establish that two languages were spoken in Bavaria and it was at least in some parts bilingual.²¹

Finally a remark regarding the evidence: often the texts of the eighth century seem to reveal certain patterns, but this mostly corresponds to the pattern of surviving sources. For the Agilolfing period we have 120 donation notices, so-called traditions, for Freising, many concerning the immediate surroundings of this bishopric. The *Notitia Armonis* and *Breves Notitiae* cover the area around Salzburg and comprise also over hundred recorded donations. For the ducal centre of Regensburg, however, we have only five charters and only seventeen from Passau. Additionally we have several Agilolfing charters from the monasteries of Mondsee and Schäftlarn.²²

I will begin my investigation with – after language – the most obvious trace of Romanness: a group of people called *Romani*.

A group called *Romani*?

In contrast to the strong traces the Romance speaking population left in the place names of southern Bavaria, it is nearly impossible to pinpoint these people as a distinct group in the early medieval texts of the region. Of all known early medieval

¹⁶ Pohl/Hartl/Haubrichs 2017.

¹⁷ *Traditions of Freising* 19, a. 763, ed. Bitterauf (henceforth TF), 47: *Pagus desertus Uualhogoi* (Walgau) or Wals, *Breves Notitiae* 14, 21, ed. Lošek, 108 (henceforth BN).

¹⁸ Haubrichs 2014a, 38; Wolfram 1995b, 289.

¹⁹ BN 14, 21, ed. Lošek, 108.

²⁰ Kramer 1998, 144–149 states that the word form *romaniscus* cannot be found in antique literature, but it probably existed, as the word for Romanian = *Rumânesc* derived from this form. Another alternative would be a German influence from **romanisk* (ibid., 145).

²¹ Haubrichs 2014a, 55–57. From the mid eighth century onwards, Slavic was also spoken in the newly acquired areas of Bavaria: Štüh 2010, 116–117.

²² Störmer 1994, 390–391.

texts from Bavaria,²³ we have only two instances of the term *Romani* without any further attribute.

The Kassel Conversations of 810, written in or near Regensburg, present one well-known instance of *Romani*.²⁴ This text includes the so-called Kassel Glosses, written by a speaker of Old High German who collected words and phrases from his language and translated them into Latin. The famous verses are:

Tole sint Uualhâ, spâhe sint Peigira;	<i>Stulti sunt Romani, sapienti sunt Paioari,</i>
luzîc ist spâhi in Uualhum,	<i>modica est sapientia in Romana,</i>
mêra hapênt tolaheiti denne spâhi.	<i>plus habent stultitia quam sapientia.</i>

At first glance, these *Romani* were apparently not very respected, and seem to designate a social group with lower status. Traditionally this group was understood as the Romance speaking population of Bavaria.²⁵ On closer inspection, this seems not to be the case. Firstly, these glosses were specifically written for Romance speaking people who could not speak or understand German. The gloss was therefore not meant for Romance-speaking Bavarian population, because this population could very likely speak or at least understand German anyway.²⁶ The purpose of these lines is revealed by the form in which they are actually displayed in the manuscript: they were not written as a verse and then translated as a whole (as they are normally quoted today), but embedded within the other glosses. The gloss-style was kept throughout the whole text (e.g. *Stulti Tole sunt sint Romani Uualhâ sapienti sunt spâhe sint Paioari Peigira etc.*). This means that the reader or listener would only have realised later (if at all) that he was in fact being insulted. Herbert Penzl thus demonstrated that these lines belong to the classical tradition of the ‘insult of the student’, a form of conversation not uncommon in antique teacher-pupil treatises.²⁷ Therefore, these lines lose their meaning as a representation of ethnic antagonism. The *Romani* in this text were not Bavarians, but Latin speaking people who, for example, came from the regions of Italy that, under the rule of King Pippin of Italy (781–810), were seen as part of eastern Francia, together with Bavaria.²⁸ Furthermore, the insult most probably was a teaching technique, maybe even expected by the audience as a traditional method of learning. Therefore, these lines do not help us to define more precisely the Romance speakers of Bavaria.

²³ That means edited and published texts.

²⁴ See 4^o Ms. theol. 24 <http://orka.bibliothek.uni-kassel.de/viewer/image/1296741392003/36/> for the manuscript page of the Kassel Glosses.

²⁵ Haubrichs 2014a, 35 calls it a ‘venomous mnemonic’; Wolfram 1995a, 30.

²⁶ Haubrichs 2014a, 57: ‘bilingualism can be expected until the eighth century’ for the Romance speaking areas in the south of Bavaria.

²⁷ Penzl 1984, 392; Filatkina/Hanauska 2010, 50–52.

²⁸ Borri, forthcoming.

The other instance of *Romani* without any attribute can be found in the *Breves Notitiae*, a text written around 800 in Salzburg.²⁹ Chapter 14, 54 states *Isti Romani de Fischaha voluerunt illam silvam iuxta Fiscaha habere in proprio, sed Arn archiepiscopus per ipsos pagenses viros nobiles attestantes duobus vicibus conquisivit sancto Petro ad Salzburg*.³⁰ These *Romani* are by all means natives of Bavaria. Yet does this line indicate that a distinguished and well-defined group called *Romani* did actually exist? It is important to note, that there are other *Romani* in the BN and in a related text, the *Notitia Arnonis*.³¹ They are all marked either as *tributales* or attributed with phrases like *et eorum tributales mansos*,³² the interpretations of which I will deal with below. In contrast to these dutiable dependants, the above mentioned *Romani* seem to have been free peasants of otherwise unknown status – but we have only this one surviving source from the whole duchy of Bavaria.

To the limited Bavarian evidence we can add an Alemannic parallel, which is fascinating but unfortunately no more enlightening: Wetti, in chapter 35 of his life of St Gallus (written between 816 and 824), also calls the inhabitants of Arbon *isti Romani*. It is important to note, however, that this phrase was used in direct speech by a certain Ortwin, who was an enemy of these inhabitants. Significantly, Wetti's pupil Walahfrid, in his version of the saint's life, changes the word *Romani* to *Rhetiani*, which hints more to a local identity than a larger sense of Romanness.³³

A special case are the phrases *Romani et eorum mansos tributales* / *Romani tributales* found within the NA and BN. These two texts are collections of summaries of the property of the bishopric of Salzburg, in which both the donor of the property and the property given are noted. The timeframe of the donation is known by the name of the duke under whose rule the donation took place. The composition of the *Notitia Arnonis* was initiated by Archbishop Arn around 790 (hence its name), because he wanted the new Carolingian rulers to confirm the property of Salzburg. The *Breves Notitiae* are an enhanced and partly altered version of the NA, which were written around 800 and served a similar purpose. Although the BN were written after the NA they seem to preserve the Agilolfing terminology better than the older text.³⁴ In these two sources the term *Romani* is always connected with tribute-giving: *Romani et eorum mansos tributales* (NA), *Romani tributales* (BN) and similar. We do

²⁹ Lošek 2006, 33–39. See also ns. 34 and 46.

³⁰ 'These *Romani* of Fischach wanted to have the Forest of Fischach, but Archbishop Arn could acquire it through the confirmations of noble men of this said *pagus*.' This part of the BN has a parallel in the manuscript Hs A1 of St. Peter/Salzburg, where it is written: *Iuditium evindicatum de silva iuxta Fiskaha, quam romani voluerunt habere*. Lošek 2006, 34.

³¹ Henceforth NA. Lošek 2006, 20–30 on the relations between the texts.

³² For the occurrences see Lošek 2006, 151 and n. 35.

³³ Wetti, *Vita Sancti Galli* 35, ed. Krusch, 277, lets his 'bad guy' say *Isti Romani ingeniosi sunt*, which is somewhat less discriminating than Walahfrid's *Quia isti Rhetiani calliditate naturali abundant* ('these Rhetians are astute', Walahfrid, *Vita Sancti Galli* 2, 1, ed. Krusch, 314); Wolfram 1995a, 30 and n. 92.

³⁴ Lošek 2006, 30–39; Sonnlechner 2007, 217.

not find a consistent way of expressing this; there are different terms used even in the same paragraph.³⁵

Additionally we also cannot grasp the meaning of the concept of tribute in this special context. These tribute-giving *Romani* could be seen as remnants of a late antique organizational structure,³⁶ which were connected with military duties.³⁷ In other former Roman areas of the Frankish empire the term *tributum* could signify a land holding that solely paid a tribute in the form of money and thus might be rooted in late antique land holding structures.³⁸ Formerly, the German word *Herzogsfreie* was used to describe these *tributales*; Störmer sees them as *mediocres* – the top of the lower parts of society.³⁹ However, in some cases we find a closer description of *tributum* in Bavarian texts, and in these instances the word seems to signify the tribute of work and not money.⁴⁰ There are not many individuals or groups in the Bavarian charters who are attributed or described with the terms *tributum*, *tributarii* or *tributales*. In the *Traditions of Freising*, there are just four occurrences up until 850. In Schäftlarn there are more instances, but here these terms are used in a formulaic way.⁴¹ In the BN and NA we can also find examples of this. Most interestingly, the word was used in the case of the *Vicus Romaniscus* near Salzburg, where a certain Boso donates *in totum inter tributales et serviles mansos XV*, meaning that, in a village that is called the ‘Romance village’, the *tributales* are not called *Romani*.⁴² Moreover, a comparison of the two texts shows that at least on one occasion one text uses the attribute *Romani* and the other does not for the same dependents.⁴³ Therefore, as this group stands out so singularly in the combination of attribution and name and, furthermore, as the terms and circumstances are different in every instance, it is dif-

35 The NA has for example *Romani et eorum mansos tributales* (NA 1, 4 and 1, 5 p. 72; 5, 3 p. 76; 7, 11 and 7, 12 p. 82), *romanos tributarios* (NA 7, 8 p. 82), and sometimes only *tributarios cum mansis eorum* and similar (NA 7, 13 and 7, 14 p. 82). In contrast to that the BN writes *Romanis tributales homines cum coloniis suis* (BN 2, 6 p. 90), *romanos tributales* (BN 2, 8 p. 90; 4, 3 and 4, 7 p. 94), and also tribute paying people without the attribute *romanus* (*manentes tributales*, BN 7, 4 p. 96).

36 Wolfram 1995a, 153.

37 Jahn 1991, 247.

38 Verhulst 2002, 53; Chouquer 2014, 138, 188, 391–392 for the term in late antiquity; Wickham 2005a, 115–117 on the term *tributarii* in Lombard Italy.

39 ‘Gehobene Unterschicht’ Störmer 1973, 20–25, together with *barscalci*, *liberi* and *exercitales*, see also Störmer 1998, 3 for the supposedly low status of the *Romani*.

40 *Lex Baiuvariorum* 13, ed. von Schwind, 286–290, esp. 289 and TF 200, a. 805–809, p. 103, demonstrates that this term was used not always for tribute in form of money but of working days.

41 E.g. TF 7, a. 754, p. 33 *mancipias servos liberos tributales*; or TF 8, a. 755, p. 35 *mancipias servos tributales* both from a. 755. Also TF 102, a. 779–783, p. 119 *servos ancillas tributales*. Interesting in this context is for example TF 70, a. 775, p. 95 *id est servum unum Hunrat nomine colonos III atque tributales* or instances, where a *tributum* is defined, for example in TF 200, a. 805–809, p. 103. Similar in the *Traditions of Schäftlarn*, e.g. *Traditions of Schäftlarn* 3, ed. Weissthanner, 9: *servos et ancillas, colonos seu tributales*.

42 NA 6, 2 p. 76.

43 BN 4, 9 p. 94 and NA 7, 12 p. 78; Lošek 2006, 130–131.

difficult to make any general statements about the ethnic background let alone the Romanness of this group. Tribute-paying *Romani* otherwise only appear in the *Lex Salica*. Here a *Romanus tributarius* is mentioned in contrast to rich Romans and Franks.⁴⁴ But the Bavarian Law does not distinguish between Bavarians and Romans. There is no reference to a Bavarian *gens* and, importantly for this article, no reference to a 'Roman' or any other population having their own law code, as was custom in other realms such as Burgundia, the Visigothic kingdoms and most notably Francia.⁴⁵

If we look at the contexts of how the texts were created, we might get a glimpse of the meaning of the word in Carolingian Salzburg. The NA was created for the court of Charlemagne, and it is very probable that this source was designed to decipher Bavarian property institutions for the Frankish legal personnel. Many of the expressions used might have been an attempt to translate Bavarian entities for Frankish administrators or – alternatively – to create realities for them. Especially enlightening is the comparison with the earlier BN, which essentially summarized the same charters of Salzburg but used a quite different set of expressions.⁴⁶ For example the BN records the donations of *nobilium hominum de propriis rebus eorum* whereas the NA calls the same people *liberi Baioarii* who could only donate with the explicit permission of the duke (*per licentiam Tassilonis*).⁴⁷ Here, the NA created dependencies that might not have existed in the Agilolfing society. This in turn means that we cannot know who these *Romani tributales* really were. Maybe the term was even specifically created for the NA and BN after the model of the *Lex Salica*. As a designation for an ethnic group there are too many questions unanswered. Also it is not at all clear what – if anything – the relationship between the terms like *tributum*, *tributarius* etc. and the ethnic background of the bearer really signifies. It has to be remembered that we do not find any other *Romani* (or even a *Romanus*) in the known charters and legal texts of Bavaria.

⁴⁴ *Lex Salica* 41, 8, ed. Eckhardt, 116: *Si quis Romanus tribudarium (sic!) occiserit, (MMDCCC dinarius qui faciunt) solidus LXX culpabilis iudicetur*; after respective clauses for the *Romanus homo conviva regi* and *romanus homo possessor*. Ewig 1976b, 418; Rode 1988, 58–60: the free Frank is worth less than the *Romanus homo* who is a *conviva regis*. Money wise the *Lex Salica* treats the *Romani tributarii* like the *liti* (Rode 1988, 63–65). Note that the only exact copy of the Frankish term *romani tributarii* is in NA 7, 8 p. 82.

⁴⁵ Esders 2012b, 447–448. The law code explicitly names the Frankish king Theuderich as one law giver (amongst others), a narration it shares only with the Salic law: Landau 2006, 9 and Landau 2004, 30–34, 197. Also King Dagobert as the (mythical) renovator of the law code is a sign for the connections to Francia: Wormald 1999, 5. Additionally the (anonymous) writer or writers of the code described the history of law from biblical times via the Romans to the Frankish kings – this embedding of an early medieval law text in Roman law traditions is quite unique.

⁴⁶ Störmer 1973, 18–21; Lošek 2006, 52–58; Wolfram 1974, 182–186; Sonnlechner 2007, 207–209.

⁴⁷ NA 6, 1 p. 76 and BN 12, 1 p. 102.

Individuals

Another designation for a Romance speaking person was *Latinus*. This label is even rarer than *Romanus*. In the eighth century it was used in the Salzburg sources solely as a personal name and thus had somewhat lost its meaning as a name of origin.⁴⁸ Another instance of the term can be found in the charters of Säben as *mansus latinus*, but its analysis would exceed the timeframe of this article. Furthermore, this phrase appears only this one time in the records of the bishopric.⁴⁹ So, with only very rare and different occurrences of *Romani* and *Latini* in early medieval Bavarian texts it is very hard to establish, which kind of group this word was used to describe.

Individuals who were explicitly called a *Romanus* or *Latinus* or attributed with these terms are also uncommon in the sources. There is only one instance of a *Romanus* in early medieval Bavaria: *quidam nobilis tam genere quam forme Romanus Dominicus vocabulo Preonensium plebis concives*⁵⁰ from the *Vita Corbiniani* of Bishop Arbeo of Freising, stemming from the second third of the eighth century. When Arbeo translated the remains of the saint from Kuens to Freising, the procession went through the Inn valley. Here Dominicus was healed from attacks of fever by crawling under the body of the saint. The description of this man is usually translated as: ‘as a fellow citizen of the Breons there lived a Roman, both noble in descent and in looks, called Dominicus’.⁵¹ This is a curious piece of evidence. For Arbeo’s original text there is in fact also the (though not very likely) interpretation possible, that Arbeo spoke of a good-looking noble called Romanus Dominicus, *concives* of the Breons.⁵² But the Carolingian re-working of his writing reveals how the sentence was understood only about forty years later: *quidam nobilis Romanus nomine Dominicus Breonensium plebis cives*⁵³ – ‘a noble Roman with the name Dominicus, citizen of the Breons’. The older sentence is ambiguous, curious and plays with many layers of social, ethnic and geographical provenance – like the whole work of Arbeo.⁵⁴ In the more prosaic *Traditions of Freising*, written in part also by Arbeo himself and surviving in a very early copy from the early ninth century,⁵⁵ there is not a single instance of

48 NA 8, 8 p. 84 or BN 8, 6 p. 98; Messner 1985, 103 says that the self designation should be *Latini* and the term *Romanus* could not be indigenous. Wolfram 1995a, 30 n. 92; Haubrichs 2014a, 37.

49 *Traditions of Brixen* 12, a.985–993, ed. Redlich, 6.

50 Arbeo, *Vita Corbiniani*, ed. Brunhölzl, 146.

51 Translation of the author after the edition of Brunhölzl 1983, 146–147.

52 Double names were no longer common by that time, Salway 1994, 144; however the name *Romanus* was used in late antique Noricum, Wolfram 1995a, 107–108. Unfortunately, also the oldest manuscripts of this text are later copies, so one could not rule out the possibility that the ‘real’ original had yet another version of this sentence. Brunhölzl 1983, 77–79. For the use of the word *noble* see Wickham 2005a, 155.

53 Arbeo, *Vita Corbiniani*, ed. Brunhölzl, 146.

54 Much has been written about Arbeo’s Latin, see the summary in Vogel 2000, 170–179.

55 The manuscript of Cozroh is available online, see bibliography for the URL.

a *Romanus* or *Romani*. Generally such ethnic denominations are very rare in the Freising (and, in fact, Bavarian) sources of the eighth and ninth centuries.⁵⁶ Dominicus thus also remains an exception. We might speculate about a different meaning of the words, for example that Dominicus was a Roman in the sense of the city, who happened to live, for example, as a merchant amongst the Breons or maybe even was in fact from Verona, as some manuscript recensions suggest.⁵⁷

But then, the recourse to a late antique model of identity by a high-ranking individual seems to be used also in a second case from this area and the context of Freising. In the *Traditions of Freising* no. 550a–c, a. 827/28, which is dated to around 60 years later, there is a person who explicitly describes himself in his donation charter with the words *ego Quarti nationis Noricorum et Pregnariorum*.⁵⁸ This Quarti(nus) lived on the southern side of the Brenner Pass in Sterzing/Vipiteno. He donated property to the monastery of Innichen, which belonged to the bishopric of Freising. The charter also shows personal names that remind us of early eighth-century Bavarian charters from north of the Alps: we find an Urso, and also a Dominicus.⁵⁹ Throughout, the place names are Romance and pre-Romance, which is common for this area. Like Dominicus, we note a double self-designation of one person: Dominicus was Roman and Breon; Quartinus called himself Norican and Breon. Additionally, Quartinus issued his charter in the context of Bavarian law and thus acted as a Bavarian legal person, like all his witnesses.⁶⁰ This legal context is visible by the statement (*testes*) *per aures tracti*, a phrase that sometimes even explicitly is put into a Bavarian setting by adding *secundum ritum gentis Baioariorum*. The custom of pulling the witnesses' ears is maybe of Roman origin, but by the eighth century it had become something genuinely Bavarian.⁶¹ The people whose ears were pulled have names of Romance, German as well as biblical origins and these people are all treated without any distinction. For example, Bishop Virgil, of Irish origin, was also treated this way.⁶² Apparently the expression was used regardless of the origin or ethnic back-

⁵⁶ For example, elites as well as dependents from the Slavic regions of Bavaria occasionally are marked with ethnic terms like *Sasca Sclaua* (TF 38, a. 770, p. 66 a dependent) and *Simon Sclavus* (TF 334, a. 815, p. 286 a witness); see also ns. 77 and 78.

⁵⁷ Brunhölzl 1983, 146, commentary on the line 24/25 notes the terms *ueronensium/veronensium* in stead of *preonensium* in some versions of the text.

⁵⁸ TF 550a c, a. 828, p. 471–474; Albertoni 2003, 63–65. Quartinus seems to be also a common name in Bavaria, for example TF 1, a. 744, p. 28 or, more notable, in the famous fragment of Rottachgau, see n. 97.

⁵⁹ Wolfram 1974, 192; Haubrichs 2014a, 60. See below for the names.

⁶⁰ Albertoni 2003, 65.

⁶¹ The influence of Roman (vulgar) law in the Bavarian law code and law customs is well attested, Landau 2004, 27–29, esp. 28, but the extent is somewhat disputed, Ubl 2014a, 424 on past and present discussions of this topic. Störmer 1972, 15 sees the line *secundum ritum gentis Baioariorum per aures tracti sunt* as a sign of the nobility of the witnesses and how this relates to the so called 'Reichsadel'.

⁶² TF 48, a. 772, p. 77.

ground of the ear-pulled persons, and simply signalled that a legal transaction had taken place in Bavaria. Therefore the law seems to be effectual in Bavarian territory and not for a distinct ethnic group, like other laws of the time suggest. However, in the year 843 a charter was issued in Verdun that dealt with a legal issue concerning Bavarians and is therefore listed in the *Traditions of Freising*: the witnesses were pulled by the ear. This suggests that the Bavarian law was occasionally a personal law after all.⁶³ In addition to Quartinus being a Bavarian legal subject, his example also reveals a double layer of identification: a Roman provincial name and a pre-Roman name of the barbarous tribe formerly located in this area. It is the last attestation of the name *Breoni*.⁶⁴ But the designation *Noricum* was still used in this area as the name of the valley where Quartinus' property lay. In sources up until the high Middle Ages the area was called *Vallis Noricana* or *Nurihtal*.⁶⁵ This name is normally explained by the fact that most parts of the area overlapped with the late antique province of *Noricum*.⁶⁶ So it might be a sign of a regional identity stemming from some local traditions that link themselves to antique *Noricum*. Yet *Noricum* was also a synonym for Bavaria, examples of which can be found as early as the second half of the eighth century. It was used by learned elites especially in poems, hagiography and books on history.⁶⁷ Occasionally Bavaria also appears in the *Traditions of Freising* as *Noricana provincia*, e.g. in 825 and 846, and marks property that lay far from the *Nurihtal* and the former Roman province.⁶⁸ This means that the *Noricum* of Quartinus could also have meant Bavaria, though this use would be somewhat anachronistic.⁶⁹

In northern Italy we have many attestations of people identifying themselves with Roman provincial and regional designations. We have *Istrienses*, *Venetici*, *Dalmatini*,⁷⁰ but also *Raetii*,⁷¹ which fit very well with our Quartinus and also the Dominicus preserved by Arbeo. Yet, I was not able to find another example of a triple-layered identity. This might be a specialty of Freising. In 830 a *Baaz de genere Carontania Sclauaniorum* donated property near the bishop's seat in Mailendorf,

⁶³ TF 661, a. 843, p. 556–558. Störmer 1972, 15 states that this seeming contradiction is not resolved yet in research.

⁶⁴ Wolfram 1995a, 34.

⁶⁵ Albertoni 2003, 49, 84–85.

⁶⁶ Gleirscher 1989; see also below in the chapter 'Roman Space in eighth and ninth century Bavaria'.

⁶⁷ Examples are Eigil of Fulda, *Vita Sancti Sturmi* 22, ed. Pertz, 376. *Illis quoque temporibus, suscepta legatione, inter Karolum regem Francorum, et Thasilonem a Noricae provinciae ducem, per plures annos inter ipsos amicitiam statuit*; Hrabanus Maurus, *Epitaph for Isanbert*, ed. Dümmler, 242: *Noricus ex genere fueram atque Aquitanicus ortu*; Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum* 3, 30, ed. Waitz.

⁶⁸ For example in TF 521, a. 825, p. 445: in *Noricana provincia* und TF 678, a. 846, p. 571 the property lies near Regensburg and Freising.

⁶⁹ Wolfram 1995a, 36; Heinz Dieter Pohl 2012, 315–316.

⁷⁰ Most notably in the Plea of Rizana, see Borri 2010a, 1–26.

⁷¹ *DD Caroli Magni* 78, a. 772–774, ed. Mühlbacher, 112.

also his witnesses were *per aures tracti*.⁷² This time the larger associated group was *Sclauī* and the pre-Roman identity was *Carantani*, a word that stems from a very old local term for rocks.⁷³ These individuals apparently were very eager to show that they are more than just ‘Romans’, ‘Bavarians’ or ‘Slavs’ – they tried to show all aspects of their ancestry at once.⁷⁴ However, these findings are too isolated to draw general assumptions or conclusions.

A name is just a name?

The names of individuals present the only area where we can conduct any sort of quantitative research with the Bavarian sources of the eighth and ninth centuries. We have hundreds of them, and in sharp contrast to the sparse evidence of groups or individuals called *Romani*, occurrences of individuals with Romance and Roman names are numerous. These occurrences even cover areas where Roman place-names have not survived in large quantities.⁷⁵ Yet we have to keep in mind that the surviving sources from Bavaria are unequally distributed geographically, which is also reflected in the patterns seen above. The sample of surviving names may therefore be biased.

We do not know which language the parents spoke who gave their children a Romance name or what ethnic background they had. It is no longer self-evident to equate a Romance name with an equivalent hypothetical social or cultural background.⁷⁶ That the linguistic origin of a name in early medieval Bavaria does not necessarily reflect the ethnic background of a person is also confirmed in a Freising charter of 827,⁷⁷ and in a charter of King Arnulf from 888, where the Slavs who are listed have the Germanic names Egilolf, Waldrat, Wartman and Saxo.⁷⁸ We do know, however, that the choice of names does say something: it reflects certain ideas and habits, most of which are now lost to us. There are many theories about

⁷² TF 589, a. 830, p. 504.

⁷³ Wolfram 1995b 302; Štih 2010, 111.

⁷⁴ Geary 1985, 114 states, for Abbo of Provence, who lived in the eighth century alpine parts of the Provence, that ‘In such families, strategic choices about which aspects of a complex ethnic heritage to emphasize could be made depending on circumstances [...]’. Wolfram 1995a, 34–37 sees Quartinus as belonging to the ‘Romanentum bayerischen Rechts südlich wie nördlich des Brenners’ and that he was in the first place a ‘Nurihtaler’.

⁷⁵ Haubrichs 2014a, 35 and the maps on p. 40, 43 and 45. On p. 57–67 Haubrichs gives a list of all traceable Romance names. For a map of place names mentioned in the BN and NA created with Romance names and words see Prinz 1971, unnumbered map between p. 16 and 17.

⁷⁶ Haubrichs 2014a, 36; Geary 1985, 101–114; Messner 1985, 108.

⁷⁷ TF 548, a. 827, p. 470: *Isti Sclauanii praesentes erunt: Egilolf, Uualdrat [...]*. Note the name Egilolf=Agilolf.

⁷⁸ *DD Arnolfi* 21, ed. Kehr, 32: *tres hobas [...] quas prius duo Sclavi Wartman et Saxo nuncupati tenuerunt*.

naming practices.⁷⁹ Nevertheless in the case of Bavaria it does make sense to have a closer look at the Romance names, which are found until around 800, after which the naming tradition changes and Germanic names become more common. As the people were well aware of the provenance of their names, this change tells us that bearing a Germanic name was much more valued after 800 than before. In contrast, parts of the Bavarian society in Agilolfing times were apparently proud to bear names that showed certain Roman elements.

For many of these names Christian connotations are perceptible, be it names of saints like Antonius, biblical names such as Abraham, David, and Job or descriptive names like Dominicus, Modestus and Santulus.⁸⁰ These names do not say much about the ethnic or linguistic background of the respective persons, except that there is a probability that his/her parents were devout Christians.⁸¹ One hypothesis says that the son who was destined to be a priest received a Romance Christian name, regardless of the language spoken in his family.⁸² Another matter is the 'traditional' Roman names. We find a large variety of these names spread across the whole of Bavaria. A comparison with late antique sources and inscriptions show a remarkable continuity of often quite rare names.⁸³ Traditional Roman names of emperors such as Aurelius, Domitian, Claudian, and Gratian,⁸⁴ stand beside simpler names, like the *praenomina* Quartinus, Secundus or the more rural Lupus and – very popular in alpine areas – Ursus.⁸⁵ However, it is not clear whether these names point to memories of the Roman Empire or reflect merely regional customs or even only family traditions. These names do not necessarily indicate that the bearer was part of a distinct group of *Romani* because his/her parents wanted to show an affiliation to this hypothetical group by the choice of name. We have some cases where in one family there are Germanic as well as Romance names. One example is from the *Breves Notitiae* of around 800, which contains the names of some members of the influential *genealogia Albina*. This *genealogia* was an elite family from south of Salzburg and is usually

⁷⁹ Mitterauer 2011b, 33–41. See also Geary 1985, 101–104 for the Romance and Germanic names in the testament of Abbo from 726.

⁸⁰ Mitterauer 2011a, 63 for Dominicus. For the high status of some bearers of biblical names see Störmer 1972, 80–87 and Störmer 1973, 42–43. Other Christian names might be associated with luck like Amandus, Bonifacius, Candulus etc. Haubrichs 2014a, 61–63 and in 65–67 gives a complete list of biblical names in eighth century Bavaria.

⁸¹ Haubrichs 2014a, 36.

⁸² Geary 1985, 105–114; Störmer 1973, 42–43; Haubrichs 2014a, 42 states that 'A relatively high percentage of persons with biblical personal names were clergy [...]' however, many laymen and women esp. around Salzburg also bear a biblical name, Haubrichs 2014a, 56.

⁸³ Haubrichs 2014a, 36.

⁸⁴ Many people were named after emperors if they were (a) granted citizenship by said emperor or (b) were a former slave freed by this emperor. The descendants of them carried on this naming tradition. For example emperor Aurelius (Caracalla in the *Constitutio Antoniniana*) in 212 gave nearly all free persons of the Empire citizenship and therefore had a large impact on the naming habits of the Empire's subjects. Salway 1994, 133–134, 137, 145.

⁸⁵ Wolfram 1974, 192; Haubrichs 2014a, 60.

interpreted as having at least in part a Romance background. Incidentally here, both the man with the Roman name – a Dulcissimus – as well as the one with the German name – a Wernharius – joined the church of Salzburg in order to pursue an ecclesiastical career.⁸⁶ Unique in Bavaria is the appearance of Germanic forms of Romance names. According to Wolfgang Haubrichs this *mélange* did not occur before the end of the seventh century. These German-Romance names were also common beyond the language border, in Romance speaking regions such as south of Salzburg.⁸⁷

The social background

People of high social status who had a Romance name and a home in an area where – according to language studies – the Romance language was still spoken were never called *Romani* in the sources, although modern scholarship almost always decided to call them exactly so. The above mentioned influential *genealogia Albina* may serve as an example. Under Odilo one member of the family – Ursus – was chaplain and the duke's confidant, who could even form a strong opposition with the duke against Bishop Virgil of Salzburg.⁸⁸ Another powerful noble with an interesting name is a certain Santulus.⁸⁹ This Santulus owned property in a village called *vicus romaniscus*, which can be translated as 'Roman village' and accordingly is today still called Wals.⁹⁰ So here we have a socially high ranking person with a Romance name living in a place 'where Romans live' – and yet he is not called a *Romanus* in the source. In addition, none of the other nobles giving property there are called *Romani*, although they do have Roman names like Vitalis or Germanus and live in or close to villages that are called Romance. However, these villages also have inhabitants and/or land owners with Germanic names like Engilhart, Adalswint or Eberwalch. Again, it is hard to make a clear statement about the meaning of these naming patterns. Generally, the naming practices of the elites in Agilolfing Bavaria show a taste for Roman/ce,

⁸⁶ BN 3, 11 p. 92; Wolfram 1974, 199 and Störmer 1973, 212–213 for the *albina*. In Freising we find a monk with the Romance name Remeio (from Remigius) and his son, a deacon with the name Soan perht. Störmer 1998, 8.

⁸⁷ Haubrichs 2014a, 38–39; Messner 1985, 107.

⁸⁸ BN 8, 10 p. 98. For the conflict see Wolfram 1974, 191–200; Freund 2004, 79–80. For the high social status of the Albina, see Prinz 1971, 18, n. 29.

⁸⁹ Wolfram sees this Santulus as a member of the *genealogia Albina*, Wolfram 1974, 199. The term *vir nobilis* and similar are used in the *Breves Notitiae* but not in the *Notitia Arnonis*, see Störmer 1973, 17–22. Jahn 1991, 249–254 sees the creation of proper Bavarian nobility (in the sense of special rights for people born into a high social level) only from the mid eighth century on. Wickham 2005a, 184–203 for 'nobles' in Francia (and Bavaria as a part of it).

⁹⁰ Onomastics tell us that German speaking people used to call Romance speaking people 'Walchen' and thus the German name can also be interpreted as a 'place where Romans live'. See Pohl/Hartl/Haubrichs 2017.

biblical and Germanic names, all together even in one single family.⁹¹ The lower social strata showed also no distinction. We do find occasionally artisans with Romance names, for example a blacksmith.⁹² The only group who maybe was defined after its ethnicity are the above investigated dependent *tributales*.⁹³

One of the oldest surviving texts from Bavaria is the so-called ‘Rottachgau Fragment’. This fragment of a charter is known for its late antique style of formulary and also for the names mentioned.⁹⁴ Generally, some peculiar elements in Bavarian charters suggest late antique traditions, for example the line *sub die consule* without the respective consul.⁹⁵ A copy of this charter survives in the *Traditions of Passau* which were created from the mid-ninth century onwards. Unfortunately, the date or the buyer of the land is missing in the fragment. Most researchers date some of the phrases used to the fifth century but state that the charter itself was written in the eighth century. Other researchers imply that it may also have been a truly old charter from the sixth or seventh century that was first written on a wooden and wax writing tablet and then later copied into the *Traditions of Passau*. According to this interpretation the tablet came to the bishopric of Passau when the church acquired the land.⁹⁶ Whatever the origin and timeframe, the personal names mentioned in the text are themselves revealing: Mairanus, Dominicus, Dominicans, Floritus, Quartinus and a Vigilus *miles*.⁹⁷ The subsequent, later charters of Passau nearly exclusively contain Germanic names. The term *miles* also is quite rare in the Bavarian charters.⁹⁸ In this case, the scribe of the bishopric of Passau also did not make a distinction by using the term *Romani*.

All this evidence demonstrates that in Bavarian society of the Agilolfing period people still displaying Roman naming traditions could be found throughout all so-

⁹¹ Störmer 1972, 80: *Jonas potestativus homo* and his possible relatives Gotesdrut and Egilolf, *ibid.* 81.

⁹² TF 14b, a. 759, p. 82: *Aletus faber artifex maleator*: i.e. a specialized craftsman, Störmer 1973, 145–146.

⁹³ Wolfram 1995a, 154.

⁹⁴ Erkens 2008; Wiesinger 2017b.

⁹⁵ See *Leges Baiuvariorum* 16, ed. Pertz, 325 and n. 35: according to the law, each charter had to be dated. The respective footnote explains the different dating methods of the eighth century and their origin. These peculiarities could also have come at a later point from Lombard Italy where these Roman traditions were still fostered in the eighth century – connections between Bavaria and Lombard Italy are numerous and well documented for the eighth century. Pohl 2005c, 60–63; Jahn 1991, 76–79, 558; Schmid 1987, 66–67; on the line *sub die consule*: Erkens 2008, 496–498, 500.

⁹⁶ Already the text used by the copyist of the mid ninth century was apparently a fragment. Erkens 2008, 493–494 (also with the different theses of the origin of the charter).

⁹⁷ *Traditions of Passau* 1, ed. Heuwieser, 1: *Signum manus Mairani, Dominici et Dominicantes que strumentum fecerunt. Signum manus Floriti prepositi testes. Signum manus Uigili milites testes. Ego Quartinus qui escripsi.*

⁹⁸ *Miles* also in TF 10, a. 757, p.37; Jahn 1991, 225 and 323; Wolfram 1995a, 154; Erkens 2008, 502; Wolfram 1995b, 296–297 on the possible origin of the Bavarian *miles / exercitales* from former Roman border guards.

cial strata (*nobiles*,⁹⁹ *milites* / *exercitales*, *tributales*), bearing all kinds of titles and living in many different areas of the dukedom. Only Arbeo's Dominicus of the Inn Valley is explicitly labeled *nobilis romanus*.¹⁰⁰ But his description stems from a narrative and is therefore ambiguous in its intention.

Roman space in eighth- and ninth-century Bavaria

Around 800, the Romanness of the so-called Carolingian Renaissance combined with local traditions could have interesting and somewhat puzzling results: some members of the Carolingian intellectual elite started to call people of Bavarian provenience 'Noricans',¹⁰¹ and the land occasionally was called *Noricana provincia*.¹⁰² The Carolingian writer Paul the Deacon was probably the first to call the whole duchy of Bavaria *Noricum* and thus build a connection between the Carolingian duchy and the Roman past.¹⁰³ In Paul's homeland of Friuli, the adjacent part of Bavaria, then usually called *Carantana*, *Carantanum* or similar¹⁰⁴ was still (and correctly) associated with the Roman province of Noricum. This is visible in a famous letter, probably written by a northeastern Italian missionary sent to evangelize the Slavs of the Eastern Alps: he lamented at having to sit in the swamps, being a *Noricus* in contrast to his Italian friends.¹⁰⁵

Yet this is also exactly the time when the part of the local population who still used Roman names changed their style and now began to use German names more frequently. Romance naming practices died out in most areas of Bavaria in the ninth century.¹⁰⁶ Place and area names also were switched to Germanic forms in local contexts, most notably in the case of Salzburg, whose Germanic name replaced the Roman *Iuvavum*.¹⁰⁷ Confusingly, at the end of the eighth century when Salzburg was made an archbishopric, there were attempts to form an antique past for the see. But instead of *Iuvavum* the name *Petena* was selected, which is a bishopric in modern-day Pićan, Istria, founded in antiquity. However, it apparently made no sense in a Carolingian context anymore because it was only used in the cited

⁹⁹ Störmer 1973, 15–20.

¹⁰⁰ Wolfram 1995b, 295.

¹⁰¹ See n. 67 for examples.

¹⁰² E.g. in TF 678, a. 846, p. 571.

¹⁰³ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum* 3, 30, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 109–110.

¹⁰⁴ Wolfram 1995b, 302; Štih 2010, 111–112; Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum* 5, 22, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, 152 (*Carantanum*).

¹⁰⁵ *Appendix ad Alcuini Epistolas*, ed. Dümmler, 484.

¹⁰⁶ Haubrichs 2014, 44.

¹⁰⁷ 'Salzburg', in: *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, ed. Hausner/Schuster 2000, 905–906: The archbishopric continued using the name *Iuvavum* in most occasions up until after the twelfth century. Messner 1985, 107–108.

charters and disappeared afterwards.¹⁰⁸ The Rottachgau fragment was listed as part of the property held by Passau in the Rottachgau, meaning that the scribe still knew where the donated land was located, although the place name noted was in its Latin/Romance form: *vicus Fonalue*. Today this knowledge is lost and we do not know anymore which village was meant. Probably the Roman name was soon replaced by the German form Weissenbrunn (= *fons albus*), a quite frequent toponym.¹⁰⁹

Above we learned that the Bavarian Quarti(nus) of Vipitenum/Sterzing called himself in 828 a 'Norican', though he probably did not use that word as a synonym for 'Bavarian'. Presumably he took the name of his home-valley that was called Nurihtal/*vallis Noricana* in his time and afterwards.¹¹⁰ Already in Venantius Fortunatus' Life of St. Martin of the mid-sixth century the Pustertal is regarded as Norican soil. We know of a Roman toll station at Klausen near Säben, therefore the border between Noricum and Italy (*Venetia et Histria*) was probably located exactly here in late antiquity.¹¹¹ But regardless of which Roman province the region had belonged to, between the eighth and thirteenth centuries it formed a defined area, within which the ancient name of the Roman Province *Noricum* could live on. One can suppose by the self-designation of Quartinus that his 'Norican' identity in a Bavarian context was important to note. Yet we cannot tell, if it was a sign of remembering the Roman Empire or, on the contrary, a reminiscence of the late antique reflexes *against* it by emphasizing a local identity.¹¹²

We find further evidence for roman space 'gone wild' in Arbeo's *Vita Corbiniani* of the mid-eighth century, still written in a Merovingian-style Latin: *a finibus Valerie atque Noricensis Cisalpina in caput Italie*.¹¹³ Valeria used to be a roman province either in eastern Pannonia or in the middle of the Italian peninsula. Attempts have been made to link the Bavarian past to the pannonian Valeria,¹¹⁴ but it seems to make more sense to read Arbeo's expression as a learned attempt to Latinize/Romanize terms like *Wualhogoi* or *Uualhum*,¹¹⁵ which in turn would hint towards the multi-layered identities of early medieval Bavaria. The Carolingian recension of the text re-

108 The provenance and reasons for the use of this name are not clear. Dopsch 2004, 33 sees a connection to Poetovio/Ptuj; Klebel 1956, 484–486.

109 Erkens 2008, 495; Wiesinger 2017b.

110 *Traditions of Salzburg* 1, Codex Odalberti (923–935), ed. Hauthaler, 67: property at Mölten and Terlan, which are located between Bozen and Merano; Albertoni 2003, 49, 84.

111 Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Sancti Martini* 4, ed. Leo, 368, ll. 347–348: *Unde Valentini benedicti templa require, Norica rura petens, ubi Byrrus (i.e. Rienz) vertitur undis; per Drauum itur iter*. DeLaet 1949, 156, 182–183; Kaiser 2008, 34; Wolfram 1995a, 31. However, Alföldy/Birley 1974, 59 think otherwise.

112 See for example in this area the self barbarization of the local inhabitants (*Breones*) in contrast to the Romans in: Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 1, 11, ed. Mommsen, 22.

113 Brunhölzl 1983, 108 and 110 (also the Carolingian recension). About Arbeo's Latin Glaser 1983, 65–67.

114 Vogel 2000, 344.

115 Winckler 2012, 317–318.

placed 'Valeria' with 'Noricum', evidence that local traditions sometimes collided with the mental map of the Carolingian empire.

Conclusion

The topic of this article was to search for traces of Romanness in early medieval Bavaria. Most evidently we can find a population speaking a Romance language, which, in addition to Slavic (from the mid-eighth century onwards), was one of the minority languages in a Germanic speaking majority. The former language zones can today still be seen in place names, yet in the charters they leave only rare traces and there is no special law-code for this population. It is therefore not at all clear how this population saw itself and was seen by the Germanic speaking Bavarian majority. Instances where we have a possible ethnic distinction that is explicitly stated are extremely rare. Most notably are the *Romani tributales* from two Salzburg texts stemming from around 800. Here the expression seems to come from the Frankish *Lex Salica*, where it once referred to dependent Romans of the Frankish realm. In the clause also a *Romanus homo possessor* and a *Romanus homo conviva regis* was listed, both high ranking social statuses. But the texts of Salzburg chose to use the term *Romani* only for dependents, and not for the *nobiles*. We can only speculate about the reason for that, but apparently at least in the higher social strata no distinction was made regarding the ethnic identity of the groups.¹¹⁶ Here people with Roman names and even with explicit ethnic denominations (Dominicus and Quartinus) were part of the Bavarian elite and interwoven with families with a Germanic name like the Huosi or Fagana.¹¹⁷ It seems that in eighth-century Bavaria a group such as the investigated *Romani* was not distinctive enough to form a well defined sub-community. This is the reason why it is so hard to capture this group: it probably did not exist as a clearly defined population at all. On the contrary, all evidence we have suggests strongly that these *Romani* were seen and saw themselves as Bavarians. Occasionally there are traces of local identities, such as Norican or Breon, that do have roots in antiquity. However, this local as well as a hypothetical 'Roman' identity was probably just a minor part of them and the expression for it was only used in very rare occasions.

The ninth century saw a change in Bavaria. The political circumstances did not foster local Roman or Romance traditions but encouraged a more homogenous, Carolingian outlook. Simultaneously, the Romance language began to retreat more and

¹¹⁶ Like in other comparable areas e.g. early medieval Provence, see Geary 1985, 101–114 esp. for the case of Abbo, *ibid.*, 112–114.

¹¹⁷ Störmer 1973, 44–51; Jahn 1991, 246 for the *genealogia Albina*. Interesting is also the Romance naming tradition of the Carantanian count Witagowo's family: it seemingly came from Burgundy, Mit terauer 1963, 149–151. Already in the year 1941 H. Dannenbauer (surprisingly) proposed a similar thesis for the Gallo Roman elites, as Ewig 1976b, 418 notes.

more to the southern fringes of the duchy – but here, close to the heartland of *Latinitas*, it could survive for many centuries to come.¹¹⁸

118 Romance was spoken around Salzburg ‘until the tenth/eleventh centuries’ and in the alpine areas ‘until long after the turn of the millennium’: Haubrichs 2014, 53–55, 57. See also *Traditions of Salzburg* 85, a. 930, ed. Hauthaler, p. 149, in which dependents near Salzburg are called Victor, Victoria and Iustinia.

Roland Steinacher

When not in Rome, still do as the Romans do? Africa from 146 BCE to the 7th century

Studying North Africa poses a variety of problems. Historical as well as archaeological research bears the burden of a colonial view on Africa's past, which tends to overemphasize its Roman aspects. Berber (Numidian and Moorish) political entities together with Punic (Carthaginian) cities had a long history when Rome entered the African scene. The history of Roman North Africa in its narrow sense started with the forming of *Africa vetus* in 146 BCE, after the third Punic War and the destruction of Carthage. For the centuries to come, Rome relied on client kings in Numidia and Mauretania to secure the new province. Initially *Africa* consisted of the Carthaginian hinterland and had the *fossa regia* as a demarcation line drawn by Scipio the Younger between the territory of the Numidian kings and the Roman province. Caesar added *Africa nova* (parts of the Numidian territory between the Tusca and Ampsaga rivers as well as Tripolitania) after the defeat of the Pompeians and their African allies, most prominently Juba I, at Thapsus in 46 BCE. The vast domains that were acquired helped the new political concept of Augustus' principate to satisfy the claims of its followers. The process of full annexation of North Africa finished during the early principate under Emperor Claudius (41–54 CE) when Mauretania became part of the Empire.¹

Scholarship defined the spread of Roman civilization – 'Romanization' – as an acceptance of something like a Roman identity by local populations, or as a phenomenon of migration. Thousands of Roman colonists and members of the aristocracy started to penetrate North Africa with Roman norms, lifestyle, architecture and language from the first century BCE onwards. Scholars have regarded that as a thorough demographic and cultural change. But was North Africa in fact rather a Roman colony comparable to French Algeria in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries? A variety of processes of change were successively labelled with the term 'Romanization', and the parameters vary considerably from one study to another. 'Romanization' was no organic cultural, political, economic or social development nor ever fully completed. Thus the Roman World was not a homogeneous zone of Romanness, although it tended to present itself that way, in opposition to the surrounding 'Barbarians'. It in-

The research leading to these results has received funding from the ERC AdG Project SCIRE (Nr. 269591) under the Seventh Framework Programme at the Department of History of the University of Vienna, Austria. Christian Barthel, Julia Ess, Kai Torben Haase, Walter Pohl and Graeme Ward helped with corrections, suggestions and ideas. My ORCID is: 0000-0002-4130-548X.

¹ Fishwick 1993/1994; Woolf 2012, 97–100; for an overview on Roman North Africa see Lassère 2015; Raven 1993; Fenwick 2012; Fenwick 2008 (archaeological research); Hobson 2015 (economy).

corporated pre-existing regional, ethnic and civic identities and transformed them.² David Mattingly concluded that the impact of the Roman takeover was more complicated than the Romanization model made us believe. Research has to focus more intensely on local communities and regional developments.³ What did it mean to be Roman and live in Africa?

The extent to which Africa was 'Romanized' from the second century BCE onwards is still subject to a debate overshadowed by the colonial past of Libya, Tunisia and Algeria. In these countries as well as in France, nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars often projected political issues back into antiquity. Anticolonial circles asserted a low level of 'Romanization' and advocated a strong local Berber identity. French as well as Italian intellectuals, however, tended to create a master narrative using the Roman past of North Africa to claim it as a part of ancient Europe. Both French and Italians in North Africa presented themselves as the direct and natural successors of the Romans.⁴ As Mattingly has noted: 'The "otherness" of North Africa (in terms of the Arabs and Berbers, with their Islamic culture and tribal and nomadic societies) was countered by the conscious association of the colonizer with the Roman presence. It was comforting for the French and Italian armies on campaign in the remote desert and mountain margins to find traces of the earlier penetration of the Roman legion into the same spaces.'⁵ Roughly speaking, the Arab history of the regions was pictured as a decline, while the Roman past appeared as a period of prosperous and rightful rule that had now been re-established by the French colonial masters.

Meanwhile, the master narrative of total 'Romanization' of the provinces has become questionable. Local affiliations always played a role, in Africa as well. Nevertheless, Roman concepts as well as the language of rule and organization long remained a point of orientation for political entities within and beyond the imperial frontiers. We know a couple of Latin inscriptions engraved by independent rulers at the borders and on the soil of Roman provinces in transformation throughout

² Broughton 1929; Overbeck 1973; Picard 1990; Lepelley 1998, 79–84, 112–114; Brüggemann 2003; Schörner 2005; Revell 2008; Hingley 1996; Hingley 2005; Ando 2000; Woolf 1998; Mattingly 1997; Barrett 1997, 60: 'We have abandoned the categories of "Roman" or "native" as having nothing to tell us.' Mattingly 2002 pleads not to use 'Romanization' any longer. Fentress 2006, 3–6.

³ Mattingly 2011, XXII; Mattingly 1987, 80–83: Existing power structures in Tripolitania remained as long as Roman authority was accepted.

⁴ Fentress 2006; Mattingly 2004; MacMullen 2000, 30–50; Keay/Terrenato 2001; overview on 'Romanization' in Africa: Lepelley 1998; discussion of research between 1975 and 1995: Mattingly/Hitchner 1995.

⁵ Mattingly 2011, 55; Fenwick 2012, 512–513: After 1830 (French) archaeological research was part of an imperialist discourse justifying colonization by stressing the 'otherness' of Africans. 'The Roman Empire provided a model as well as a justification for colonial rule.' Cf. Fenwick 2008; Lorcin 2007.

the fifth and sixth centuries. Latin served as the language of power, quite independently of how tightly a certain territory was linked to Carthage.⁶

Africa was one of the most densely urbanized areas of the Empire. Towns in Africa were, however, not a Roman innovation. Thimida, Bulla, Hippo and Zama bore the epithet *regia*, which recalled their status during the reign of the Numidian kings. Cirta was King Micipsa's (148–117 BCE) capital. Simitthu, Capsa and most likely Theveste (Tébessa) have long pre-Roman urban traditions as well as the 'Libyphoecian' towns of Tripolitania. Elizabeth Fentress stressed the importance of such towns as centres with an urban status and as independent city-territories. Members of the local elites owned private estates.⁷ 'Africa at the beginning of the second century BCE was thus occupied by a series of towns and their territories, with internal structures not apparently very different from those of the rest of the Mediterranean world. Most of these were Punic in origin, but some were certainly Numidian or Mauretanian.'⁸

Later, a Latin culture connected to other centres of the Mediterranean flourished in these cities as well as in the newly founded Roman *coloniae*. Caesar and Augustus established colonies, and some 50,000 veterans of their armies settled there. These men enjoyed citizenship of the new urban centres. Especially officers, who obtained extra land, quickly became part of the local elite.⁹ Till the end of the first century CE many soldiers chose Africa as their new homeland after having served in the army. The possibilities for a better life in the new colonies attracted them. Finally, many veterans of the *legio III Augusta* remained in the African provinces.¹⁰

This legion was stationed since 30 BCE at Ammaedara (Haidra) changing around 75 CE to Theveste (Tébessa). Around 115–120 the legion moved to its former outpost, Lambaesis (Tazoult-Lambèse). At this military headquarters around 3000 inscriptions connected to the *Augusta* are known. The soldiers served at different locations

6 Mattingly 1996, 50–54; Mattingly 1997; Bénabou 1978; Leveau 1978; Thébert 1978, 64–82; Averil Cameron 1989, 171–172; Christianization: Beltrán Torreira 1990; Mattingly 2011, 51 compares the around 2,500 inscriptions of Roman Britain with the over 60,000 from the former French territories of the Maghreb.

7 Cf. Fentress 2006, 7–9 (urban centres), 13–22 (pre Roman agricultural structures and villages). Gilhaus 2011 on the Hellenistic era; Dossey 2010, 31–61, 101–124 on the situation of rural settlements in the 1st–5th centuries.

8 Fentress 2006, 8–9.

9 Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 5, 4, 29, ed. Rackham, vol. 2, 238–240: *Ad hunc finem Africa a fluvio Ampsaga populos DXVI habet, qui Romano pareant imperio; in his colonias sex, praeter iam dictas Uthinam, Thuburbi; oppida civium Romanorum XV, ex quibus in mediterraneo dicenda Absuritanum, Abutucense, Aboriense, Canopicum, Chimavense, Simittuense, Thunusidense, Thuburnicense, Thindrumense, Tibigense, Ucitana duo, Maius et Minus, Vagense; oppidum Latinum unum Uzalitanum; oppidum stipendiarium unum Castris Cornelii*. 50,000 new settlers: MacMullen 2000, 31, see *ibid.* 33–35 for the list 'The colonial effort in Africa' with colonies founded by Caesar and Augustus. Whittaker 1996, 603–610; Fentress 2006, 23 lists as examples the *oppida civium Romanorum* and the *pagus et civitas Thuggensis* (CIL 8, 26466) at Thugga.

10 Mann 1983, 12–16.

to secure the provinces. A cohort was present at Carthage at the proconsul's orders. Because they supported the Numidian governor Capellianus against the Gordians, the legion was disbanded in 238 by Gordian III. Emperor Valerianus (253–260) remobilized the unit in 253.¹¹ This may be connected to an insurrection at the southern frontier in the same year. After 290 other revolts are reported. Maximian arrived in Africa in 298 to reorganize the defence lines and the military system of the provinces.¹² In the end none of these events endangered the provinces or caused major problems. There may have been riots, fighting with local confederacies and uprisings, but nothing really challenged Roman rule in the provinces.¹³

In the frontier zones, representatives of the Empire ensured Roman dominance.¹⁴ In 1955 Christian Courtois thought of a basic dichotomy of Roman rule and described this world as a permanent opposition between the mountains and the coastal plains: 'Roman civilization spread along the availability of water. It had invaded the plains without taking the mountains.'¹⁵ The concept of a 'Romanized' belt of cities at the sea and tough resistance by local Berber tribes (labeled *Mauri* by the Romans) had become generally accepted since René Cagnat's (1852–1937) study on the Roman occupation, first published in 1892.¹⁶ In 1976, the French scholar Marcel Bénabou published his 'La Résistance africaine à la romanisation' and thus provided a concept of indigenous cultural endurance. His book became 'the most sophisticated exponent of the resistance thesis'.¹⁷ In Bénabou's view, Africans had their own religious beliefs and maintained their Punic or Libyan/African languages and personal names. Romano-Africans thus demonstrated their 'Africanness'. The controversies surrounding Bénabou's early post-colonial ideas have been intense.¹⁸ Perhaps a compromise could be found with on-going debates differentiating the nature of 'Romanization'.

11 Le Bohec 1989; Speidel 1992; Janon 1973; Pollard/Berry 2012, 120–130. Speidel 2006: ILS 2487 contains the only extant speech by a Roman emperor (Hadrian, 117–138) to soldiers stationed in a province, recorded when Hadrian went to Numidia in 128 to review the legion's training manoeuvres.
12 Gutsfeld 2008, 471–472 ('Polizeiaktionen'); Gutsfeld 1989, 128; Le Bohec 1989, 463–465; Cagnat 1892, 56.

13 Gutsfeld 1989, 177–179.

14 Mattingly/Hitchner 1995, 204–205; Mattingly 1992; Cherry 1998; Fentress 1979.

15 Courtois 1955, 121: 'La civilisation romaine s'était répandue à la manière des eaux. Elle avait envahi les plaines sans recouvrir les montagnes [...].'

16 Cagnat 1892.

17 Mattingly 1996, 58–59.

18 Bénabou 1976. Critical comments on Bénabou's thesis: Leveau 1978; Fentress 1979 and Whittaker 1978 (variation of resistance comparable to other provinces of the Empire); responses: Bénabou, 1978 and 1981. Thébert 1978 criticized Bénabou's focus on ethnic groups and pleaded for an analysis of social formation in North Africa. Fentress 2006, 4: 'This strictly Marxist approach left culture out of the picture, thereby oversimplifying it.' Elizabeth Fentress follows Thébert's recommendation for some steps and offers a brief outline of the social preconditions for 'Romanization' avoiding a simple opposition between the Numidian/Berber peoples and the Punic/late Roman settlers to provide a basis for an analysis including cultural patterns.

Recent research increasingly attempts to stress the regional differences and the multitude of local identities underlying a seemingly Roman culture.

How did antiquity perceive North Africa and why was it possible to ground the disputes delineated above in our sources? The poet who authored the *Odyssey* knew a region named Λιβύη (Libye). There, at the southern edge of the known world, the *Aithiopes* lived.¹⁹ As early as the fifth century BCE, Herodotus distinguished native Libyans in the North of 'Libye' from immigrants, the Greeks in the Cyrenaica and Phoenicians (Carthaginians). Apart from the basic meaning for the *terra firma* at the southern rim of the Mediterranean Sea as a whole, 'Libye' could also denote specific regions. At certain periods of time or under specific circumstances, the term was restricted, for example, to the Cyrenaica and its Greek cities, to the western border regions of Egypt, or to western North Africa. Thus, 'Libye' signified the area between the Atlantic Ocean and the Nile River as well as certain parts of it.²⁰

This is fundamental for understanding the Roman geographical concept of *Africa*. During the Punic Wars (264–146 BCE) 'Libyans' also became a term for the inhabitants of the African territory controlled by Carthage. After the second half of the third century BCE, the Latin term *Africa* appeared in Roman politics and literature, as the cognomen *Africanus* of the victorious elder Scipio illustrates. To some extent, *Africa* served as an equivalent for the Greek Λιβύη (Libye) to define northern or Punic Africa.²¹ Initially, *Afri* referred to indigenous peoples living inside the African hinterland of Carthage to distinguish them from *Numidae* and *Mauri* further west and south. How and why these *Afri* turned out to be eponyms for a territory much larger than the area they originally inhabited is not completely clear. Be that as it may, a century later Sallust used *Africa* to refer to the northwestern parts of the continent with the exception of Egypt.²² From the second Punic war onwards, Roman and Greek authors referred to indigenous societies not only as curiosities or to mark geographical borders but as historical entities. In the first century CE, Pliny counted 516 *gentes* and *nationes*, that is, ethnic groups in alliance with, in opposition to, or au-

19 Homer, *Odyssey* 4, 85; 14, 295: Λιβύη, a region west of Egypt; 1, 23: The Αἰθίοπες (*Aithiopes*) are people at the edge of the world, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν; 1, 22–24; 4, 83–85: There are western and eastern *Aithiopes*. Cf. Huß 1996, 217; K. Zimmermann 1999b, 9–22: non Greek sources, *ibid.* 181–187: Homeric age. Isaac 2004, 135, 151, 355–356, n. 25: *Aithiopes* as those people living in the far south and the first to be generated by earth. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* 3, 2, 1, ed. and trans. Oldfather, vol. 2, 88–93.

20 Herodotus, *Historiae* 4, 196–197, ed. and trans. Godley, 398–401: Καρχηδόνιοι, Φοίνικες, see below for Herodotus' basic categories of the African population. K. Zimmerman 1999b, 187–190: He kataios and Herodotus; 177–178: 'Libye' as Africa west of the Nile as well as every part of it.

21 Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 5, 2, 22; 5, 3, 23; 5, 3, 25, ed. Rackham, vol. 2, 234–236; cf. J. Schmidt 1893, 713.

22 Sallust, *De bello Iugurthino* 17, 3–4; 19, 3, ed. and trans. Rolfe, 170, 176; cf. Huß 1996, 218; Kotula/Peyras 1985. The very name *Afri* appears on inscriptions dating from the principate. Fentress 2006, 16 refers to CIL 8, 14364 (at Uccula a statue bears the inscription *decreto Afrorum*) and CIL 8, 25850 (*Afri* and the *cives Romani Suenses* act together at Sua).

tonomous from Rome, including the conquered kingdoms of Mauretaniae. Besides them he named Roman settlements and colonies.²³

North of the deserts, three areas apart from Egypt with the Nile had a regular supply of water and therefore can support settled populations as well as produce enough crop, barley, oil and other products for export: Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and North-West Africa north of the Atlas Mountains. The Cyrenaica is located roughly 1,100 kilometres from the Nile Delta. The ancient Pentapolis with its urban centres Kyrene, Ptolemais, Apollonia, Taucheira and Euhesperides became part of the Greek world as early as the beginning of the seventh century BCE. Thus, at the southern edge of the Greater Syrtis (Gulf of Sidra), the Carthaginian sphere of influence bordered the territory of the mentioned Greek cities.²⁴ Centuries later, the frontier between the Roman provinces of Africa and Cyrenaica (since 20 BCE *Creta et Cyrenaica*) together with the language border between Greek and Latin speaking areas ran there.²⁵ Ptolemy Apion died without heirs and bequeathed his royal land in Pentapolis to Rome in 96 BCE. In 74 BCE, Rome granted provincial status to Cyrenaica.²⁶

Sallust and other authors provided the legend of the Philaeni brothers from Carthage, creating a border by literary means. Carthage and the Greek cities in the Pentapolis tried to agree on a border in Libya. Two pairs of athletes set out from Carthage and Cyrene on the same day, each pair running towards the other city. When the runners met, the Carthaginian pair had covered more ground. Accused of cheating by the Greeks, the Carthaginians swore solemnly that they had followed all rules and eventually consented to be buried alive at the meeting point. This sacrifice was meant to underline their rightful claim. Since then the territory between that spot and Carthage would become part of the Carthaginian domain. The border was marked by two pillars labelled the 'Altars of the Philaeni', Φιλαίνων Βωμοί.²⁷ The spot described by Sallust was approximately halfway between modern Ra's Lanuf and El Agheila. In 1937, the Italian colonial government erected a modern *Arae Philaenorum* some 30 kilometres from this place at the Libyan Coastal Highway (Via Balbia) to commemorate the Roman past of the new Libyan colony. In 1973, the revolutionary leader Muammar al Gaddafi, who considered the landmark a sign of the Italian domination of Libya, ordered the arch to be destroyed in order to stress

23 Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 5, 4, 29, ed. Rackham, vol. 2, 238–240; cf. Desanges 1962.

24 Polybius, *Histories* 3, 39, 2; 10, 40, 7, ed. and trans. Paton, vol. 2, 90–91; Sallust, *De bello Iugurthino* 19, 3, ed. and trans. Rolfe, 176; cf. Huß 2000, 523.

25 Rochette/Clackson 2011; van Hoof 2007, 193; Michel 1981.

26 Sallust, *Historiarum fragmenta* 2, 41; cf. Laronde 1987, 445–446.

27 Sallust, *De bello Iugurthino* 79, ed. and trans. Rolfe, 298–300: *Carthaginenses in eo loco Philaenis fratribus aras consecravere* [...]; cf. Lancel 1997, 92–94; Paul 1984, 198–200; Köstermann 1971, 277–281.

the unity of modern Libya, which today again is separated in Western Tripolitania and Eastern Cyrenaica.²⁸



Fig. 1: The *Arae Philaenorum*, 1937

The tiny coastal belt of Tripolitania is separated from the Cyrenaica by about another 1,000 kilometres of desert, but from its ancient centres Oea (Tripolis), Sabratha and Leptis Magna to the Gulf of Gabès a traveller had to manage only 300 kilometres of waterless areas. A wide coastal plain, the Gefara, stretches from just west of Leptis to the mainland opposite Meninx (Djerba). Concerning ‘Romanness’, the frontier at the *Arae Philaenorum* described above marks off the areas we have to deal with: the large region of northwestern Africa that includes Tripolitania, the Roman provinces of Africa Proconsularis, the two Mauretaniae and Numidia. The Arab concept of the Maghreb (al-Maghrib al-Kabīr) embraces the Atlas Mountains and the coastal plains of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya. The Atlas mountain range comprises four general regions: the Middle Atlas, High Atlas and Anti-Atlas in modern-day Morocco; the Saharan Atlas in Algeria, marking the northern edge of the great desert; the Tell Atlas in Algeria and Tunisia; and finally the Aurès Mountains. From the Med-

²⁸ Mattingly 2011, 54–58; the background of Italian colonial archaeology in Libya: Altekamp 2004, 55–72; Munzi 2004; Abitino 1979.

iterranean Sea to the Sahara, the cultivated land in Roman times stretched on average 300 kilometres deep. The 2,600 kilometres of watered plains that ran from the Atlantic Ocean to the *Arae Philaenorum* became one of the most important agricultural landscapes of the Roman Empire. Modern Morocco (Mauretania Tingitana with its capital Tingis/Tanger), northern Algeria (Mauretania Caesariensis with its capital Caesarea; later under Septimius Severus Numidia became a province of its own) and Tunisia (Africa Proconsularis) share a Roman past with parts of Europe and the Middle East.²⁹

Pliny furthermore stressed the foreignness of the Africans when he wrote that ‘The Greeks have given the name of Libya to Africa, and have called the sea that lies in front of it the Libyan Sea. It has Egypt for its boundary [...]’. For him, a Latin speaking Roman, it was nearly impossible to pronounce the names of peoples and cities.³⁰ The poet Publius Papinius Statius (died around 96 CE) was a friend of the Emperor Septimius Severus’ grandfather of the same name. Statius was eager to stress the ‘Romanness’ of his fellow Romans of African birth: ‘Who would not think that my sweet Septimius had crawled an infant on all the hills of Rome? [...] Neither your speech nor your dress is Punic, yours is no stranger’s mind: Italian are you, Italian! Yet in our city and among the knights of Rome Libya has sons who would adorn her.’³¹ Statius repeats twice the Roman manners, language and appearance of an aristocratic provincial from Tripolitania. Benjamin Isaac concluded that members of the higher classes had to be separated by defining them as Roman from the poorer locals, who perhaps adhered more closely to local culture and language. Isaac states that there was an ambivalent attitude to provincial origins: ‘The implication is that it was normal for equestrians from a place like Leptis with the status of a *municipium* to be regarded as foreign in appearance, speech and spirit.’³²

A hundred years later, Herodian labelled the Emperor Septimius Severus (ruled 193–211) a Libyan without assessing this as a possible blemish.³³ The Augustan History, a collection of imperial biographies of the period 117 to 284 most likely written in the first decades of the fourth century CE, on the one hand refers to the classical education and Roman background of Septimius Severus. Septimius had been ‘drilled

²⁹ Hobson 2015, 29–32; Shaw 1995a; Lepelley/Lancel 1994, 182–206, cf. the maps 189 and 191; Rad notí Alföldi 1979, 43–44; Bouchenaki 1979, 75–79; Fentress 1979, 6–17.

³⁰ Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 5, 1, 1, trans. Bostock/Riley, vol. 1, 374; ed. Rackham, vol. 2, 218: *Africam Graeci Libyam appellavere et mare ante eam Libycum; Aegypto finitur. [...] Populorum eius oppidorum que nomina vel maxime sunt ineffabilia praeterquam ipsorum linguis, et alias castella ferme inhabitant.*

³¹ Statius, *Silvae* 4, 5, 45–48, following the translation by Mozley, 240–241: [...] *non sermo Poenus, non habitus tibi / externa non mens: Italus, Italus. Sunt urbe Romanisque turmis / qui Libyam deceant alumni.* Cf. Vessey 1970.

³² Isaac 2004, 332–333 and n. 46; cf. Birley 1988, 18–20.

³³ Herodian, *Ab excessu divi Marci* 3, 10, 6, ed. and trans. Whittaker, vol. 1, 328: The Emperor Septimius Severus chooses a wife for his son Antoninus (Caracalla), the daughter of the praetorian prefect Plautianus. He is a fellow countryman of the emperor, Severus was also a Libyan: ὄντα δὲ πολίτην ἑαυτοῦ, Λίβυς γὰρ κάκεινος ἦν [...].

in the Latin and Greek literatures, *Latinis Graecisque litteris*, with which he was very well acquainted, *quibus eruditissimus fuit*.’ On the other hand, the Augustan History alludes to the African background of his family in an ironic way. When Septimius’ sister from Leptis came to visit the emperor at his court in Rome, she disgraced herself: ‘Since she could scarcely speak Latin, *vix Latine loquens*, the sister made the emperor blush for her hotly.’ Septimius bestowed his sister with many presents and tried to get rid of her as quickly as possible.³⁴

Elizabeth Fentress stressed a certain competition for status and power among the provincial elites as a motor of ‘Romanization’. Fentress decided to use the term ‘Romanization’ as a useful means to describe the shift of Numidian and Mauretanian tribal elites into their new roles as decurions, members of the city senate in their towns.³⁵ Important and old urban centres, always with the exception of the newly founded colonies of Caesar and Augustus, had ‘Punic’ governments and were left free to run themselves as long as they paid their taxes. The civic assembly, senate and *sufetes*, magistrates in the Punic tradition, had Hellenistic elements and resembled urban organization elsewhere in the Mediterranean. Especially in Tripolitania the *sufetes* of Oea, Sabratha and Leptis are long attested. The Emperor Trajan (ruled 98–117) made Leptis Magna a *colonia* administered by *sufetes* and a Punic style of civic assembly. The elites of the coastal towns such as Lixus, Kerkouane or Leptis were probably largely Punic, whereas away from the sea Berbers (Libyans, Numidians or Mauri) formed the leading class of urban societies. The terms *nobiles*, *illustriores* and *primores* are attested for these circles. The Berber elites of North Africa always had been polyglot. Libyan, Punic, Greek and later, Latin were in daily use as well as engraved in stone.³⁶ Punic was a vernacular in the African provinces. The amount of inscriptions known today renders it unlikely that it was as such limited to members of the lower classes. Recently published lists of all attested Punic and Libyan names and work on Punic and Libyan inscriptions are available.³⁷ Other sorts of evidence exist. In 390 Augustine wrote to the pagan philosopher Maximus of Madaura and criticized him heavily. One of his arguments starts with the accusa-

34 HA *Septimius Severus* 1, 4, ed. and trans. Magie, vol. 1, 370–371; *ibid.* 15, 7, ed. and trans. Magie, vol. 1, 406–407, following Magie’s translation; cf. Isaac 2004, 333 and n. 48.

35 Fentress 2006, 22: An example are M. Valerius Severus and his wife Flavia Bira appearing on inscriptions from Volubilis (Walili): Euzennat/Marion/Gascou 1982, 439, 448, 449.

36 MacMullen 2000, 35–36; Fentress 2006, 9 and ns. 32–34; Gsell 1972, 5, 72 lists the sources for the Berber elites labelled as *nobiles*, *illustriores* and *primores*. Aounallah/Maurin 2008 with the example of the *pagus et civitas Siviritani*, a ‘commune double’ in the hinterland of Carthage.

37 Jongeling 2008; Jongeling/Kerr 2005; Camps 2002; Vattioni 1979/1980; Vattioni 1976. Similarly in inscriptions from the Tingitana offer a broad spectrum, cf. volume 1 of the *Inscriptions antiques du Maroc*: Février/Vajda 1966.

tion that a man born in Africa should not joke about Punic names. As late as the fourth century multilingualism was a reality in the African provinces.³⁸

Fritz Mitthof concluded that since the reigns of Hadrian (117–138) and Antoninus Pius (138–161) the perception of provincial identity had changed. Iconographical as well as written sources and inscriptions show that in the later principate the connotation of a province switched from an administrative district to a ‘pseudo-ethnic’ entity. Hadrian issued coins in bronze, silver and gold showing the personifications of twenty-six provinces. The acceptance of vernacular languages both in juridical texts and inscriptions is another part of this new role of local identities in imperial rule. Different social and cultural habits existed side by side. It was possible to be a proud citizen of Leptis Magna and to use an African vernacular, like Severus, the emperor’s grandfather. This man was thus perceived as a Roman aristocrat with a specific (African) background.³⁹

Latinists stress another point enriching the picture. The notion of a spoken form of Latin with African characteristics and of African schools with distinctive language curricula may have influenced literary Latin. It is generally known that North Africa had become a cultural centre of the Latin West. Furthermore regional variants of spoken Latin existed. Whether or not an *Africitas* can be postulated remains an interesting point.⁴⁰

Different identities could be in use at the same time and by the same person. An aristocrat or merchant lived, behaved and spoke, especially after 212 when Roman citizenship was granted to all free inhabitants of the Empire, like a Roman of the African provinces. Romano-Africans could be linked more or less strongly to Italy or other core imperial regions. Differences between cities – as mentioned above – played a role as well as the distinction between the urbanized areas and the mountains. The African provinces were rich. The coastal plains at the edges of the Atlas ridge were extraordinarily productive agricultural lands. Textual evidence as well as archaeological results refer to the objects of dominant Roman interest from the late Punic and Republican periods on: Grain, oil, wine and garden produce from vast estates owned by important families and later also by the Roman emperors. The African provinces quickly had become crucial for the Roman economy and the state’s income. Elizabeth Fentress concluded: ‘Now, this essential division between the private estates of the elite, which sustained the great families, and the pub-

38 Augustine, *Epistulae* 17, 2, ed. Goldbacher, vol. 1/1, 41, ll. 11–14: *Neque enim usque adeo te ipsum oblivisci potuisses, ut homo Afer scribens Afris, cum simus utrique in Africa consituti, Punica nomina exagitanda existimares.*

39 Mitthof 2012, 70: ‘pseudo ethnische Identitäten’; cf. the examples listed 69–72; Ando 2000, 80–130 (‘The communicative actions of the Roman government’); 303–312 (reception of imperial artwork in the provinces); 317–320 (Hadrian’s imperial celebration of the consensus of populations and regions of the Empire).

40 Mattiacci 2014, 92–93; Vössing 1997 on schools in Late Antique North Africa.

lic revenues from the African territories represents one of the most fundamental aspects of almost any period in North African history.⁴¹

During the centuries imperial domains had greatly increased. In the northern part of the fertile valley of the Bagradas around Bulla Regia (Hammam Daradji, Tunisia) vast latifundia owned by the emperors were located. Nero had confiscated the estates of six rich senators. Pliny states that the emperor now controlled half of the African provinces. This may be an exaggeration, but at the beginning of the fifth century CE imperial possessions in the Proconsular province and the Byzacena encompassed 150,000 square kilometres, which equates in one sixth of the total land area.⁴² The emperors endeavored for centuries to optimize the production of the fertile African soils to secure the food supply for other parts of the Empire. Thus constant efforts to increase the efficiency and productivity of the estates were undertaken. At the same time large estates of leading Roman families existed. Galba and Gordian I for example succeeded in expanding their estates significantly while holding the office of proconsul in Africa. In the second century a group of senators with African backgrounds engaged in the development of rural infrastructure such as the expansion of the villas structure, the oil presses, the construction of small roads and irrigation systems. Private estates of vast dimensions had been extended at the expense of older municipal or private management.⁴³

Much worse for the imperial government than any petty war with Moorish groups at the edges of the desert or any threat from outside was the possibility that the African provinces could be ruled independently. Given the vast imperial as well as private estates and the economic importance of the provinces this was the real danger for the Empire. The African production taken over by anybody not loyal to the Italian centre provided the facilities to organize an independent political entity within the Roman West. Grain, olive oil, wine and textiles as well as the taxes paid by the owners of the estates and the rich cities were needed in the Roman West. No imperial government could afford to lose Africa. At the same time the rich provinces had a certain potential for independent rule. African usurpers or military masters had exploited this option since the third century. The Vandal century from 429/439 to 533 is only one example of this phenomenon.

⁴¹ Fentress 2006, 6; Whittaker 1996, 615–616.

⁴² Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 18, 7, 35, ed. Rackham, vol. 5, 212; Mattingly 1997, 122; Whittaker 1996, 599–601; Kehoe 1988, 11, 49; Vera 1986.

⁴³ Gizewski 1997, 738 citing *Codex Justinianus* 11, 62; 63; 75: 'Real estate was the backbone of state and imperial property in all its forms. The proceeds from it, which for the most part went to swell the state coffers, the rights to tax exemption for it and the forms of colonate and emphyteutic law in late antiquity are at the root of the later character of domains, which until modern times depended on special laws for the monarchy and nobility in the areas of property, taxation, fiefdoms and inheritance.' Cf. Whittaker 1978; Mattingly 1997, 123; African elites and senators: Birley 1988, 23–30; 212–229; Alföldy 1986; Jarrett 1972.

The Year of the Six Emperors (238) had an African episode. Gordian had, before being made emperor by the local elite in Thysdrus (El Djem), drawn lots for the proconsular governorship of Africa Proconsularis. The African landowners protested against new taxes raised by the government of Maximinus Thrax (235–238) and relied on their local governor. Herodian reports: ‘Gordian, after protesting that he was too old for the position, eventually yielded to the popular clamour and assumed both the purple and the cognomen Africanus on 22 March.’⁴⁴ His rule as emperor lasted only a few weeks, but the economic and political potential of the African provinces had become obvious.

Seven decades later Lucius Domitius Alexander (died c. 311) held the office of *vicarius* in Africa. Emperor Maxentius (306–312) tried to gain recognition of his rule in Africa and put Domitius Alexander under pressure, ordering him to send his own son to Rome as a hostage. As part of an ongoing civil war in the empire between Galerius, Constantine and Maxentius, the African troops rose to resistance, first staying loyal to Galerius, later rising their own African emperor. For maybe two years Alexander ruled independently over the North African provinces and Sardinia. Similarly to later events Italy and Rome came under immense pressure immediately, as the population concentrated there depended on African produce. In 310 Maxentius sent an army to quell the rebellion. Alexander was taken prisoner and executed.⁴⁵

Two generations later new usurpers sought to rule Africa without reference to Rome. ‘Nubel, who had been the most powerful petty king, *regulus potentissimus*, among the Mauritanian nations, *per nationas Mauricas*, died, and left several sons, some legitimate, others born of concubines, of whom Sammac, a great favourite of the Count Romanus, was slain by his brother Firmus; and this deed gave rise to civil discords, and wars.’⁴⁶ This is how Ammianus Marcellinus introduces the history of the power struggles in Africa of the 370s. Nubel – the father of the African usurpers Gildo and Firmus – is given a very limited political and social identity. Being the father of two rebels later opposing the Western imperial government, Ammianus pictured Nubel as an African barbarian. But Nubel’s full name was Flavius Nubel.

⁴⁴ Herodian, *Ab excessu divi Marci* 7, 5, 8, ed. and trans. Whittaker, vol. 2, 123; cf. Börm 2008; Dietz 1980, 80–102.

⁴⁵ Zosimos, *Historia Nova*, 2, 12 and 14, ed. Paschoud, vol. 1, 97 and 104; CIL 8, 22183: Alexander and Constantine I allied themselves in opposition to Maxentius. Cf. Kuhoff 2001, 863–869; Jones/Martindale/Morris 1971, 43 (L. Domitius Alexander 17).

⁴⁶ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* 29, 5, 2, ed. Rolfe, vol. 3, 246; translation following Duke Yonge, 525. Jones/Martindale/Morris 1971, 237 (Cyria); 262 (Dius); 395–396 (Gildo); 340 (Firmus 3); 566 (Mascezel); 591 (Mazuca); 633–634 (Nubel); 801 (Sammac); cf. Modéran 2003, 482, 511; Shaw 2011, 37–38 and n. 80; Shaw 1997, however, doubts that what Ammianus Marcellinus reports concerning Nubel’s offspring was the case. According to Shaw, Firmus and Gildo could have been biological siblings, but he regards it as more probable that the term ‘brother’ in this case indicated ‘a fictive kinship relationship between them.’ If Shaw is right, Ammianus had taken the history of King Micipsa (died in 118 BCE) as a literary motive to depict African affairs.

Like many other men serving the emperor in Late Antiquity, he proudly used the name of the first-century Flavian imperial dynasty. Since Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great, this had become quite common in military circles and so Nubel was a Flavius, just as, for example, Flavius Odovacar or Flavius Theodericus were.⁴⁷ Furthermore, Nubel was a Roman citizen, a military commander (*praepositus*) of a regional cavalry unit in the northern regions of the Mauritanian province, and a fervent Christian. Together with his wife Nonnica (Monnica), he had a church erected and, as a wealthy man, was able to equip this basilica with a piece of the true cross. The inscription from Nubel's basilica reveals another detail Ammianus kept quiet about. Nubel's father, Saturninus, was a *comes* and thus a high ranking Roman officer. So Nubel's family formed part of the Romano-African elite for several generations.⁴⁸ Nubel served his emperor and caused no problems for the Roman administration of the African provinces.

In contrast, his son Firmus became – according to the *Historia Augusta* – a petty brigand, a *latrunculus*.⁴⁹ Between 372 and 375, Firmus became the leader of an uprising against Romanus, the *comes Africae*. The reasons for the revolt are not entirely clear. Around 372, the rebel might have been acclaimed emperor by his men.⁵⁰ Emperor Valentinian sent the *magister militum* Theodosius, the father of the later Emperor Theodosius I, to Africa to solve the problem.⁵¹ Around 386, the son of the victor of 375, Theodosius I, appointed Gildo *comes Africae* and *magister utriusque militiae per Africam*, count and master of the regional field army and the border troops (*limitanei*), in Africa. Gildo was awarded with an immense patrimony confiscated from Firmus and he was able to blackmail the Western Empire. His foreign policy (as the Vandals were later to do), tended to pit the Western against the Eastern Empire. Finally Gildo's property was confiscated. His immense wealth fascinated contemporary writers. It was so extensive that a special *comes Gildoniaci patrimonii* was appointed. The rank of *comes* means an officer directly responsible to the emperor.⁵² When the Vandals arrived in Africa in 429, Geiseric took over. He confiscated in a short time the emperor's property and quickly became the richest and most powerful man in the

47 Wolfram 1967, 57–62.

48 Shaw 2011, 39 and n. 84; Drijvers 2007, 134–135; Blackhurst 2004, 64–65; Mandouze/Marrou/La Bonnardière 1982, 790; Duval 1982, 1, 352, no. 167.

49 HA *Firmus, Saturninus, Proculus and Bonosus* 2, 1–4, ed. and trans. Magie, vol. 3, 388; cf. Blackhurst 2004, 59. A barbarian usurper is not even a *tyrannus*, he is only a local bandit.

50 Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* 29, 5, 20, ed. Rolfe, vol. 3, 258; Zosimos, *Historia Nova* 4, 16, 3, ed. Paschoud; Drijvers 2007, 139–142 defines Gildo's rebellion as 'a separatist uprising of indigenous peoples dissatisfied with Roman rule.' Such a conclusion follows the tendency to isolate African local players from a common Roman background and construct something like an indigenous identity for them; a tendency clearly followed by Bénabou 1976.

51 Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* 29, 5, 21–56, ed. Rolfe, vol. 3, 258–281; Shaw 2011, 45–46.

52 *Codex Justinianus* 9, 7, 9; 7, 8, 7 (400); 9 (399); 9, 42, 16 (399); 19 (405), ed. Mommsen/Krüger; cf. Redies 1998, 1072.

African provinces. If Gildo would have been luckier, Justinian might have been forced to wage war against one of his successors and not the Vandal king Gelimer.

In the early stages of Firmus' uprising against the *comes Africae* he murdered his brother Sammac who, presumably, had stayed loyal to the Italian government. At some time before 371 the wealthy landowning Moorish prince Sammac had a metric inscription erected at his estate, Petra, in which the first and last letters of each line, read vertically, give the acrostic *Praedium Sammacis*, Sammac's estate. Ammianus Marcellinus describes the estate as built like a city. The cultural references of the inscription are very Roman: 'With prudence he establishes a stronghold of eternal peace, and with faith he regards everywhere the Roman state, making strong the mountain by the river with fortifications, and this stronghold he calls by the name of Petra. At least the tribes, *gentes*, of the region, eager to put down war, have joined as your allies, Sammac, so that strength, *virtus*, united with faith, *fides*, in all duties shall always be joined to Romulus' triumphs.'⁵³

Whether personalities like Sammac can be categorised as Moorish chieftains who had followers bound to them by personal loyalties or as local Romano-African elites remains a matter of debate. The Roman military played its role as well as the organisation of border regions.⁵⁴ But was Africa really a special case and was it so different from other regions of the Roman West? As a matter of fact some Romano-Africans managed to take part in supraregional power struggles within the Empire. Roman writers like Ammianus Marcellinus tended to picture Firmus and Gildo as rude barbarians, whereas other sources highlight their Roman identity. It will be necessary to understand Roman identity as a complex mélange of local and supraregional elements. Of course being Roman was different whether one lived in a coastal city (maybe with an old Punic tradition) or in the mountainous hinterland. But even there the language of power and the administrative terminology were Roman, even after the Empire had lost control over these regions.

The political and military events of the fifth and sixth centuries and their backgrounds demonstrate the dissolution of the Roman West into smaller entities based on Roman provinces or dioceses. Very much like Gothic or Vandal military formations several African leaders tried to establish themselves as independent rulers. Africa was important enough to allow the powerful men there to become relatives of the imperial house. Very much like Octavian-Augustus cared for his friend Juba, Theodosius wanted to make sure that Gildo remained on good terms. Some decades later

⁵³ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, 29, 5, 2 (Sammac Sohn des Nubel); 29, 5, 12, ed. Rolfe, vol. 3, 246: *fundus Petrensis*; CLE 1916 = ILS 3, 9351: *Praesidium aeternae firmat prudentia pacis/ rem quoque Romanam fida tutat undique dextra,/ amni praepositum firmans munimine montem,/ e cuius nomen vocitavit nomine Petram./ Denique finitimae gentes deponere bella,/ in tua concurrunt cupientes foedera, Sammac,/ ut virtus comitata fidem concordet in omni/ munere Romuleis semper sociata triumphis*. English translation Brett/Fentress 1996, 72; cf. Blackhurst 2004, 61; v. Rummel 2010, 583; Wickham 2005a, 334.

⁵⁴ Tiersch 2015.

this would happen again. The main difference was that the Vandals were even more successful in becoming a part of the imperial elite: the Vandal king's son Huneric married an imperial princess and his offspring had to be accepted as a part of the Theodosian dynasty.⁵⁵

Between 429 and 533 the Vandals monopolized access to supraregional economic exchange networks and controlled the cities along the African coastline. In a way they became the new Romans from an African perspective. Wolf Liebeschuetz put it like this: 'It looks as if the Moors were building up *gentes* and turning *gentes* into *regna* just as the Germanic peoples had been doing before, and during, their march through the Empire. Once the Vandals had settled, and become accommodated to Roman society, they soon became helpless in the face of the *gentes* evolving along their borders, as the Romans had been in the face of the Vandals themselves.'⁵⁶ During the second half of the fifth century Berber kingdoms in Mauretania and Tripolitania evolved as an alternative to Vandal rule. The local *potentates* were eager to use a Roman and Latin language of power to stress their legitimacy. As late as the seventh century Latin inscriptions using the Mauretanian provincial era continued to be produced. Moorish kingdoms were not petty chiefdoms. For all we know, they may have had effective control over large numbers of people. This, indeed, is the theory of the French scholar Gabriel Camps, who concluded that Mauretania was ruled by a stable dynasty.⁵⁷

In Numidia local monarchs ruled small political units. A Latin inscription found in the middle of the Aurès Massif near Arris in southern Numidia is dedicated to the Moorish lord Masties and dates most likely to the late fifth century: 'I, Masties, duke (*dux*) for 67 years and [ruled?] (*IMPR*) for 10 years, never perjured myself nor broke faith with either the Romans or the Moors, and was prepared in both war and in peace, and my deeds were such that God supported me well.' The inscription takes into account various social and religious ideas. The invocation to the *diis manibus*, the pagan gods of the dead, stands next to a Christian cross. This kind of syncretism was an offer for everybody opposing Vandal rule in Carthage. Pagan and Christian Romans from different social classes were welcome to follow Masties. The letters *IMPR* could mean *imperavit* or *imperator*. But there is another possible reading of the inscription. The *I* could be a damaged *L* and be interpreted as *Li(mitis) P(rae)p(ositus)*. Masties thus would have been a local military commander keeping his Roman title.⁵⁸

Some twenty years later a certain Masuna left an inscription near Altava (Oran) in Mauretania. Masuna styled himself as king of the Romans and Moors, *rex Masuna*

⁵⁵ Steinacher 2016, 202–203, 241–246.

⁵⁶ Liebeschuetz 2003, 83.

⁵⁷ Courtois 1955, 333–339; Camps 1985; Camps 1984.

⁵⁸ AE 1945, 57 = 1946, 31 and n. 112 = 1955, 239 = 1988, 1126 = 1996, 1799 = 2002, 1687 (translation by Merrills/Miles 2010, 127); cf. Modéran 2003, 398–415; Morizot 1989: *I* could be read as *L: Li(mitis) P(rae)p(ositus)*.

gentium Maurorum et Romanorum.⁵⁹ Maybe this alludes the Vandal title of a *rex Vandalorum et Alanorum* and again stressed an opposition to Carthage. Masuna's Romans may have preferred to support a local political power than to paying taxes to Carthage and risk being persecuted as Catholics.⁶⁰ These and other examples illustrate possible political solutions apart from Vandal rule. Other inscriptions used the Mauretanian era allude to official Roman terminology. The rulers of Mauretania believed themselves to be simply continuing the administration of the provinces, now independent from Carthage. Very much like Nubel, Masties and others had a Roman and Latin understanding of political organization.

The fifth century saw the development of two Africas. The smaller locally organized territories described above and the Vandal territory along with the larger part of the Proconsular province, Byzacena and most likely Tripolitania. The war of 533 changed the situation. Justinian's troops conquered Africa, bringing an end to the Vandal century. Berbers in the Aurès and Tripolitana were strongly opposed to the newly established Byzantine rule, and shortly before Justinian's death in 565 another war broke out in Numidia. Moorish groups were not alone in being unsatisfied with the new political order. The urban Romano-African elite may have profited in many ways from the economic possibilities of smaller polities not part of a superregional empire. Paying taxes to Carthage and equipping the Vandal army was simply cheaper than financing imperial operations. Furthermore Justinian's aggressive policy against pagans, Donatists, Jews and Arians may have made a move into the Berber kingdoms an alternative.⁶¹

Procopius categorized the Moors (Μαυρούσιοι) as the real African barbarians, whereas the Vandals who had entered the African provinces in 429 CE were merely decadent and behaved like rich Romans. Procopius was convinced that Vandal aristocrats had lost their ability to fight because of taking baths, reading and enjoying their town houses, the results of having become well off.⁶² Be that as it may the sixth-century historian Procopius used 'Libyans' as a collective term for the Latin-speaking African population: 'All the Libyans being Romans in earlier times had come under the Vandals by no will of their own and had suffered many outrages at the hand of these barbarians.'⁶³ Why did Procopius stress this point? First, he tried to depict Vandal rule in as deleterious and hostile terms as possible. It may not have been too easy to convince all the 'Libyans' to be allegiant subjects of Constantinople again. Many Latin and Punic speaking Romano-Africans in the coastal cities as well as inhabitants of the Berber kingdoms did not welcome the Greeks and the federate soldiers entering their country. Justinian needed money, therefore

⁵⁹ CIL 8, 9835 = Marcillet Jaubert 1968, 126–127, no. and tableau 194: *Pro sa(lute) et incol(umitate) reg(is) Masunae gent(ium) Maur(or)um et Romanor(um)*.

⁶⁰ Camps 1984; Modéran 2002, 95; Brett/Fentress 1996, 78–79.

⁶¹ Merrills/Miles 2010, 228–255; Steinacher 2016, 176–180, 309–325; Pringle 1981, 1, 39–40.

⁶² Procopius, *De bello vandalico* IV, 6, 6–13, ed. and trans. Dewing, 256–259.

⁶³ Procopius, *De bello vandalico* III, 20, 19, ed. and trans. Dewing, 175.

taxes had to be paid to a capital overseas again. Furthermore, as war did not end for decades, many may have missed their Vandal kings.⁶⁴

Did the Libyans who had been Romans in earlier times become Romans once again? According to Procopius, ‘the fundamental definition of a Roman in the empire of Justinian was that of loyalty to the Emperor.’⁶⁵ Procopius was not only interested in emphasizing a person’s origin outside the Empire, he also took note of a Cilician, Calabrian, Illyrian or, in our case, African-Libyan descent. There was no dichotomy between a Roman and a local identity. One could understand Procopius at this point, however, determining a legal affiliation that had changed for the Libyans when the Vandals took over the African provinces in the years before 439.⁶⁶ In Procopius’ view groups following the emperor were ‘Roman’, whereas he labelled resisting circles ‘barbarians’. Following this definition the Libyans/Romano-Africans living in the cities controlled by the Byzantine army became Roman again.

Modern research tends to distinguish between Romans and Moors, while Procopius mainly focused on armed resistance or political allegiance. Geoffrey Greatrex stressed another point. All Romans were Christians who adhered to Chalcedonian orthodoxy.⁶⁷ Thus Justinian’s military victory was depicted as a crusade to unite the orthodox Romano-Africans with the imperial church again. In Carthage as well as many other sites a building programme resulted in basilicas and pilgrim sites offering new religious centres. The intended message was that Romano-Africans lived in peace, security and doctrinal orthodoxy again.⁶⁸

Under the Emperor Justin II (565–578) little changed in Africa. While a statue of him was erected in Carthage, outside the central areas Moorish groups still organized themselves and attacked whenever they liked. Massive fortifications were built against them to secure the coastal cities and agricultural core areas. Some Moorish groups wanted alliances, others remained hostile. The Garamantes and Maccurtians wanted peace. An embassy of Maccurtians even travelled to Constantinople and presented the emperor with African ivory and a giraffe.⁶⁹ Throughout the 580s the military and civil administration of Africa finally merged and an exarchate was established, which existed until the end of Byzantine rule. In the following decades Carthage and Constantinople lost control over the Byzacena and Tripolitania. Many inhabitants of Africa chose other affiliations, whereas others remained loyal subjects of

⁶⁴ Rodolfi 2008; Steinacher 2016, 310–313.

⁶⁵ Greatrex 2000, 268 (citation) and 279 n. 8 with a reference to Amory 1997, 136, 146.

⁶⁶ Greatrex 2000, 269.

⁶⁷ Greatrex 2000, 276–278.

⁶⁸ Merrills/Miles 2010, 234–238, 241–248.

⁶⁹ *Iohannis Abbatis Biclarenensis Chronica* 569, 3; 573, 6, ed. Mommsen, 212, 213; cf. Modéran 2003, 670–671; Pringle 1981, 1, 40; Desanges 1962, 60.

the emperor in Constantinople. To sum up: the Moorish alternative remained attractive for many Romano-Africans.⁷⁰

In 641 Egypt had been conquered by Arab armies, and only some years later Cyrenaica was taken. In 647 the Byzantine Exarch Gregorius made himself emperor and moved his capital to Sufetula (Sbeitla). He is the last African usurper in Roman history. In the same year Gregorius lost a battle and his life against the Arabs.⁷¹ Another two decades passed till the Arabs finally took over. Their commander, the Umayyad Uqba ibn Nafi, had Kairouan founded as an Islamic military camp in the Tunisian Sahel. The coastal cities were defended by Byzantine troops, the mountainous regions by Berber groups. Unified action against the Arabs is even attested. The charismatic Berber Princess Kahena organized fierce resistance, uniting Moors and Romano-Africans for a common cause. Ultimately it was unsuccessful and in 695 Carthage fell to the Arabs.⁷²

The Arabs named the newly conquered provinces *Ifriqiya*. Tunisia, eastern Algeria and Tripolitania became a part of the Umayyad Caliphate. The core region of the Arab territory was – similarly to Roman, Vandal or Byzantine Africa – northern Tunisia, with Kairouan and Tunis becoming the new centres in place of Carthage. The Arab governor, *wali*, replaced the Byzantine exarch. *Ifriqiya* is of course the Arabized form of the Latin *Africa*, and not without reason. A considerable part of the population remained Christian and spoke Latin.⁷³ African saints like Cyprian, Felicitas or Perpetua were worshiped in different places around Europe.⁷⁴ As late as the tenth century, forty-seven bishoprics existed in *Ifriqiya*. The papal chancellery in Rome corresponded with African bishops up until the eleventh century.⁷⁵ A new military elite had taken over: this was nothing new in North African history.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ Modéran 2003, 668–681; Pringle 1981, 1, 42–43; Sardinia and Corsica still administered from Carthage.

⁷¹ Kaegi 2010, 116–142; Frend 1955, 75–80; Sufetula: Bockmann 2013, 227–238.

⁷² Kaegi 2012; Kaegi 2010, 200–265; Camps 1996, 28–33; Kaegi 1992; Christides 2000.

⁷³ Leisten 1996, 225–226; Lancel 2001, 188–195 (Latin inscriptions after the 7th century); Lewicki 1953; Seston 1936; Talbi 1971 (*Ifriqiya*).

⁷⁴ Conant 2010; Wickham 2005a, 726–728.

⁷⁵ Conant 2012, 362–370; Handley 2004; Courtois 1945; Hettinger 1993.

⁷⁶ Wickham 2005a, 21–22; Bosworth 1996, 25–32; Savage 1997: Christian communities from the 8th to the 14th centuries.

Jack Tannous

Romanness in the Syriac East

‘Syriac’ is the name that scholars use to refer to the Aramaic dialect of Edessa. In terms of sheer quantity and variety of extant literature, Syriac is by far the most important dialect of all the various types of Aramaic we have record of from the ancient and medieval world.¹

In both the Roman and post-Roman worlds, Syriac was a provincial language and judged by the amount and variety of literature which has survived and its significance, Syriac is the largest and most important provincial language from the Roman Empire.² But Syriac was also more than just a Roman provincial language: in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, the geographic extent of its use extended from Egypt east, beyond the limits of Roman authority all the way to Central Asia and even China.³ This means that there is preserved in Syriac a significant body of literature written by people who were actually living outside the Roman Empire, under non-Roman (usually Persian) rule. Syriac thus holds out the possibility of studying contemporary views of what Rome and Romanness meant when viewed both in populations which were not speaking the languages of power of Rome and also in communities which lived outside the political boundaries of the Roman state or which, in the post-Roman world in the Middle East, were descended from such communities. In what follows, I will look at both Syriac and Christian Arabic texts and attempt to offer an overview of some of the meanings that Rome and Romanness might have in these milieux. Though Rome could mean many things, its most important association, I will suggest, was with Christianity. Romanness and Greekness were also commonly conflated and this fusion, along with imperial support for Chalcedonian Christianity, led to Romanness in Syriac and later, in Arabic, having a sectarian connotation in the post-Roman Middle East, referring to Dyothelite Chalcedonian Christians. The modern Arabic use of the word ‘Roman’, or *Rūm*, to denote Chalcedonian Christians thus has its ultimate roots in the events of church history in Late Antiquity.

When reading through Syriac texts and looking for Romans, it eventually becomes apparent that they typically appear as an ‘other’, a group that is somehow distinct from the author of the text, even if that author was living under Roman rule. When Romans show up in Syriac texts, they often do so as officials, as soldiers, or as the Emperor. The word *r(h)ūmāyā*, or Roman, could in fact mean ‘soldier’ in Syriac. The translators of the Peshitta New Testament rendered the 200 στρατιώτας

¹ For an overview of Aramaic, see Beyer 1986. The most authoritative history of Syriac literature remains Baumstark 1922 (to be supplemented by Baumstark/Rücker 1954). Brock 1997 is a minor classic, offering perhaps the best and clearest overview of Syriac literature yet written.

² For the importance of Syriac for the study of Christian history, see Sauget 1978.

³ See most conveniently, Brock/Taylor 2001, 167–199.

Eventually, Julian's father took him to the Miaphysite monastery of Qenneshre in northern Syria where Julian was taught Greek and where he was called 'the Roman', on account of his father.¹¹ It is not clear when we translate whether Julian should be called 'Julian the Roman' or 'Julian the Soldier', since *r(h)ūmāyā* could mean both.¹²

Even though the authors of Syriac chronicles might not explicitly identify as Romans and might portray Romans as others, the history of Rome was nevertheless an anchor which could serve as a fundamental point of reference when they wrote about the past. The mid-sixth century *Chronicle of Edessa*, for example, concerned itself chiefly with events connected to the Christian community there. However, the *Chronicle* also contained entries pertaining to non-Christian events, with Rome and its rulers representing the most common secular point of reference. The beginning of the reign of Augustus Caesar in AG 266 is the third thing to receive mention in the *Chronicle*.¹³ Problems with Edessa's walls are dated to the reigns of various emperors: Septimius Severus, Diocletian, Honorius and Arcadius (or Honorius and Theodosius), and Justin;¹⁴ invasions of Huns into Roman territory are reported more than once.¹⁵ And there is much more than this. Reference is also made to a number of other events involving Roman authorities: Lucius Caesar's conquest of the Parthians,¹⁶ the building of Amid and Tella by Constantius¹⁷ the death of Julian fighting the Persians,¹⁸ the accession of Valentinian and Valens to power,¹⁹ the accession of Theodosius the Great, his building of Resh'ayna, and his death,²⁰ the building of Callinicum/Leontopolis by Leo,²¹ the revolt of Leontius against Zeno,²² the revolt of Vitalian against Anastasius,²³ the death of Anastasius and accession of Justin,²⁴ the

11 See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, ed. Abbeloos/Lamy, vol. 1, cols. 293, 295.

12 *Thesaurus Syriacus*, ed. Payne Smith col. 3832, gives *miles* as the translation for his name.

13 See *Chronicle of Edessa*, ed. Guidi, 3.

14 *Chronicle of Edessa*, ed. Guidi, 13. Diocletian and the walls are also mentioned on 3–4, and Honorius and Arcadius and the walls are mentioned on 6.

15 See *Chronicle of Edessa*, ed. Guidi, 6, 12. The late fourth century author Cyrillona wrote a poem which dealt with this Hunnic invasion. For its Syriac text and English translation, see Cyrillona, ed. and trans. Griffin, 389–405 (Syriac), 485–523 (English translation). Griffin's thesis has now been published as Griffin, Carl (2016), *Cyrillona: A Critical Study and Commentary*, Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 46, Piscataway and Cyrillona, ed. and trans. Carl W. Griffin, *The Works of Cyrillona*, Texts from Christian Late Antiquity 48, Piscataway, 2016.

16 *Chronicle of Edessa*, ed. Guidi, 3.

17 *Chronicle of Edessa*, ed. Guidi, 4.

18 *Chronicle of Edessa*, ed. Guidi, 4–5.

19 *Chronicle of Edessa*, ed. Guidi, 5.

20 *Chronicle of Edessa*, ed. Guidi, 5.

21 *Chronicle of Edessa*, ed. Guidi, 8.

22 *Chronicle of Edessa*, ed. Guidi, 8.

23 *Chronicle of Edessa*, ed. Guidi, 9.

24 *Chronicle of Edessa*, ed. Guidi, 9.

beginning of Justinian's rule and the death of Justin,²⁵ and the *patricius* Rufinus' making of peace between the Romans and the Persians²⁶ all appear in the course of the short *Chronicle*.

Even when Rome's history might not remain a fundamental reference point, the authors of Syriac historical works continued to include information about Roman events well into the Islamic period. Miaphysite chronicles composed or compiled under Muslim rule such as the *Chronicle to 724*,²⁷ the *Chronicle to 813*,²⁸ the *Chronicle to 819*,²⁹ and the *Chronicle to 846*³⁰ would all contain material on Roman history. It bears noting by way of comparison that in these shorter chronicles attention to political events, when shown at all, shifts towards the actions of Muslim rulers in the period after the Arab conquests, with the authors or compilers showing no more identification with Arab rulers than they had with Roman rulers before the conquests.

The great Syrian Orthodox chroniclers of the high Middle Ages – Michael the Syrian (d. 1199),³¹ the anonymous author of the *Chronicle to 1234*,³² and Bar Hebraeus

²⁵ *Chronicle of Edessa*, ed. Guidi, 12.

²⁶ *Chronicle of Edessa*, ed. Guidi, 12–13.

²⁷ See *Chronicle to 724*, ed. Brooks, 104–150. This chronicle's coverage of Roman history stops with the Arab conquest of Syria.

²⁸ For notices on Constantine V, see 248, 251 and on Nicephorus and Stauricius, see 259–260 in *Chronicle to 813*, ed. Brooks.

²⁹ The Syriac text of the *Chronicle to 819* is found in *Chronicle to 819*, ed. Barsoum. It contains, *inter alia*, a reference to 'Maximian the persecutor' (4), notices on the death of Theodosius the Great and the accession of Arcadius (5), the death of Marcian and the accession of Leo I (7), the death of Anastasius (8), the twentieth year of the reign of Justinian and the death of Theodora (10), the deposition of Justinian II and the cutting off of his nose along with the accession to power of Leontius (13). Despite this reference to Justinian II and Leontius, after the Arab conquests, political notices in the *Chronicle* focus for the most part on the actions of Arab rulers.

³⁰ Information on Roman Emperors is contained throughout the *Chronicle to 846*, especially in the pre-Islamic period, but see, e.g., notices on Claudius and Nero on 177 and Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan on 181 in *Chronicle to 846*, ed. Brooks. In the period after the Islamic conquests, the *Chronicle* typically speaks about Muslim rulers when it shows an interest in secular affairs, but Roman Emperors occasionally make an appearance; see Justinian II and reference to the Sixth Council on 230.

³¹ Michael contains a great deal of material on Roman emperors, before and after the Arab conquests. Here it might suffice to point to his description of the foundation of Rome by Romulus and Remus, complete with a detailed description of the buildings and statues of the city. See, Michael the Syrian, ed. and trans. Chabot, 4,49–51. This description was based on the description of Rome found in the sixth century *Ecclesiastical History* of Ps. Zacharias Rhetor; see Ps. Zacharias Rhetor, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Brooks, II, 195–198.

³² As with Michael the Syrian, there is a great wealth of material relating to Rome and its rulers, both before and after the Arab conquests, in the anonymous *Chronicle to 1234*. As an example of such material, one might point to the account it contains of Constantine's construction of Constantinople and the construction of churches there. See *Chronicle to 1234*, ed. Chabot, 144–145.

(d. 1286)³³ – also continued to show an interest in Roman history, both before and after the Arab conquests. What is more, al-Mas'ūdī mentions a now-lost historical work written in Arabic by the Miaphysite Abū Zakariyyā' Denḥā (fl. AD 925) which dealt with the lives of Roman and Greek kings and philosophers.³⁴ Among East Syrians, Metropolitan of Nisibis Elias bar Shināyā (d. 1046) dealt with Roman events in his bilingual (Syriac and Arabic) chronicle, written in the first part of the eleventh century³⁵ and the *Chronicle of Seert*, another East Syrian historical work which, though written in Arabic in the eleventh century, relied extensively upon Syriac sources, also showed an interest in Roman events and history.³⁶

Romans are typically referred to in Syriac historical texts in the third person and not the first, but this is not always the case: a shared Christian identity might provide the occasion for an author to slip into a 'we'. The *Chronicle of (Pseudo-) Joshua the Stylite*, the earliest extant Syriac historical work, was written about 130 years before the Arab conquests; though not explicitly confessional itself, it was preserved by Miaphysites and described in often vivid detail on the conflict between Rome and Persia in northern Mesopotamia in the early years of the sixth century. Like Persians, Armenians, and Arabs, Romans are almost always treated in the third person.³⁷ 'Roman' for Ps.-Joshua can also be a descriptor which is added to others: at one

33 See, for example, Bar Hebraeus' lengthy section on Roman Emperors in Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Syriacum*, ed. Bedjan, 45–86.

34 See al Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al tanbīh wa 'l ishrāf*, ed. de Goeje, 155 and Graf 1947, 250–251.

35 See Elias bar Shināyā, *Opus Chronologicum*, ed. and trans. Chabot/Brooks. Elias includes a list of Roman rulers from Julius Caesar to Basil II, who was ruling when he wrote (39–42), and in general reports a great number of events which either relate to Roman emperors (e.g., the beginning of the reign of Nero [76] or Nero's murder of his mother [77], the beginning of the reign of Hadrian [83], the beginning of the reign of Commodus [89], etc.), Christian history in the Roman Empire (e.g., Marcion's exodus from the church of Rome [87], Novatus' expulsion from the church [93], the excommunication of Paul of Samosata [94], etc.), or natural events in the Roman Empire (e.g., an earthquake in Cyprus in AG 387 [79], an earthquake in Bithynia in AG 680 [104], etc.) (Page number refer to Syriac text in [CSCO 62: SS 21]). NB: In this article, I will use 'East Syrian,' 'Church of the East,' and 'Nestorian,' interchangeably, while recognizing that the latter word is problematic. See Brock 1996.

36 See *Chronicle of Seert*, ed. Scher. Roman material treated in Part I (page numbers are referred to in parentheses) includes the Emperor Valerian (9–10), the death of Valerian (10–13), Constantine (47–53), a description of the city of Constantinople (71–73), a description of the city of Rome (74–75), Theodosius the Great (150–151) and Theodosius II (213–214). Roman material in Part Two devotes includes Justin (46–48), Justinian (53–54), Tiberius (11), Maurice (141), Theodosius, the Son of Maurice (199–200), and Heraclius and his succession (206–208, 306–309).

37 Syriac text in Ps. Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicle*, ed. Wright and English translation in trans. Trombley/Watt. For Romans and Persians in the third person, see, e.g., trans. Trombley/Watt, 8: 'the Romans plundered the city of Nisibis', 'Romans and Persians had entered into an agreement', (= ed. Wright, 8, 9). For Arabs, Romans, and Armenians in the third person, see trans. Trombley/Watt, 22: 'The Tayyaye [= Arabs] rallied to him with great enthusiasm when they learned he was going to make war on the Romans, but the Armenians had no desire to obey him [...]', (= ed. Wright, 19).

place meet a Roman soldier who was ‘a Galilean by birth’.³⁸ Christianity, however, could serve as a bridge between the third person and the first. ‘Hear now of a marvel and a source of glorious joy, the likes of which has never occurred’, the author wrote in one place, ‘for this concerns us and concerns you and all Romans’.³⁹ Ps.-Joshua’s marvel was the laying of an egg by a goose in Zeugma on Good Friday. On the egg was a cross and the words ‘The Romans Will Conquer’.⁴⁰ It was a shared Christianity that might lead a Syriac authors to identify themselves with the Romans. When the Miaphysite Jacob of Sarugh (d. c. 521), a contemporary of the author of the *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, wrote a letter to the Christians of Najran in Himyar, he identified himself as being from ‘the region of Edessa, the believing city of the Romans’.⁴¹

Recognizing the connection between Romanness and Christianity is central to understanding the idea of Romanness in Syriac sources. Rome and the Roman Empire played a central role in Christian history: Jesus was born during the reign of Augustus, the most important Christian thinkers had written their works as inhabitants of the Roman Empire, and the great councils of the church, the acceptance or rejection of which came to be fundamental markers of ecclesiastical identity, had all happened under Roman rule and had all been events in which Roman Emperors played some role. The history of Rome, therefore, had become inextricably linked to the history of Christianity; as a result, Syriac-speaking Christians were interested in Roman history regardless of whether they were living under Roman rule. This persistent connection between Rome and Christianity is one of the most conspicuous and enduring aspects of Romanness in texts written by Christians belonging to Syriac churches. Though written in 1137 in Arabic, for example, under Muslim rule, and by a member of the Church of the East – a church which had been under Persian, not Roman, rule in Late Antiquity – an historical work known as the *Mukhtaṣar al-akhbār al-bīʿiyya* focused on the events of the first four centuries of Christian history, often in Roman-controlled areas.⁴² The ‘accursed Nero’ was discussed and bishops of Rome were listed, for example, but Muslims, who had been ruling Iraq for nearly half a millennium by the time he wrote, only received passing mention.⁴³ As late as 1703, an-

³⁸ For a Roman soldier who is ‘a Galilean by birth’ (Ps. Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicle*, trans. Trombley/Watt, 89), see ed. Wright, 69. For a ‘Tayy [= an Arab] under Persian rule’ (trans. Trombley / Watt, 91), see ed. Wright, 71.

³⁹ My translation. Syriac text in Ps. Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicle*, ed. Wright, 66. An English translation is also found in trans. Trombley/Watt, 86.

⁴⁰ See Ps. Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicle*, trans. Trombley/Watt, 86. Syriac text in ed. Wright, 66.

⁴¹ See Jacob of Sarugh, *Letters*, ed. Olinder, 87.

⁴² *Mukhtaṣar al-akhbār al-bīʿiyya*, ed. Ḥaddād.

⁴³ For the ‘accursed Nero’, see *Mukhtaṣar al-akhbār al-bīʿiyya*, ed. Ḥaddād, 55–56; for the ‘patriarchs of Rome’, 57–59. References to Muslims are very sparse in the work: there is, for instance, a passing reference to the Abbasid construction of Baghdad (*madīnat al-salām*) (122), a mention of a contemporary church in Baghdad’s original construction (112), and a story about Khālīd b. Walīd visiting al-Ḥīra (141–143).

other anonymous East Syrian author composed a work of church history in Syriac that focused on events in the Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries.⁴⁴

It was the conversion of Constantine to Christianity that profoundly affected the way Syriac-speaking Christians viewed the Roman Empire. In the late fourth century, Cyrillona, a poet, marveled at the phenomenon of Christians ruling the Roman world: 'Look!', he wrote to Christ, 'Next to kings, Your Cross reigns, and Your love runs alongside queens!'⁴⁵ When he appears in Syriac texts, the Emperor Constantine is often referred to as the *malkā mhaymnā*, the Believing Emperor.⁴⁶ Jacob of Sarugh devoted an entire homily to Constantine's conversion and baptism, an event that he described in dramatic terms: 'They took off the crown of the Empire that was on his head', Jacob wrote, 'and like an ordinary person, he went down into baptism. There was no crown of a king or of judges there, for the crown of the kingdom of God's servants is one.'⁴⁷ The emperor's conversion triggered a new set of expectations from those whom he ruled over: 'May Christ be with you', Constantine's subjects wrote him after his baptism in Jacob's homily, 'and with your kingdom. And may you be fearsome against your enemies and those who envy you. May you be resplendent with the cross of light and drive away darkness and the error of idolatry from within the land.'⁴⁸ As a champion and protector of Christians, Constantine would be a powerful and enduring symbol.

During Jacob's lifetime, Syriac-speaking Christians were already celebrating Constantine's vision of the Cross in church, something we have evidence for from a sixth-century lectionary.⁴⁹ Although the Church of the East was based in the Persian and not Roman Empire, it too would commemorate Constantine and his mother Helena in its liturgy.⁵⁰ In the *History of Mar Ma'in*, written in the sixth century in the Roman Empire but set in the Sasanian Empire in the fourth century, when the Emperor Constantine is informed by an ambassador that Christians were being persecuted by the

⁴⁴ For the text and a Latin translation, see *Anonymous epitome of early church history (written AD 1703)*, ed. and trans. Göller. The text was edited again by Chabot in Brooks/Chabot 1905, 371–378.

⁴⁵ My translation. See C. Griffin in Cyrillona, ed. and trans. Griffin, 403 (Syriac text) = 519 (Griffin's English translation).

⁴⁶ See, e.g., the lectionary in BL Add. 14,528 for 7 May, 'on the day in which the holy cross appeared in the sky to the Blessed Constantine, the Believing Emperor.', in Wright 1870–1872, vol. 1, 177. Cf., too, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, ed. Payne Smith, col. 233.

⁴⁷ My translation. For the Syriac text, see Jacob of Sarugh, *Homilies*, ed. Bedjan and Brock, vol. 6, 318.

⁴⁸ My translation. Jacob of Sarugh, *Homilies*, ed. Bedjan, vol. 6, 323.

⁴⁹ See BL Add. 14,528 in Wright 1870–1872, vol. 1, 177. On this manuscript, see Burkitt 1921–1923 (translation of the passage on the vision of Constantine at 13–14, analysis at 23). Coakley 1984, 73–74 suggests that the lectionary reading commemorating Constantine's vision of the Cross found in this manuscript did not actually 'correspond to any liturgical practice in Syriac churches.'

⁵⁰ For the commemoration of Constantine and Helena on the Friday after the commemoration of the Invention of the True Cross (13 September) in a Nestorian Lectionary from the eleventh century (BL Add. 17,923), see Wright 1870–1872, vol. 1, 186 (no. 124). See also BL Egerton 681 (dated 1206/7), in *ibid.*, vol. 1, 193 (no. 108).

Sasanian ruler Shapur II, the Roman Emperor's reaction is dramatic: he fasts and prays an entire night, in sackcloth and ashes, beseeching Christ on behalf of fellow Christians in the neighboring empire. Not only does he pray, Constantine also takes action: he abuses Persian hostages held at his court and sends Shapur II a letter threatening to behead them. He also threatens to annul the Persian-Roman treaty, invade the Persian Empire, kill Shapur, and cut his limbs off if Christians were not freed from prison and his persecution of them stopped.⁵¹ Constantine was the protector of Christians – 'May his prayer be a wall of mercies for our entire assembly', Jacob of Sarugh had concluded his homily on this emperor's baptism⁵² – and by the sixth century, Constantine was becoming a heroic figure for Syriac-speaking Christians. Also in the sixth century, Severus of Antioch (d. 538), perhaps the most famous Miaphysite in Late Antiquity, wrote hymns celebrating 'the victorious and believing Christian Emperors': Constantine, Honorius, Gratian, and Theodosius I.⁵³ These hymns were written in Greek, but only survive in a Syriac translation done in the early seventh century by Paul of Edessa and then revised in 675 – the early Umayyad period – by Jacob of Edessa;⁵⁴ the hymns continued to be copied deep into the time of Muslim rule.⁵⁵ In a Syriac-speaking milieu, a ruler who was good to Christians might be portrayed as a new Constantine; it has been argued that this was the case with Jovian and also with the Sasanian ruler Yazdgard.⁵⁶ A Miaphysite Gospel lectionary preserved in the Vatican and written in Iraq in 1260 is perhaps the most vivid illustration of the enduring symbolic power of Constantine and the idea of a Christian Roman Emperor: on the feast day of the Triumph of the Cross, the lectionary's illumination portrays Constantine and Helena as Hulagu Khan and his wife, Doquz Khatun. Though Hulagu was a pagan, he had protected Christians, and Doquz Khatun was a celebrated and public Nestorian Christian.⁵⁷ The image of Christian rulers of the Romans was a very powerful one and would remain so in the various Syriac-speaking traditions for centuries after Roman rule had disappeared in the Middle East. The scribe who wrote out one twelfth-century Syriac manuscript in the

⁵¹ See Brock 2008, 36 (for the sixth century date and composition in the Roman Empire, see 4–5).

⁵² My translation. Jacob of Sarugh, *Homilies*, ed. Bedjan, vol. 6, 323.

⁵³ My translation. See Severus of Antioch, *Cathedral Homilies* (revised by Jacob of Edessa), ed. and trans. Brooks, 663–668.

⁵⁴ For Jacob of Edessa's colophon detailing the history of the translation, see Severus of Antioch, *Cathedral Homilies* (revised by Jacob of Edessa), ed. and trans. Brooks, 801–802.

⁵⁵ See, e.g., BL 14,514 (9th century) (Wright 1870–1872, vol. 1, 341–343,); BL Add. 17,247 (12th century) (Wright 1870–1872, vol. 1, 350–351).

⁵⁶ For the Constantinian portrayal of Jovian in the *Julian Romance*, see Drijvers 2011, 295–297. For Yazdgard as a new Constantine in the East Syrian canonical collection, the *Synodicon Orientale*, see McDonough 2008, 129–130.

⁵⁷ On the dating and imagery of Vatican Syriac 559, see Fiey 1975, 59–64, esp. 63–64. Also, cf. Brock/Taylor 2001, vol. 2, 160, and Brock 2002, 90–91.

British Library included in its contents a list of the ‘Christian kings of the Romans,’ from Constantine to Heraclius.⁵⁸

And just as Constantine’s conversion to Christianity had given the rulers of Rome a special place in the imagination of authors writing in Syriac, Julian’s defection from the Christian faith and attempt to revive paganism stirred anger and attracted attention long after the empire had left the Middle East. In the fourth century, Ephrem composed a series of hymns bitterly attacking the pagan Julian and a work known as the *Julian Romance*, also attacking Julian, was written in Syriac perhaps in the sixth.⁵⁹ Hundreds of years later, Nestorian works composed in Arabic, such as the *Chronicle of Seert*, written in the tenth century, and the *Mukhtaṣar al-akhbār al-bī’iyya*, written in the twelfth, were still devoting considerable space to detailing Julian’s betrayal of the Christians.⁶⁰ It bears repeating that the Church of the East, the church which the authors of both these works belonged to, had its center of gravity in the Persian, not the Roman, empire: one of Constantine’s most important legacies in the Syriac-speaking world, both inside and outside the empire, was this strong identity between Rome and Christianity, even outside of the empire. ‘From that time’, noted the *Chronicle of Seert*, speaking of Constantine, ‘the kings of the Romans began bringing the cross out in front of their armies, in the hand of their general.’⁶¹

Of crucial importance for this long memory is the fact that there were believing Christian kings who pre-dated the acrimonious schisms that badly fractured the Christians of the Middle East after the Council of Chalcedon in 451. For this reason, there were Emperors, preeminently, Constantine, who could have a role in the Syriac imaginary that was not unlike that of other fourth-century figures such as Ephrem or the Cappadocians: they were Christians who were untainted by later sectarian associations and had an ecumenical attraction and constituency. In the same way that Christians belonging to all the various medieval churches with a Syriac heritage – Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian alike – could appeal to someone like Athanasius as a theological authority (but not more divisive figures such as Severus of Antioch, Theodore of Mopsuestia, or the Emperor Justinian), Christians of all stripes could view pre-Chalcedonian Christian emperors of the fourth and fifth centuries with veneration and esteem without committing themselves to a specific ecclesiastical confession.

⁵⁸ My translation. ܕܠܟܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܝܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܝܢ BL Add. 14,684, f. 51a. See Wright 1870–1872, vol. 1, 114.

⁵⁹ For the Syriac text see Ephrem the Syrian, *Hymns against Julian*, ed. Beck. An English translation is available in trans. McVey. For the Syriac text of the *Julian Romance*, see *Julian Romance*, ed. Hoffmann. An English translation is available by trans. Gollancz. Butts 2011 provides an overview of the work and questions surrounding its dating.

⁶⁰ See *Chronicle of Seert*, ed. Scher, *Patrologia Orientalis* 5.2, 116–134 (228–246) and *Mukhtaṣar al-akhbār al-bī’iyya*, ed. Ḥaddād, 201–210.

⁶¹ My translation. See *Chronicle of Seert*, ed. Scher, *Patrologia Orientalis* 4.3, 50 (260).

The ecumenical appeal of the Christian rulers of the fourth century can be seen perhaps most clearly in the case of the *Syro-Roman Lawbook*, a collection of civil laws of Christian Roman Emperors, whose original dated perhaps to the late fifth century. The *Syro-Roman Lawbook* would evolve and be transmitted in various recensions and be used over the course of the Middle Ages by nearly every eastern Christian group: Miaphysites, Nestorians, Chalcedonians, Copts, Armenians, Georgians, and Ethiopians.⁶² Even in its oldest manuscript witness, found in a sixth-century section of BL Add. 14,528, one can see the importance and authority attached to certain Christian rulers of Rome. A colophon in this manuscript describes the rules it contains as the laws of the 'Believing and Victorious and God-loving Kings' Constantine, Theodosius, and Leo.⁶³ A preface that was probably composed later and which is found in a different recension of the *Lawbook* gave strong and explicit emphasis to the Christian-Roman connection.⁶⁴ Christ 'has along with other benefits given an excellent law to the church', it stated,

and through his church he has given gifts of his grace to the Christian kings of the nation of the Romans. He has given them the knowledge of the faith and truth and he has through his church subjugated the generation of all the nations to them so that through the ordinances of the laws of Christ, they rule men according to the law which these kings have received from the church which is a gift for all men.

Every nation, the preface noted, had made laws for itself, taking the law of ancient Israel as its model, but the coming of Christ changed everything: 'As the laws, however, were annulled by the coming of our Lord, among all nations the one law of Christ has been given through the Christian kings, which has begun with the glorious and blessed Constantine, the elect of God.'⁶⁵ Rome and its Christian rulers were now God's instrument for bringing law to the world.⁶⁶

The enormous importance that the pre-Chalcedonian Christian history of Rome had in influencing Christian attitudes towards the empire, regardless of doctrinal difference, should not be forgotten when trying to understand Romanness in Syriac: because of it, Christians were able to distinguish between the Christian empire and Christian emperor and differences, even violent ones, they may have had with what-

⁶² See the comment of Selb 1981, 70; Kaufhold 2012, 217 and van Rompay 2011, 238. For the critical edition of the *Syro Roman Lawbook*, see *Syro Roman Lawbook*, ed. and trans. Selb/Kaufhold, vol. 2.

⁶³ My translation. For the colophon, see Wright 1870–1872, vol. 1, 177. The legal text from BL Add. 14,528 was first published in Land 1862, pp. 30–64.

⁶⁴ See Selb/Kaufhold 2002, vol. 1, 96–97.

⁶⁵ *Syro Roman Lawbook*, trans. Vööbus, 1–2. Syriac text can be found in ed. and trans. Selb/Kaufhold, vol. 2, 18–20.

⁶⁶ The *Sententiae Syriacae*, another collection of pre-Justinianic Roman laws 'of Christian and Victorious Kings' attributed to emperors which was translated into Syriac and known to us only in (post-Roman manuscripts) written by Miaphysites (in Syriac and also in Armenian), is another similar example of the use of imperial legal material by Miaphysites in the Muslim ruled Middle East. See *Sententiae Syriacae*, ed. and trans. Selb (quotation my translation, from Syriac text at 34).

ever particular doctrinal stance the imperial church or emperor was advocating in the present. Thomas of Kafartāb, for example, was a Maronite, Monothelete bishop who lived in the region of Aleppo in the eleventh century. As a Monothelete, he belonged to an ecclesiastical group that, like Miaphysites and members of the Church of the East, was regarded as heretical by the Dyothelite Chalcedonian imperial church. Thomas was harshly critical of the arrogance of Dyothelites – followers of Maximus the Confessor, as he styled them. But this did not prevent him, even living under Muslim rule, from praying for Dyothelite emperors. ‘We pray for your kings’, Thomas told members of the imperial church at one point in his Arabic theological treatise, *The Ten Chapters*, ‘and for you and for all our Christian brethren.’⁶⁷

Insofar as a fusion between Romanness and Christianity had taken place, authors of Syriac texts would show a special interest in and even identification with the Roman Empire and the figure of the Emperor. The ability of this fusion between Romanness and Christianity to trump present imperial notions in terms of identity and loyalty can be seen in the late sixth-century *Ecclesiastical History* of the Miaphysite John of Ephesus (d. c. 588). John’s *History* is fundamental for understanding the history of the Miaphysite movement in the sixth century. The first part of this history is lost, but the second part, which covers events from the late fifth century into the sixth century, is preserved in later histories and in several manuscript fragments. The third part, which goes from 571 to around 588, is still extant. Even though John was a Miaphysite, the staunchly Chalcedonian Emperor Justinian at one point dispatched him to evangelize pagans in Asia Minor and is reported to have baptized some 70,000.⁶⁸

John lived in Constantinople and was a figure who experienced persecution in a direct and personal way for having Christological views which were at variance with the imperial church. And yet, as Jan van Ginkel has argued, John nevertheless viewed the emperor and the office of the emperor in much the same way that other historians who had been considered Orthodox by the standards of the imperial church in their time did. In other words, John’s views of the Emperor’s role and function were quite similar to those of Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius. John thought that among an Emperor’s functions, there was a religious role to be played.⁶⁹ Even though he was considered a heretic by the emperor, John did not reject the religious authority that the Emperor was believed by Christians to have. As van Ginkel has put it, John ‘never questions the institution [of the emperor], only the individual

⁶⁷ My translation. For the Arabic text, see Thomas of Kafartāb, *The Ten Chapters*, ed. and trans. Chartouni, 28.

⁶⁸ In the year 541–542. See *Zuqnin Chronicle*, trans. Harrak, 92. Syriac text in *Incerti auctoris chronicon anonymum Pseudo Dionysianum vulgo dictum*, ed. Chabot, 77. According to Michael the Syrian, John thought it was better for the people he converted to leave the error of paganism, even if it was only to Chalcedonianism; see Michael the Syrian, ed. and trans. Chabot, 4.287–288 = 2.207 (French Translation).

⁶⁹ For these points, see van Ginkel 1994, esp. 330–333.

who embodies it at a certain moment in time. The imperial authority is never challenged.⁷⁰ Despite being at odds with the system, John still very much operated within it and did not seek to replace it. Indeed, the lost first part of his *Ecclesiastical History* had begun with the reign of Julius Caesar.⁷¹ The history of Rome was the starting point for John's own history of his church. This had also been the case, as I noted above, with the *Chronicle of Edessa*.

Not all Miaphysite authors might have precisely the same high view of the Emperor and Empire as John of Ephesus. David Taylor has argued that in the sixth century, Daniel of Salah, the author of what is perhaps the most important Psalm commentary in the Syriac-speaking Miaphysite tradition, developed a distinctively Miaphysite view of kingship in at least partial reaction to Justinian, a ruler who had not only violently persecuted Miaphysites, but one who had also attempted to merge the office of emperor and priest. For Daniel of Salah, according to Taylor, 'the essential truth is that there is only one true king who demands total loyalty, and that is God, who is usually portrayed either as the "crucified king crowned with thorns", or as the ascended, glorified Christ sitting in judgment before the nations.'⁷² Earthly kings, by contrast, were humans just like their subjects. Earthly kings were to be shown political loyalty, but earthly kings did not have a religious role.⁷³ Taylor's close reading of Daniel's massive work suggests that the experience of imperial persecution caused a re-evaluation of attitudes among at least some Miaphysites of attitudes towards the Christian Empire and the office of the Christian Emperor. Some Miaphysites might have accepted traditional Christian views of the Emperor but others might not have, regarding him as having a political role but no spiritual authority and a human like the rest of us.

But the powerful ideological inertia of Constantine's conversion and the Christianization of the Roman Empire should not be underestimated when dealing with Syriac authors. Another way to gauge its importance is by looking at the identity of the fourth beast of Daniel 7 in the Syriac tradition. This fourth beast was, according to the book of Daniel, 'exceedingly terrifying', with 'teeth of iron and claws of bronze' (Daniel 7.19). It was to have a 'kingdom which shall be different from all the kingdoms'. 'It shall devour the whole earth and trample it down, and break it to pieces', Daniel affirmed (Daniel 7.23). A horn would come from this beast which made 'war with the saints and prevailed over them' (Daniel 7.21).⁷⁴ For Christians who were being treated violently as heretics by the Roman government, identifying the fourth

⁷⁰ Van Ginkel 1995, 109. But see the nuancing of David Taylor based on hagiographic texts in Taylor 2009, 82–83.

⁷¹ See van Ginkel 1995, p. 46, esp. n. 3.

⁷² Taylor 2009, 83–84.

⁷³ Taylor 2009, 84–92. Taylor is working on the critical edition of Daniel of Salah's Psalm commentary. A non critical edition of the text has recently become available. See Daniel of Salah, *Commentary on Psalms*, ed. Çiçek.

⁷⁴ Translations are from the English Standard Version.

beast and the little horn with their imperial persecutors might seem to have been a tempting choice. After all, other Christians had previously made precisely this association. The author of the early second-century *Epistle of Barnabas*, for example, writing perhaps in Roman-ruled Alexandria, thought that he and his audience were living in the last days and would cite Daniel speaking about the fourth beast (Daniel 4.5) to add to his sense of urgency.⁷⁵ Hippolytus of Rome (d. 235) was a Greek writer whose commentary on Daniel was also known in Syriac; importantly for us, Hippolytus was quite explicit that Daniel's fourth beast was the Roman Empire.⁷⁶

Even though this interpretive option of tying Daniel's fourth beast and little horn to Rome was available in Syriac, Biblical exegetes writing in Syriac during the Islamic period did not identify this fourth beast with Rome. They chose, rather, to associate the fourth beast with Alexander and the Greeks. The Nestorian Ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 1043), a figure who wrote in Arabic and who represents in many ways the final summation of the late antique Antiochene exegetical tradition, identified the fourth beast with Alexander.⁷⁷ In making this identification, Ibn al-Ṭayyib was not an isolated case: he was following East Syrian exegetes before him. Theodore bar Kōnī, for example, an East Syrian author writing in southern Iraq in the late eighth century identified Daniel's fourth beast with 'the kingdom of the Greeks, which is Alexander'.⁷⁸ Similarly, Isho'dad of Merv, another Nestorian exegete, writing in the middle of the ninth century, understood Daniel's description of the iron teeth of the fourth beast to be a reference to the armies of Alexander.⁷⁹ What is interesting about Isho'dad's identification of the fourth beast with Alexander is that in the fifth century, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, writing in Greek and under Roman rule, would identify the fourth beast with the Roman Empire.⁸⁰ Theodoret was an outstanding representative of the Antiochene tradition of Biblical interpretation which was very influential among East Syrians writing in Syriac. In fact, Theodoret's commentary on Daniel, though no longer extant in Syriac, was known by Isho'dad, who cited it seven

75 For this passage in the *Epistle of Barnabas*, see most conveniently *Epistle of Barnabas*, ed. Ehrman, 20–21.

76 For the Syriac fragment, see Hippolytus of Rome, *Commentary on Daniel* (Syriac fragment), ed. Pitra, vol. 4, 47–48. For the Armenian fragment, see Hippolytus of Rome, *Commentary on the Vision of Daniel, the Appearance of the Antichrist, and the End of the World* (Armenian), ed. Pitra, vol. 2, 236. For knowledge of Hippolytus' commentary on Daniel in Syriac, see the comments of John of Litarb (d. after 738), *Letter to Daniel, an Arab Priest*, MS London, British Library Add. 12,154, f. 292b. NB: only fragments of the *Epistle of Barnabas* are extant in Syriac and it does not seem to have been widely known in Syriac in the Middle Ages. See Baumstark 1912.

77 See Ibn al-Ṭayyib, *Firdaws al-naṣrāniyya*, MS Chaldean Cathedral Mardin 474, fol. 272r. I am grateful to the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library for making images of this manuscript available to me.

78 Theodore bar Kōnī, *Book of Scholia*, ed. Scher, 343.

79 Isho'dad of Merv, *Commentary on Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel*, ed. van den Eynde, 113.

80 Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Commentary on Daniel*, PG 81, 1420 A.

times, more than any other authority in his commentary on Daniel.⁸¹ And yet, Isho'dad chose not to follow Theodoret on this point.⁸²

It was not just East Syrian writers in the Islamic period who connected the fourth beast with Alexander and the Greeks rather than the Romans. West Syrians made the same association. A famous Syrian Orthodox exegetical *catena*, known as the *Catena of Severus*, which was compiled in Edessa in 861, also identified the fourth beast with Alexander.⁸³ This *catena* was a work which drew upon the writings of Jacob of Edessa (d. 708) and Ephrem the Syrian (d. 373), as well as other exegetical material.⁸⁴ Dionysius Bar Šalibī (d. 1171), a twelfth-century Syrian Orthodox Patriarch and important exegete also identified the fourth beast with Alexander,⁸⁵ and Bar Hebraeus in the thirteenth century also saw the fourth beast as the Greeks.⁸⁶ Identifying the Roman Empire with a political entity which the Bible portrayed in strongly negative terms, one which produced a horn that 'waged war with the saints and prevailed over them', could have fit very nicely with a hostile view towards an Empire that persecuted Christian heretics and whose official theology was heretical by the standards of these persecuted churches. Syriac exegetes were also aware that such an identification had been made in the tradition but nevertheless they identified Alexander the Great with the fourth beast.

One obvious explanation for this choice is the strong identity I have been discussing between Rome and Christianity that resulted from Constantine's conversion and

81 See Isho'dad of Merv, *Commentary on Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel*, trans. van den Eynde, XIV XV. For Theodoret's commentary on Daniel being available in Syriac in the Middle Ages, see Assemani 1725, vol. 3.1, 40.

82 To be fair, the most important factor probably influencing the exegetical choices of these two Syriac authors were the views of Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428), the most influential of all Biblical expositors in the Antiochene tradition. Theodore's commentary on Daniel, now lost, was also available in Syriac in the medieval period (see Assemani 1725, vol. 3.1, 32). Because it is lost, however, we do not know how Theodore interpreted this passage. We nevertheless do know that Theodore's brother, Polychronius of Apamea (d. 430), associated the fourth beast with Alexander in his commentary on Daniel (Mai 1825, vol. 1.3, 11 [ζ]).

83 See Severus of Edessa, *Catena on Scripture*, ed. Benedictus, vol. 2, 214f.

84 For Ephrem's commentary on Daniel in Syriac, now no longer extant, see Assemani 1725, vol. 3.1, 62. Much of the material attributed to Ephrem in the *Catena* of Severus cannot be fully trusted as actual Ephrem. On the question of the authenticity of the Ephremic material in the *Catena* of Severus, see Haar Romeny 2008.

85 See Dionysius Bar Šalibī, *Commentary on Daniel*, Mingana Collection Syriac 152, f. 256a.

86 See St Mark's Jerusalem Syriac 41, p. 566. J. Freimann published the Syriac text (in Hebrew characters) of the *Awšār Rāzē* that covered Daniel, along with a German translation in Bar Hebraeus, *Awšār Rāzē (Storehouse of Mysteries)*, ed. and trans. Freimann. For the identification of the fourth beast with the Greeks, see ed. and trans. Freimann 8 (Syriac) = 42 (German translation). 'Abdisho' bar Brikha (d. 1318), knew of the commentaries on Daniel written by the following East Syrian authors (pages refer to 'Abdisho' bar Brikha, *Memra on Ecclesiastical Books*, ed. and trans. Assemani): Hippolytus (p. 15), Theodore of Mopsuestia (p. 32), Theodoret (p. 40), Ephrem (p. 62), Narsai (p. 65), Abraham of Beth Rabban (p. 71), Students of Mar Aba (p. 86), Sergius (p. 171), Mari the Persian (p. 171), Dadisho' (p. 214). These have all, unfortunately, been lost.

the subsequent patronage of Christianity by Roman emperors – a Christian empire could hardly be one of Daniel's beasts. But this question of Alexander the Great and the Greeks raises another major point about Romanness in Syriac sources: not only was Rome associated strongly with Christianity, it was also very commonly conflated with Greekness. The *titulus* above the Cross was written, according to the Peshitta translation of the New Testament, in Hebrew, in Greek, and in 'Roman', or Latin,⁸⁷ and to speak *r(h)ūmā'it*, or Romanly, in Syriac, meant that one was speaking in Latin. Crucially, however, speaking *r(h)ūmā'it* in Syriac could also mean that one was speaking in Greek.⁸⁸ The sixth-century manuscript containing the earliest extant copy of the *Syro-Roman Lawbook* notes that the secular laws and edicts of Constantine, Theodosius and Leo were translated, 'from the Roman language to the Aramaic'.⁸⁹ A merger of Greekness and Romanness should come as no surprise: Syriac writers had been referring to the Roman Empire as well as to the political entity that modern historians refer to as 'Byzantium' as 'Romania' since the early fifth century,⁹⁰ and the face of Rome that Middle Eastern populations experienced most directly was a Greek-speaking one. Aphrahat was an author who lived in the Sasanian Empire in the first half of the fourth century and produced the first major corpus of literary Syriac that we possess, a work called the *Demonstrations*. At one point in the twenty-second *Demonstration*, Aphrahat notes that he wrote the last twelve demonstrations in the year 655 'of the kingdom of the Greeks and the Romans, which is the kingdom of Alexander'.⁹¹ This was the year 344 AD.⁹² In his fifth *Demonstration* in fact, Aphrahat identified the third beast of Daniel 7 as Alexander and the fourth beast as the 'Children of Esau', that is, the Romans: 'But the vision of the third beast was fulfilled in [Alexander], because the third and the fourth are one.'⁹³ Aphrahat was not alone in connecting Alexander and the Romans. 'The narrative of Alexander the Great, king of the Macedonians', begins the Syriac *History of Alexander* by Pseudo-Callis-

⁸⁷ See John 18.20 and Luke 23.38.

⁸⁸ See *Thesaurus Syriacus*, ed. Payne Smith, col. 3831.

⁸⁹ See Wright 1870–1872, vol. 1, 177 (Add. 14,528). Wright understood 'Roman' here to mean 'Latin.' On the question of the language from which this text was translated, see Selb/Kaufhold 2002, vol. 1, 51. The Syriac text can also be found in *Secular laws translated from the Roman language to Aramaic* (=Syro Roman Lawbook), ed. Land, vol. 1, 30.

⁹⁰ For the Roman Empire as 'Romania' in the acts of the Synod of Seleucia Ctesiphon of 410, see Chabot 1902, 18, 23. For the Byzantine Empire as 'Romania,' in Syriac, see *Chronicle to 819*, ed. Barsoum, 13, 12. For these references and more, see Brock 2008, 65, n. 32. See also, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, ed. Payne Smith, col. 3832, s.v. *ܠܪܘܡܝܐ*.

⁹¹ Aphrahat, *Demonstrations*, ed. Parisot, col. 1044.

⁹² Into the mid nineteenth century, the most common method Syriac writers used to date their texts was by the Seleucid era, which they usually referred to as the 'years of the Greeks'. See Briquel Chabot 1998, 199. Chalcedonian copyists are an exception: from the thirteenth century onwards, they tended to date their manuscripts by the Era of the World. See Brock 2005, 276.

⁹³ Aphrahat, *Demonstrations*, trans. Valavanolickal, 94. Syriac text in ed. Parisot, col. 220.

thenes, ‘that is, the Romans’.⁹⁴ Seleucus Nicator might also be called the ‘King of the Romans’.⁹⁵ And this idea that the king of the Greeks was the king of the Romans had a long life in Syriac-speaking communities. ‘In the year 1500 (AD 1189), the Franks went forth to the country of Syria’, a note in a manuscript in the British Library reads, ‘and in the year 1448 (AD 1137), the king of the Greeks went forth to the land of Syria’.⁹⁶

But the conflation between Romans and Greeks that took place in Syriac was not without nuance – Rome could nevertheless maintain something of the traditional meaning that we ourselves associate with it, referring to a Latin-speaking city in Italy which created a world-wide empire. ‘Look! In Persia teaching is spread’, wrote the poet Cyrillona maybe half a century after Aphrahat, ‘and in Assyria your Good news has increased and grown large. Look! In India, Thomas makes disciples and in Rome, Simon is preaching. Look! The Greeks have translated your mysteries. Even the Romans have translated your scriptures!’⁹⁷ Syriac writers recognized that there might be a difference between Latin-speaking Romans and Greek-speaking Romans. George, Bishop of the Arab Tribes (d. 724), a Miaphysite bishop over Christian Arab tribes in the region of Aleppo in the early eighth century, knew Greek and translated Aristotle into Syriac and commented on him.⁹⁸ George was certainly able to distinguish Romans from Greeks. The ‘Tiber River, upon which the city of Rome is built’, he informed a correspondent in 714, ‘was long ago called the “Tybris”, but because it happened that while one of the ancient kings whose name was Tiberius was crossing it, an accident happened and he fell and drowned in it, the river’s name was changed and it is called the “Tiber” to this day.’⁹⁹ A short history of Rome and of Romulus and Remus also exists in Syriac, attributed to Diocles of Peparethus. Its earliest manuscript is dated to 837 and it, along with short descriptions of the city of Rome found in other Syriac works, also points to the fact that Syriac writers were fully aware of Rome’s originally Latin identity.¹⁰⁰ This awareness of a difference between the Greek and Latin Rome continued in Christian Arabic writers, too. Writing in Arabic in the tenth century, the Chalcedonian Agapius of Manbij discussed the history of

⁹⁴ My translation. For the Syriac text, see Ps. Callisthenes, *History of Alexander*, ed. Budge, 1 (cf. Wright 1870–1872, vol. 3, 1068).

⁹⁵ See *Thesaurus Syriacus*, ed. Payne Smith, col. 3832, s.v. ܠܡܡܝ (citing the anonymous lexicon found in MS Oxford Hunt 93).

⁹⁶ BL Add 14,684. Translation W. Wright, in Wright 1870–1872, vol. 1, 113.

⁹⁷ My translation. See C. Griffin in Cyrillona, ed. and trans. Griffin, 403 (Syriac text) = 519 (Griffin’s English translation).

⁹⁸ On George, see Baumstark 1922, 257–258.

⁹⁹ My translation. See George, Bishop of the Arab Tribes, *Letters*, MS London, British Library Add. 12,154, f. 266b.

¹⁰⁰ The Syriac text can be found in Ps. Diocles of Peparethus, *Chronicle* (fragment), ed. Lagarde, 201–205. An English translation is found in trans. Cowper, 48–53. Its earliest manuscript is London, BL Add. 12,152. See Baumstark 1922, 171. This text of Ps. Diocles shares material in common with the *Chronicon Paschale* and Michael the Syrian; for this, see Baumstark 1901, 383.

Romulus and Remus. Romulus, Agapius noted, was the first King to rule over the ‘Frankish Romans’.¹⁰¹

Agapius’s remark points us to another development: by the high Middle Ages, Latin-speaking Romans came to be referred to as ‘Franks’ in order to distinguish them from Greek-speaking Romans. The subscription to the Harklean Syriac translation of the Gospel of Mark contained in the twelfth-century MS New College Oxford 333, for example, states that Mark had ‘spoken in Roman, that is, Frankish, in Rome’.¹⁰² Writing in Arabic in the thirteenth century, Bar Hebraeus explained that from the time of Augustus up until Tiberius II, the rulers of Constantinople, the aristocrats, and the leaders of the military had been ‘Romans, that is, Franks’, but officials (*wuzarā*), scribes, and all the subjects had been Greeks. Coming to the end of his life, Tiberius was the only one in the family and trusted circle of Justinian II who the latter thought might continue his policies. And so, Bar Hebraeus explained, Justinian II crowned Tiberius emperor ‘and from that point, the Empire of Constantinople became Greek’.¹⁰³

In the twelfth century, Dionysius bar Ṣalībī (d. 1171), wrote a treatise against the Chalcedonians to a fellow Miaphysite who has apparently decided to become a Chalcedonian. Bar Ṣalībī would seize upon the distinction between Greek and Roman as he sought to counter his correspondent’s enthusiasm for the Chalcedonian church. ‘Let it also be known to you’, Bar Ṣalībī wrote,

that the word ‘Greek’ is expressed in their language by ‘Hellenios’, which further means ‘pagan’. What blame attaches to us from a fact that they themselves bear witness that their true names are ‘Hellenes’ and ‘Hellenism’, which mean ‘pagan’ and ‘paganism’ respectively? The name ‘Romans’ does not belong to them, but to the Franks, and it is derived from the name of ‘Rome’ their town, and Romulus, their ancient king; and the Greeks unjustly stole it from them.¹⁰⁴

The Greeks, Bar Ṣalībī would also argue, stole the kingdom of Rome from the Franks much as Absalom stole his father David’s kingdom from him.¹⁰⁵ Constantine and

101 My translation. ‘In that year, Romulus, the first king to rule over the Frankish Romans came to rule over the Romans who are Franks and not Greeks.’ Arabic text in Agapius of Manbij, *Kitāb al ‘Unwān*, ed. Vasiliev, 49–50.

102 My translation. See White 1778, vol. 1, 260. For a description of New College Oxford ms. 333, see Juckel 2002, xxxix. For other examples of Franks being considered Romans, see *Thesaurus Syriacus*, ed. Payne Smith, cols. 3268–3269, s.v.v. ܠܪܘܡܝܐ and ܠܦܪܟܝܐ.

103 See Bar Hebraeus, *Ta’rikh mukhtaṣar al duwal*, ed. Ṣāliḥānī, 151. Bar Hebraeus makes the same distinction in his Syriac chronicle; see Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon syriacum*, ed. Bedjan, 86–87. Bar Hebraeus’ comment in his scholium on Acts 5.41 that Peter had ‘tonsured his head, like a crown, just as the Frankish clergy now [do]’ (my translation). For the Syriac text, see ed. Klamroth, 9.

104 Dionysius Bar Ṣalībī, *Against the Melkites*, ed. and trans. Mingana, vol. 1, 31–32 (English translation) = 72 (Syriac text). I have used Mingana’s translations when citing this text.

105 Dionysius Bar Ṣalībī, *Against the Melkites*, ed. and trans. Mingana, vol. 1, 48 (English translation) = 82 (Syriac text).

Theodosius had actually been Franks.¹⁰⁶ Bar Ṣalībī did not himself identify with Greeks or with Romans and he bristled at the arrogance of Chalcedonians: ‘Neither the Greeks are our fathers, nor the Romans, nor are the Jews the fathers of Christians: all these are loose expressions and old women’s tales’, he wrote. ‘If Yawnan, the father of the Greeks, was born before Aram, our father, there might have been occasion for discussion, but when this is not the case, how did you then glory in the not very weighty words of those haughty and arrogant people?’¹⁰⁷

The example of Bar Ṣalībī’s Chalcedonian convert brings up a third major meaning that Rome came to have in the world of Syriac-speaking Christians in the Middle East: a sectarian one. In modern Arabic usage in the Levant, *Rūm*, or ‘Roman’, is synonymous with Chalcedonian orthodoxy.¹⁰⁸ This use of ‘Roman’ as a synonym for a member of the Byzantine imperial church seems to be a parallel to the situation in the late antique and early medieval West, where Arians referred to Catholics as ‘Romans’.¹⁰⁹ In both instances, association with the Christological stance of the imperial church led to ‘Romanness’ having a theological and not just a political meaning. In the Syriac and Arabic case, there is evidence that ‘Roman’ had come to mean Chalcedonian by the early Abbasid period. A Syriac letter that is preserved from the late 8th century, written by a Nestorian bishop to the famous Baghdad physician Gabriel ibn Bukhtisho’ (d. 828), admonished that one should not take communion from Romans or Jacobites; ‘Romans’ here clearly means Chalcedonians.¹¹⁰ By the eleventh century, the East Syrian historical work known as the *Book of the Tower* (*Kitāb al-Majdal*), would record a document written by a Muslim official to the Nestorian Catholicos Ibn al-‘Āriḍ (sed. 1074–1090) which spoke about the *Rūm*, or Romans, as a confession dwelling in the abode of Islam, one which, like the ‘Jacobites’ was put under

106 Dionysius Bar Ṣalībī, *Against the Melkites*, ed. and trans. Mingana, vol. 1, 39 (English translation) = 77 (Syriac text).

107 Dionysius Bar Ṣalībī, *Against the Melkites*, ed. and trans. Mingana, vol. 1, 57 (English translation) = 88 (Syriac text). I have slightly altered Mingana’s translation.

108 In contemporary Levantine Arabic, if a person belongs to the Chalcedonian Church, he or she is *Rūm*, or Roman – either *Rūm Urthūdhuks*, ‘Roman Orthodox’ or, if a member of the corresponding Uniate Church, *Rūm Kāthūlik*, ‘Roman Catholic’. See Zayyāt 1953, vol. 1, 9–10, for the historical shifts in the meanings of the Arabic words ‘*Rūm*’ and ‘*Melkite*’. After 1724, the latter came to refer specifically to Chalcedonian Uniates in the Arabic speaking Levant, whereas before that point, it had been used to refer to Arabic speaking Dyothelite Chalcedonians more broadly.

109 See, e.g., the report in Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, trans. van Dam, 43. Cardinal Newman made this point in his famous *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, Newman 1845, 276.

110 The letter was written by Ephrem, Metropolitan of Elam. See Ephrem, Metropolitan of Elam, *Letter to the Baghdad physician Gabriel ibn Bukhtisho’*, Mingana Collection Syriac 587, fols. 357b–360a. On Ephrem (fl. 782), see Baumstark 1922, 218.

the Catholicos' authority.¹¹¹ In the thirteenth century, Bar Hebraeus would speak of 'Greeks and Roman Melkite Syrians' when speaking of Chalcedonian heretics.¹¹²

The 'Greeks' Bar Hebraeus referred to were probably the Chalcedonian inhabitants of the Byzantine Empire and 'Roman Melkite Syrians' were Chalcedonians living in Syria. But just as 'Roman' and 'Greek' came to have similar political connotations in Syriac, they would also share theological connotations: for Syriac writers, 'Greek' could mean 'Roman' and 'Greek' could also mean 'Chalcedonian'. These latter two had begun to merge by perhaps the eighth century, with the result that 'Greek' no longer necessarily had a political or linguistic meaning. We find 'Greeks' who might also be living under Muslim rule and speaking Syriac, not Greek. In one of his letters, Jacob of Edessa (d. 708), a Miaphysite Bishop who wrote in Syriac, would speak of being given pieces of the Eucharist by some Muslims with a guilty conscience who had stolen the elements from 'the region of the Greeks', that is, from the Byzantine Empire. Jacob did not keep the element, but rather, he stated, sent them 'to the supporters of the doctrines of those Greeks',¹¹³ by which he presumably meant Chalcedonians living, like Jacob, under Arab rule. Jacob himself was a Miaphysite and spent eleven years living in the Miaphysite monastery of Eusebona, teaching the Greek language there, before finally leaving the place on account of conflicts with monks who 'hated Greeks'.¹¹⁴ David bar Paulus, a Miaphysite who was active in the late eighth and early ninth century composed a dispute text which pitted a Miaphysite against a Chalcedonian on the subject of the longer or shorter version of the *Trisagion*. In the text, the Miaphysite is called a 'Syrian', *sūryāyā*, and the Chalcedonian is called a 'Greek', *yawnāyā*, though both are speaking Syriac.¹¹⁵ We have a letter written by the Nestorian Patriarch Timothy I (d. 823) in AD 799, in Baghdad, where Timothy speaks of being in the company of 'some Greeks', among whom was the 'Patriarch of the Melkites', and asking them for help in understanding a difficult word in Aristotle's *Topics*.¹¹⁶ Were Timothy's Greeks actually from Byzantium, or were they Chalcedonians living in Iraq? It is difficult to be certain.¹¹⁷

111 See 'Amr b. Mattā, *Kitāb al majdal (Book of the Tower)*, ed. Gismondi, vol. 1, 135.16–18. On the complicated questions of the attribution of this work, I have followed Holmberg 1993. On this particular passage, cf. the comments in Zayyāt 1953, 8.

112 See Bar Hebraeus, *Candelabrum of the Sanctuary* (extract from Base IV), ed. Nau, 264.

113 My translation. Jacob of Edessa, *Questions of John the Stylite of Litarb to Jacob of Edessa*, ed. Vööbus, 243–244. An English translation is available in trans. Vööbus, 224.

114 Michael the Syrian, ed. and trans. Chabot, 4.446 = 2.472 (French translation). See also, Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, ed. Abbeloos/Lamy, vol. 1, col. 289. See BL Add. 14,602 (Wright 1870–1872, vol. 2, 706, for the name of a certain Lazarus, whose name appears along with dozens of other signatories on a letter written in 567 after the death of Theodosius of Alexandria. Unlike nearly all the other signatories, who were abbots and presumably Syriac speaking, Lazarus was only identified as ܠܙܪܐܝܐ 'a Greek priest'.)

115 See the excerpt of the text: David bar Paulus, *Dialogue between a Jacobite and a Melkite over the Trisagion*, partial ed. Assemani.

116 Translation Brock 1999, 239. For the Syriac text, see Timothy I, *Letters*, ed. Heimgartner, 92.

Interesting, too, in Timothy's statement is his calling these Chalcedonians 'Melkites' (*malkāyē*). Bar Hebraeus used it, too, as we saw above, and many others did as well throughout the Middle Ages and into the early modern period. It was a word derived from the word for 'king', *malkā*, with the king in question being the Roman Emperor. Dyothelite Chalcedonian Christians would be referred to as 'Melkites', in both Syriac and Arabic for the same reason they were called 'Romans' and 'Greeks' – on account of their agreement with the doctrinal stance of the Roman Emperor, that is, the King of the Greeks. This definition of a significant segment of the population by reference to the confessional stance of the neighboring Roman ruler was one of the most significant developments that the idea of Romanness took in the post-Roman Middle East.¹¹⁸

The Christians of the Middle East were divided into a number of competing and rival confessions and it is important to keep the ecclesiastical affiliation of an author in mind when attempting to understand how a term is being used. Though Syriac or Arabic-speaking Chalcedonians living under Muslim rule might be called 'Greeks' by non-Chalcedonians, in a Chalcedonian context, 'Greek' might refer to Chalcedonians living in the Byzantine Empire and might not necessarily be a term that would be used as a self-designation. The Chalcedonian Patriarch of Alexandria, Sa'id b. Baṭrīq (also known as Eutychius) (d. 940), would distinguish between the Melkites (*al-malakiyya*) and the *Rūm*, the Romans (or Byzantines), when writing about different fasting practices.¹¹⁹ Melkites were Chalcedonians living under Muslim rule and Romans were Chalcedonians living in the Byzantine Empire. Looking at Chalcedonian Syriac manuscripts provides more evidence for how some Chalcedonians may have used these labels. A Chalcedonian lectionary, for example, written in Syriac in 1046 at a monastery on the Black Mountain (near Antioch), described itself as being written according to the 'the rite of the Greeks';¹²⁰ this contrasted with the 'rite of the Syrians', an expression found in another Chalcedonian Syriac liturgical manuscript, written at a monastery on the Black Mountain in 1023.¹²¹ The 'rite of

117 The Patriarch Timothy was referring to Job, the Chalcedonian Patriarch of Antioch (sed. 799–843), who at one point was actually excommunicated by Constantinople for playing a role in the political machinations of the Caliph al Ma'mūn. See Nasrallah 1988, vol. 2.2, 34–35. Timothy I, *Letters*, trans. Heimgartner, 50, n. 229, discusses the question of identifying this patriarch with Job.

118 Zayyāt 1953, vol. 1 is a work of fundamental importance on the history of the term 'Melkite'. See also, Griffith 2001. Since the eighteenth century, the term 'Melkite' has come to refer to Arabic speaking Chalcedonian Christians in union with Roman. See note 108, above.

119 See Eutychius of Alexandria, ed. Breydy, 84. Note that Eutychius refers to the Greek language as '*rūmiyya*', 'Roman', on the previous page (85). For the German translation, see trans. Breydy, 69 (and see Breydy's observation, n. 5).

120 BL Add. 14,489. See Wright 1870–1872, vol. 1, 200–202 (references to the ܡܠܟܝܬܐ on 200a and 201b).

121 BL 14,488. See Wright 1870–1872, vol. 1, 197b for ܡܠܟܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܝܬܐ. The same manuscript contains a calendar of saint's days 'according to the Greek use' (trans. Wright, 197b). These expressions can be found in other Chalcedonian Syriac liturgical manuscripts. BL Add. 17,233, from the thirteenth

the Greeks' referred to the liturgical practices of Constantinople and the 'rite of the Syrians' was the older Chalcedonian liturgy of Antioch, which was being Constantinopolitanized even as these manuscripts were being written.¹²² 'Greeks' were apparently inhabitants of the Byzantine Empire, or perhaps its capital, and Chalcedonians called their own traditional local liturgy that of the Syrians.¹²³

Romanness in the post-Roman Middle East, could mean, therefore, a great number of things. Returning to Bar Ṣalībī's convert, might help us draw some of the disparate threads together. 'The Greeks have a heavenly king', the convert had written, 'and God gave them also an earthly king, how can they not be proud?'¹²⁴ Bar Ṣalībī's convert also took great pride in the beauty of Constantinople and its greatness. It was a place where God had 'gathered together and brought to it prophets, apostles and martyrs, so that none of them is outside of it'.¹²⁵ Bar Ṣalībī argued that Baghdad and Cairo were grander than Constantinople,¹²⁶ but this missed the point: the convert was taking pride in the existence of such a glorious *Christian* city. And it is in the glory of Constantinople, the pride of there being a Christian king of the Greeks, and the decision to convert to Chalcedonian Christianity that these various meanings of Romanness converge – the symbol of Rome carried enormous prestige for Christians living under Muslim rule in a post-Roman world. And this enormous prestige of the new Rome had been influential among near eastern Christians well before Bar Ṣalībī's convert in the eleventh century. Michael the Syrian traced the spread

century, contains a Chalcedonian Octoechos 'according to the Greek use', ܡܬܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܚܝܬܐ (see Wright 1870–1872, vol. 1, 326). Vatican Syriac 20 is a Chalcedonian Gospel lectionary from 1215 which is also written down ܡܬܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܚܝܬܐ 'according to the Greek use' (See Assemani 1758, vol. 1, 103–136 for its description). Oxford Dawk. 5, a Chalcedonian Syriac liturgical text written in Lebanon in 1496, contains Gospel readings for the feasts of the year 'according to the Greek use' (see Payne Smith 1864, cols. 127, 128). Oxford Dawk. 19, a Chalcedonian Syriac liturgical manuscript, refers in several places to 'an ancient canon of the Syrians', ܡܬܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܚܝܬܐ; see Payne Smith 1864, cols. 289–290. For the contrast between the 'rite of the Greeks' and the 'rite of the Syrians' in Chalcedonian Syriac manuscripts, see the unpublished paper by Monk Elia the Antiochian, 'Orthodox Manuscripts Copied in Antioch,' available at http://www.antiochcentre.net/pdf/orthodox_manuscripts_copied_in_antioch.pdf.

122 A point made by Monk Elia the Antiochian in his unpublished 'Orthodox Manuscripts Copied in Antioch.' On the Constantinopolitanization of Chalcedonian liturgies across the Middle East in the medieval, post Roman world, see Nasrallah 1987.

123 Though today, *suryānī*, or 'Syrian', is a synonym for members of the Syrian Orthodox Church Miaphysites in the medieval period, Chalcedonians might also refer to themselves as *suryānī* as well. See Nasrallah 1987, 167 for examples of Arabic speaking Chalcedonian monks at St Catherine's monastery referring to themselves as *suryānī*, or 'Syrians', in the thirteenth century and more generally, see Nasrallah 1974.

124 Dionysius Bar Ṣalībī, *Against the Melkites*, ed. and trans. Mingana, vol. 1, 39 (English translation) = 77 (Syriac text).

125 Dionysius Bar Ṣalībī, *Against the Melkites*, ed. and trans. Mingana, vol. 1, 42 (English translation) = 79 (Syriac text).

126 Dionysius Bar Ṣalībī, *Against the Melkites*, ed. and trans. Mingana, vol. 1, 79 (Syriac) = 42 (English translation).

of Dyotheletism and the shorter version of the *Trisagion* in Syria to the re-settlement of captives and exiles from Byzantine-controlled territories into Syria in 727. According to Michael, 'Increasingly, city dwellers, their bishops, and their leaders were corrupted and accepted this doctrine on account of esteem for Empire of the Romans.'¹²⁷ Writing in Muslim-ruled Syria in 715, a little over a decade before this incident happened, the Miaphysite George, Bishop of the Arab Tribes, referred to a Chalcedonian who had stumped a group of Miaphysite monks with theological questions they could not answer as coming from 'among those who are puffed up with worldly power'.¹²⁸

There was more than one neighboring Christian kingdom, however, bordering Muslim-ruled lands. In the Miaphysite *Apocalypse of (Ps-) Samuel of Qalamun*, written in Egypt in Coptic perhaps in the tenth century but preserved only in Arabic, it is two Christian kings who triumph over Muslims in the last days: the King of the Ethiopians (*al-Ḥabash*) and the King of the Romans (*al-Rūm*). Muslims, the *Apocalypse* states, will 'flee' from the King of the Ethiopians to the 'deserts they were originally in' and then the King of the Greeks will descend upon them and destroy them. The King of the Ethiopians would marry the daughter of the King of the Romans and there would be peace on the earth for forty years before the Antichrist appears.¹²⁹ The King of the Ethiopians, like the author of the *Apocalypse*, would have been a Miaphysite, unlike the Chalcedonian Byzantine emperor. But for at least some Christians under Muslim rule, the power of the symbol of a Christian sovereign trumped whatever theological or ecclesiastical differences there might have been.

The *Apocalypse of (Ps-) Samuel of Qalamun* highlights another aspect of what Rome and the Roman Emperor meant to Christians in the Middle East after Roman rule had departed: a source of hope. The late seventh century witnessed the composition of a number of apocalyptic texts in Syriac in response to Arab rule.¹³⁰ In the most famous of these, the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, the 'king of the Greeks' wreaks destruction on the Children of Ishmael after they themselves had spent time afflicting Christians and blaspheming Christ. 'They, their wives, their children, their leaders, all their encampments, all the land of the wilderness which belonged to their forefathers shall be delivered into the hand of the kings of the Greeks; they shall be given over to the sword and devastation, to captivity and slaughter.'¹³¹ 'All the fury of the wrath of the king of the Greeks shall be completed upon those who

¹²⁷ Michael the Syrian, ed. and trans. Chabot, 4.457–458 = 2.492–493 (French translation).

¹²⁸ See George, Bishop of the Arab Tribes, *Letters*, MS London, British Library Add. 12,154, f. 237b. This is from George's second letter.

¹²⁹ My translations. For the Arabic passage in question, see Ps Samuel of Qalamun, *Apocalypse*, ed. and trans. Ziadeh, 390. For the Antichrist, Gog and Magog, and the King of the Romans ruling from Jerusalem for 1.5 years, as well as ten kings of the Romans depending on the Antichrist, see ed. and trans. Ziadeh, 391.

¹³⁰ See Brock 1987, 51–75. Hoyland 1997, 259–270.

¹³¹ Ps. Methodius, *Apocalypse*, trans. Brock, 238. Syriac text in ed. Reinink, 39.

have denied Christ',¹³² the *Apocalypse* assures its readers. The King of the Greeks will reside in Jerusalem for ten and a half years. When the antichrist appears, the King of the Greeks will go to Golgotha and place his crown on the True Cross. Both the crown and the cross will be raised to heaven and the Emperor 'yields up his soul to his Creator'. The Antichrist will be revealed and will lead many astray, but the Second Coming of Christ will destroy him.¹³³

Romanness, therefore, in the world of post-Roman Syriac Christians, might mean many things and it is important when discussing it to keep in mind the diversity of contexts, confessional and otherwise, in which Rome, the Emperor, and Romanness appeared, for as the Middle Ages progressed, these words were acquiring new meanings without losing old ones. These notions could vary markedly depending on who was employing them and what the audience was. To Christians writing world histories for their own communities, Rome might mean one thing. To Christians polemicizing against other Christians, 'Rome' might mean something totally different. To Christians trying to make sense of their position under Muslim rule, Rome might mean something still different, though perhaps related to how they viewed Rome in the history of their own churches. Rome could mean Rome. It could also mean Constantinople. It might signal Greek and it might also refer to Latin. It might evoke a source of Christian hope and Christian pride. It might also provoke disgust at Christian arrogance. Romans might be Chalcedonians and they might be soldiers. They might even include Alexander and his followers.

It is important to remember that the wide harvest of meanings that we find in the post-Roman world came from seeds that were planted when the Near East was under Roman domination and that many of the same ambiguities of meaning can also be found in Greek sources in the same period. For Syriac-speaking Christians, Rome was most often Christian Rome; the emperor might be an eschatological figure because he was a Christian Emperor; Chalcedonians were Greeks because this was the language and doctrinal stance of the imperial church. Most fundamentally, in a Syriac milieu, it was Constantine's conversion and the subsequent identification of the Roman Empire with Christianity which had the most profound effect on what Rome meant for Christians, of all confessions, long after Rome had left the Middle East. Christianity had introduced a fundamental separation between pre- and post-Constantinian Rome into how Syriac-speaking Christians and their discursive descendants in the Middle Ages understood the Roman past and viewed Romans in their present. Constantine's conversion ultimately meant that nearly 1400 years after Heraclius famously bid Syria farewell and hundreds of years after the New Rome was conquered for the last time, there would still be *Rūm*, Romans, in the Middle East. These are no longer soldiers or officials but rather members of a church in communion with the church of the city that Constantine founded in the fourth century.

132 Ps. Methodius, *Apocalypse*, trans. Brock, 238. Syriac text in ed. Reinink, 40.

133 Ps. Methodius, *Apocalypse*, trans. Brock, 240; see 240–242. Syriac text in ed. Reinink, 45.

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Index

Note: Index contains references to persons and places. Spelling and descriptions follow the respective occurrences in the contributions.

- Aachen 241f., 251, 399
Aare 398
'Abd al-Raḥmān I, emir of Córdoba 380, 388
'Abd al-Raḥmān II, emir of Córdoba 382, 383, 386
'Abd al-Raḥmān III, caliph of Córdoba 380, 389f.
Abdullāh b. Kulayb, Andalusī commander 382, 391
Abū Zakariyyā' Denḥā, miaphysite author 461
Achilles, bishop of Spoleto 79, 197, 213, 301
Acilius Glabrio, consul 76
Aconia Fabia Paulina, wife of Praetextatus 62
Adalbert I, margrave of Tuscany 175, 191, 239
Adalgis, prince of Benevento 184
Adelperga, wife of Arechis II 17, 218
Adeodatus, pope 150
Adrianople, see Hadrianople
Adriatic Sea 241f., 244–247, 250, 252
Ægidius, *magister militum per Gallias* 284, 296
Aethicus Ister 249
Africa 4, 12, 30, 49f., 78, 80, 85, 88, 91–93, 103, 259–261, 311, 372, 377, 379f., 386, 407, 439–456
Agapitus II, pope 180, 184
Agapius, bishop of Manbij 472f.
Agathias, Byzantine historian 25, 299
Agatho, pope 150
Agaune/Saint-Maurice, Valais 283–285
Agilo, Alamannic commander 81
Agobard of Lyons, archbishop 334, 338, 344
Agrippinus, *magister militum per Gallias* 261, 284
Aguilers 245–247
Aistulf, king of the Lombards 21, 219, 223
Aithiopes 443
al-Andalus 379–392
al-Bakrī, Andalusī historian and geographer 380, 386f.
al-Ġahiz, Arab author 116
al-Ḥakam II, caliph of Córdoba 380
al-Ḥimyarī, Andalusī author 387
al-Ḥurr, governor of al-Andalus 384
al-Maqqarī, Algerian scholar, 17th c. 385, 387–390
al-Rāzī, see Moro Rasis
al-Rusāfa, villa around Córdoba 380
al-Samḥ, governor of al-Andalus 385
al-Zahrā', slave girl of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III 390
Alais, Lombard invader 209
Alamanni 18, 25, 75, 78, 80–84, 256, 262, 305, 359f., 377, 397
Alans 29, 112, 276
Alaric I, king of the Visigoths 65, 93, 106,
Alaric II, king of the Visigoths 13f., 275, 279, 333f., 336, 346f., 373, 376
Albania 112, 249, 400
Alberic II of Spoleto 171, 178f., 181–193
Alcalá de Guadaira/Qa'lat Ghazwān 382
Alcuin of York 167, 174
Alda, daughter of Hugh of Provence, wife of Alberic II 186
Alemannia 396, 398, 420
Aleppo 467, 472
Alexander the Great 88, 249, 265, 330, 450, 469–472, 479
Alexander III, emperor 224
Alexandria 73, 373, 458, 469, 475f.
Algeria 439f., 445f., 456
Almería 390
Alps 8, 18, 154f., 173f., 395f., 398, 401, 427, 433
Alsace 312, 316, 397–399
Altava/Oran 453
Amalaric, king of the Visigoths 371f.
Amalfi 219, 230, 235, 241
Amaury I, king of Jerusalem 247
Ambrose of Milan, Church Father 64f., 67
Ambrose, *primicerius* 176
Amid, Persia 458f.
Amida 75, 83, 85
Amiternum 198, 209
Ammadara/Haidra 441
Ammianus Marcellinus 10, 12, 16, 47–50, 71–89, 256, 259, 264, 289, 450–452
Ampsaga, river 439, 441
Anastasius, emperor 281, 458–460

- Anastasius, Syrian missionary 205
 Anastasius Bibliothecarius 146, 226–228, 237f.
 Anatolia 128, 134, 206, 248
 Anatolikon, thema 137
 Andrea Dandolo, doge of Venice 245
 Andrew, *prior* of Zadar 250f.
 Andronikos, metropolitan of Sardeis 120
 Angeltrude, wife of Guy III of Spoleto 175
 Anicii, Roman aristocratic family 178
 Anna Comnena 232
 Ansbert, Carolingian ancestor 11
 Ansegis of Fontanelle 337f.
 Anthemius, emperor 286
 Antioch 72, 476f.
 Antoninus Pius, emperor 448
 Antony the Younger 132f.
 Aphrahat, Syriac-Christian author 471f.
 Apollinaris, son of Sidonius Apollinaris 180f., 267
 Apollonia 444
 Apulia 224, 231–235
 Aquitaine 18, 29, 38, 199, 290, 302, 315, 334, 336f., 339, 360
 Arabian Peninsula/*Arabia* 379f., 383
 Arabs 20, 47, 116, 130, 222, 224, 237, 386, 440, 456, 461
 Arbeo, bishop of Freising 420, 426, 428, 433f.
 Arbon 423
Arborychi 16
 Arcadius, emperor 459f.
 Arechis II, duke of Benevento 218f.
 Aridius, *consiliarius* of Gundobad 267
 Arintheus, military commander 81
 Aristotle 472, 475
 Arles 42f., 55, 186, 317
 Armenia, Armenians 20, 28, 78, 84, 112, 128, 133f., 136f., 231, 259, 377, 461, 466, 469
 Arn, archbishop of Salzburg 423
 Arnulf of Carinthia, emperor 163, 174f., 429
 Arnulf of Metz 310
 Aromunians, see also Vlachs 400
 Arras 322
 Arris, Numidia 453
 Arsacids, Byzantine regnal family 136
 Artabasdos, Byzantine general 131
 Arvandus, prefect of Gaul 286
Arverni 17f., 29f., 44, 46, 53, 55, 266f., 273
 Asia 9
 Asia Minor 79, 120, 132f., 137, 139, 467
 – Central Asia 457
 – see also Middle East
 – see also Near East
 – see also *Oriens*
 Assisi 207f.
 Assyrians 305
 Astronomer, biographer of Louis the Pious 243
Astures 377
 Aternum 209
 Athanasius of Alexandria 465
 Athanasius I, bishop of Naples 221, 226, 465
 Athanasius II, bishop of Naples 221
 Athens 9, 111, 200, 208, 214, 305
 Atlas Mountains 444f.
 Atrani 235
 Attalus, relative of Gregory of Tours 287
 Attila, king of the Huns 118
Augusta Emerita, see Mérida
 Augustine of Hippo, Church Father 22, 25, 65, 91–109, 205, 447f.
 Augustus, emperor 52, 63, 86, 115, 173, 181, 186, 192, 202, 222f., 225–227, 256, 296f., 385, 439, 441, 447, 452, 459, 462, 473
 Aurelianus, *consiliarius* of Clovis 267, 306
 Aurelius Victor 48, 146
 Aurès Mountains 445
 Ausonia 17
 Ausonius 49f.
 Austoriani 80, 85
 Autun 335
 Auvergne 18, 54, 266f., 289, 314f., 317, 336
 Auxilius of Naples, author 228
 Avars 20, 117, 243, 251, 419
 Aventine 162, 181, 183, 239
 Avitus, emperor, see Eparchius Avitus
 Avitus of Vienne, bishop 25, 66, 277, 280–283, 285, 287f.
 Avitus II, bishop of Clermont 317
 Babylon 95, 103
 Baetica 373, 383
 Baghdad 116, 462, 474f., 477
 Bainobaudes, military commander 81
 Balderic, Friulan duke 243
 Baldock 403, 408, 411, 415
 Balkans 27, 73, 114, 120, 128, 130, 132f., 395, 399–401
 Bappo, military commander 81

- Bar 247
 Bar Hebraeus, Syrian orthodox chronicler
 458–461, 470, 473, 475 f.
 Bari 13, 224, 226, 228, 233, 237
 Basil I, emperor 132 f., 136–138, 226 f., 236–
 238, 244
 Basil II, emperor 134, 461
 Basques 306, 386
 Batavian 44, 50, 263
 Bavaria, Bavarians 208, 335 f., 340, 360,
 396–399, 401, 419–436
 Bayeux 30
 Bede 160, 174, 200, 224
 Beja 382, 387
Belgica 261, 285
 Belgium 400, 405
 Benedict II, pope 151 f.
 Benedict III, pope 162, 168, 176
 Benedict, brother of Pope Sergius II 190
 Benedict Campaninus 183, 186 f., 189
 Benedict of Soracte 168 f., 181, 194
 Benevento 202, 210, 218–220, 222 f., 226,
 228, 230
 Berbers 386, 440, 447, 454
 Berengar I, emperor 191
 Berengar II, king of Italy 191
 Bernard, king of Italy 243
 Bernard, Frankish monk 248 f.
 Bernard of Clairvaux 158 f.
 Berta, abbess of Sant'Eufemia, Spoleto 10,
 211 f.
 Bettona 205
 Bevagna 198, 205, 207
Bituriges 44, 46
 Bobbio 204–207
 Boethius 279
 Bolsena, lake 205
 Boniface, saint 174, 420
 Bonitus, bishop of Clermont 15, 267, 269, 317
 Bosphorus 241
 Bourges 54
 Brabant 399
 Braga 386 f.
 Brennus, chieftain of the Senones 174
 Bricius, Syrian missionary 205–207, 212
 Briccius, bishop of Tours 65, 266 f.
 Britain, *Britannia*, Britains 6, 24, 42, 49, 73,
 75, 78, 252, 261, 276, 286, 372, 395,
 400 f., 403–417, 441
 Brunhild, wife of king Sigibert 300 f.
 Budapest 261
 Bulgaria, Bulgars 128, 130, 134, 138, 243,
 246, 248
 Bulla/Hammam Daradji 441, 449
 Burdunelus, usurper in *Hispania* 373
 Burgundians 14, 29 f., 43, 51, 72, 81, 194, 257,
 259, 269, 272, 275–283, 285–289, 291,
 295, 305 f., 326, 333–335, 340, 343–347,
 350, 359–361, 368, 374
 Burgundy 266 f., 290, 306, 333–335, 339,
 357, 425, 435
 Byzacena, Roman province 449, 454 f.
 Cadbury Congresbury 405–407, 409, 412 f.,
 416
 Cádiz 382, 387, 391
 Caesar, Gaius Julius 4, 47, 55, 77 f., 289, 296,
 301, 380, 388, 439, 441, 447, 461, 468
Caesaraugusta, see Zaragoza
 Caesarea 446
 Cain 98
 Cairo 477
 Callinicum/Leontopolis, today Raqqa 67, 459
 Cambrai 15, 296, 319 f.
 Cantabrians 377
 Capellianus, Numidian governor 442
 Cappadocia 134, 256
 Capsa 441
 Capua 218, 221 f., 225 f., 239
 Caracalla, emperor 5, 12, 36, 50, 325, 430,
 446
 Caretena, wife of Gundobad 282
 Carloman the Elder, *maior domus* 269
 Carloman the Younger, king of the Franks 225,
 228
 Carloman, king of Italy and Eastern Francia
 229
 Cartagena/*Cartago Nova* 375
 Carteia 262
 Carthage 9, 65, 71, 85, 91, 93, 99 f., 389, 439,
 441–444, 447, 453–456
 Carus, emperor 259
 Cassian, see John Cassian
 Cassiodorus 10, 21, 38, 66 f., 271, 275, 277,
 279 f., 287, 434
 Cassius Dio 50, 256
 Cato the Elder 76
 Cavtat/*Epidaurum* 242
 Cecaumenus, historian 248
 Celestine, pope 147, 151

- Celian Hill 162
 Celtiberians 377
 Celts 50, 396, 399
 Cerimon, *scolasticus* healed by St Valentine 200
 Cetheus, bishop of Amiternum 198, 209 f.
 Chadoindus, commander of king Dagobert's army 306
 Champagne 46, 302
 Charibert, Merovingian king 34, 301
 Charlemagne 11, 18, 21, 129, 149, 154, 159, 162, 165, 167 f., 173–175, 182, 204, 210, 222, 225, 227 f., 242, 335 f., 341, 347, 352, 379, 425
 Charles the Bald, emperor 173, 224, 229, 238, 321, 337, 339, 344
 Charles the Fat, emperor 184, 229
 Chelles 319 f.
 Chiemsee 420
 Childebert II, Merovingian king 7, 303
 Childeric I, father of Clovis 296–298, 340, 346 f.
 Childeric II, Merovingian king 314, 335, 340
 Chilperic, king of the Burgundians 277 f., 281, 283–286
 Chilperic I, Merovingian king 21, 54, 56, 298 f., 301 f., 320, 352
 China 125, 457
 Chintila, king of the Visigoths 374
 Chiusi 202
 Chlothar I, Merovingian king 300
 Chlothar II, Merovingian king 309, 317–320, 335, 340, 357 f., 361
 Christopher, *primicerius* 176
 Chrodober of Tours, bishop 313
 Chrotechildis, wife of Clovis 282, 306
 Chur 18, 25
Churraetia 336, 343
 Cicero 22, 60, 96, 98–100, 103–105, 107, 226
 Cirta 441
 Claudian, poet 264, 430
 Claudius, emperor 9, 17, 298, 439, 460
 Claudius, *dux* of Reccared 374
 Claudius, *maior domus* 268, 306
 Clement, pope 153
 Clement of Ochrid, saint 129
 Cleph, king of the Lombards 36
 Clermont 18, 54, 64, 270, 287, 289, 291, 297, 313–315
 Cletus, pope 153, 265
 Clodius Albinus, emperor/usurper 259
 Clovis I, Merovingian king 25, 52, 65, 267, 279, 281, 294–298, 305 f., 346 f., 354
 Clovis II, Merovingian king 312
 Cologne 258, 260, 357 f.
 Columbanus, Irish monk 303, 322
 Comentiolus, *dux* of Emperor Maurice 375
 Constance, lake 397 f.
 Constantine, Byzantine patrician 137
 Constantine, senator of the city of Rome 184
 Constantine I, emperor 23, 61, 82, 86, 173 f., 181, 184, 192, 224 f., 241, 256, 328, 364, 450 f., 460 f., 463–466, 468, 470 f., 473, 479
 Constantine V, emperor 131, 133, 136, 460
 Constantine VI, emperor 129
 Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, emperor 18, 114, 116, 130, 136, 232, 238, 242–244, 248, 251
 Constantine Leichudes, patriarch of Constantinople 115
 Constantinople 11, 20, 39, 66, 77, 79, 86, 88, 111 f., 120, 128 f., 131–134, 136–139, 150, 157, 170, 173, 182, 191, 209 f., 214, 217–219, 221–225, 228–233, 237–240, 245 f., 248 f., 251, 375, 381, 386, 389, 391, 454–456, 458, 460 f., 467, 473, 476 f., 479
 Constantius I, emperor 256, 451
 Constantius II, emperor 76, 81, 85–87, 459
 Constantius, bishop of Perugia 198
 Constantius, priest 180
 Córdoba 257, 380–391
 Cornelius, pope 65, 148
 Craton, orator 200
 Cres 244
 Crescentii, Roman aristocratic family 179, 183–185, 187 f., 191 f.
 Crescentius de Theodora, see Crescentii
 Crescentius II, see Crescentii
 Croatia, Croats 241, 243 f.
 Crossgates 413–417
 Cumans 246
Cunetio, Roman town near Mildenhall 412
 Cyprian of Carthage, bishop 65, 456
 Cyrenaica 443–445, 456
 Cyril of Alexandria, patriarch 118
 Cyrillona, Syriac poet 459, 463, 472

- Dacians 256, 400
 Dacorumans 400
 Dagobert I, Merovingian king 306, 357f., 425
 Dalmatia 18, 116, 241–252, 400
 Damascus 384
 Damasus, pope 61, 151, 213f., 265
 Daniel of Salah, Syriac author 468
 Dante Alighieri 158
 Danube 21, 47, 66, 88, 256, 260, 397, 399f., 419f.
 David bar Paulus, miaphysite writer 475
 David the Armenian 458
 de Imiza, Roman aristocratic family 182f., 187, 192
 Delphi 115
 Demetrios Chomatenos, archbishop of Ohrid 119
 Demetrius de Melioso, Roman *dux* 185f.
 Deoteria, wife of Theudebert 306
 Dertosa/Tortosa 373
 Desiderius of Cahors 267, 269, 314
 Dicket Mead 408
 Digenis Akritas 117
 Dinaric Alps 246
 Diocles of Peparethus, Ps.– 472
 Diocletian, emperor 36, 116, 177, 243, 377, 459
 Dionysius Bar Šalībī, Syrian orthodox patriarch 470, 473f., 477
 Djerba/Meninx 445
 Domitian, emperor 47, 179, 430, 460
 Doquz Khatun, wife of Hülägü 464
 Doukas, Byzantine historian 120
 Drepanum/Trapani 289
 Dubrovnik/Ragusa 241, 243, 247
 Duklja, medieval Serb state 246, 248
 Durrës 244, 246

 Ebosium, Roman military camp 315
 Edessa 457, 459, 462, 470
 Egeria, pilgrim 112f.
 Egypt, Egyptians 20, 48, 72f., 75, 79, 114, 264, 295, 386, 443f., 446, 456f., 478
 Einhard, Carolingian scholar 242
 El Agheila 444
 Eleutherius, pope 147, 207
 Elias bar Shināyā, metropolitan of Nisibis 461
 Elias Speleotes, saint 235f.
 Elias the Younger 236f.
 Eligia, mother of Praeiection of Clermont 314
 Eligius, bishop of Noyon 15, 269f., 272
 Elvira 387
 England 42, 56, 396, 399
 Ennodius, bishop of Pavia 271, 280
 Eparchius Avitus, emperor 266, 285, 289, 297f., 316
 Ephrem the Syrian, author 465, 470
Epidaurum, see Cavtat
 Erchempert of Montecassino 219–222, 225
 Ermengard, wife of Lothar 176
 Eugenius I, pope 150, 205
 Eugenius Vulgarius 185f., 228
 Eugippius, hagiographer 21, 419
 Euhesperides/Berenike, today Benghazi 444
 Euric, king of the Visigoths 262, 270f., 279, 286f., 333f., 336, 373, 376
 Eusebius of Caesarea 305, 467
 Eustathius of Thessalonica 116
 Euticius, Syrian missionary 205
 Eutropius, historian 146, 208, 218, 223
 Evagrius Scholasticus, historian 467
 Evaristus, pope 153

 Fabricius Luscinius, Roman consul 84
 Farfa 152, 179, 199, 204, 206, 209
 Faroald I, duke of Spoleto 198, 209f., 214
 Faroald II, duke of Spoleto 211
 Faustus, bishop of Riez 285
 Felicianus, bishop 207f.
 Felix IV, pope 152
 Firmus, African usurper 450–452
 Flanders 312, 399
 Flodoard of Reims, historian 387
 Florence 261
 Florentius, hagiographer 318
 Florus, *superista* 176
 Foligno 198f., 207, 214
 Formose, pope 228
 France 290, 405
 Francia 146, 273, 321, 344, 391, 420, 422, 425
 Francus, mythical ancestor 249
 Franks 7f., 13–18, 21f., 24f., 27, 29f., 32–34, 38, 42f., 46–48, 50, 52f., 55f., 80, 82f., 88, 146, 154f., 157, 163, 167–170, 174–176, 204, 214, 222f., 225, 227, 229, 242f., 249, 252, 261, 266, 269f., 276, 287–290, 293–299, 302, 304–307, 326–328, 330–368, 371f., 374, 390f., 419, 424f., 435, 472–474
 Fredegar 16, 49, 249, 268, 297, 303–307

- Freising 420 f., 424, 426–429, 431
 Frisia 257, 312, 360
 Friuli 242 f., 433
 Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspe 66
 Fuscina, sister of Avitus of Vienne 281
- Gabès, Gulf of 445
 Gabriel ibn Bukhtisho', Baghdadi physician 474
 Gaeta 235
 Gaius, pope 153, 265
 Gaius, jurist 362
 Galba, emperor 449
 Galerius, emperor 450
 Gallus, saint 423
Garamantes 455
 Gaugeric of Cambrai, bishop 315
 Gaul, Gauls 5, 9, 11, 15–19, 25, 29 f., 34, 38, 41 f., 44, 46–49, 51–53, 55 f., 65, 72, 75, 77 f., 80, 85, 169, 199, 255–273, 280, 284–287, 289 f., 292–301, 303, 310 f., 314–318, 322 f., 325–328, 330 f., 333 f., 342–345, 347, 354–357, 371 f., 396, 423, 435
 Geiseric, king of the Vandals 451
 Gelasius, pope 152, 265, 275, 287
 Gelimer, king of the Vandals 452
 Genesius, bishop of Clermont 137, 270, 314 f.
 Gennadius of Marseille, bishop 260
 Genoa 67
 George Metochites 119
 George, miaphysite bishop of the Arab tribes 472, 478
 George, saint 149
 Georgians 112, 231, 466
 German, Germans 4, 6, 12, 14, 17, 25, 33 f., 38 f., 44–47, 81, 169, 187 f., 192, 231, 239, 252, 260, 271, 278, 280 f., 283, 303, 345 f., 350, 353, 356, 376, 395–401, 419–424, 427, 429–435, 453
 Germanus, bishop of Paris 54
 Germanus of Granval, abbot 315–317
 Germany 34, 256, 329, 397
Getae 256
 Gildo, African usurper 450–452
 Gisulf I, Prince of Salerno 220
 Glycerius, emperor 260
 Goar, saint 39, 266
 Godegisel, brother of Gundobad 267, 276, 278, 281 f.
- Godomar, king of the Burgundians 277
 Gomacharius, Visigothic count 271 f.
 Gordian I, emperor 449
 Gordian III, emperor 208, 442
 Goths 8, 10 f., 17 f., 20 f., 24 f., 27 f., 32, 34 f., 38, 41, 43, 46, 65 f., 77, 80, 82, 93, 112, 212, 217, 220, 256, 262, 265 f., 269 f., 272, 276, 283, 292, 296, 334, 345, 399
 – Ostrogoths 27 f., 51, 66 f., 271, 275, 279 f., 282, 373
 – Visigoths 13, 65, 262, 270 f., 275, 287, 290, 300, 333–336, 344, 346, 350, 371–379, 383–386, 388, 390, 425, 452
 Gottschalk of Orbais 155, 250
 Granada 387
 Gratian, emperor 86, 430, 464
 Gratian, *superista* 176
 Greece/*Grecia* 25, 112, 162, 224
 Greeks 3 f., 16–18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 35 f., 72 f., 78, 80, 88, 96 f., 111–114, 116–121, 124, 128–130, 132 f., 137, 139, 150 f., 161–163, 165, 168–170, 200–202, 205, 214, 218, 220 f., 223–225, 227 f., 231–240, 242 f., 249–251, 257, 283, 287, 302, 304, 315, 387 f., 395, 400 f., 407 f., 443 f., 446 f., 454, 459, 461, 464, 469–479
 Gregorius, Byzantine exarch 456
 Gregorius de Aventino 181
 Gregory I, the Great, pope 10 f., 13, 65, 148, 152, 162, 167, 184, 198, 201, 205 f., 209, 214, 242
 Gregory II, pope 153, 420
 Gregory III, pope 148 f., 151 f., 204
 Gregory IV, pope 153
 Gregory V, pope 192
 Gregory de Tusculum, son of Marozia II and Crescentius II 186
 Gregory of Tours, bishop 11, 15, 21, 30, 34, 42, 46–48, 52–56, 64–67, 261 f., 266 f., 271–273, 276, 281 f., 287, 291–307, 311, 316, 318, 333, 347–349, 352, 354, 356, 474
Greuthingi 256
 Grimoald III, prince of Benevento 220
 Grimoald, mayor of the Austrasian palace 313
 Guadalquivir 382, 385 f.
 Guiseldardus, deacon of Benevento 228
 Gunderada, abbess of Sant'Eufemia 212
 Gundichar, king of the Burgundians 277
 Gundioc, king of the Burgundians 267, 277

- Gundobad, king of the Burgundians 267, 272, 275–286, 288, 306, 333f.
- Gundolenus, father of Praeiectus of Clermont 314
- Gunthram, Merovingian king 29
- Hadrian, emperor 201, 442, 448
- Hadrian I, pope 146, 149, 151, 153, 157, 168, 176f., 203f
- Hadrian II, pope 154, 162, 177, 184
- Hadrianople 77, 292
- Hagiotheodorites, see John Hagiotheodorites
- Hebrews 104, 305
- Helena, mother of Emperor Constantine 463f.
- Henry II, emperor 222
- Heraclius, emperor 458, 465, 479
- Heraclius, *vir illuster* 281
- Herodian, historian 446, 450
- Herodotus of Halicarnassos 72, 443
- Hertfordshire 408–411, 416
- Hesiod, Greek poet 116
- Hildebrand, duke of Spoleto 204
- Himyar 462
- Hincmar of Reims, archbishop 321, 339
- Hippo Regius 93, 441
- Hippolytus of Rome, Greek author 469
- Hishām I, emir of Córdoba 390
- Hispani*, Hispano-Romans 32, 44, 256, 372–375, 377, 381
- Hispania*, see Spain
- Honorius, emperor 347, 459, 464
- Honorius, pope 145, 148
- Horidac, barbarian leader 262
- Hortarius, king of the *Alamanni* 80
- Hugh of Provence, king of Italy 186, 188f., 191, 193, 405
- Hülägi/Hulagu, Mongol khan 23, 464
- Huneric, king of the Vandals 453
- Huns 80, 262, 276, 459
- Hydatius, historian 304f.
- Hymnemosus, abbot of Agaune 283
- lasyges* 256
- Iberian Peninsula 371, 373, 375, 377, 381, 383, 387
- Ibn al-ʿArid, Nestorian patriarch 474
- Ibn al-Ṭayyib, Nestorian monk and author 469
- Ibn Bashkuwāl, Andalusī historian 388–390
- Ibn Ghālib, Andalusī author 387f.
- Ibn Ḥabīb, Andalusī historian 381, 391
- Ibn Ḥayyān, Andalusī historian 381–383
- Ibn Khaldūn, Arab historian 380
- Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī, Andalusī historian 387
- Ibn Zaydūn, Andalusī poet 383
- Ibrahim ibn Ahmad, emir of Kairouan 221
- Ildebrandus, Roman aristocrat 184, 186
- Illyricum 249f.
- Importunus of Paris, bishop 313
- Ingebald of Sabina, *dux et rector* 185
- Inn 426, 433
- Innichen 427
- Innocent I, pope 147
- Innocent III, pope 248
- Iraq 462, 464, 469, 475
- Isaac I Comnenus, emperor 115
- Isaurians 79, 377
- Ishoʿdad of Merv, Nestorian author 469
- Isidore of Seville 10, 12, 20, 31f., 67, 144, 241, 375, 377, 380
- Israel, Israelites 294f., 466
- Istria 249, 251f., 433
- Italians 30, 44, 49, 158, 229, 287, 395, 399f., 440
- Italy 10, 12, 17, 20f., 31, 34f., 38, 51, 61, 64, 66f., 73, 78, 91, 146, 157, 162, 166, 168, 187, 190–192, 197–199, 201–204, 206–210, 213f., 217–220, 222–225, 227–232, 235–237, 239, 241f., 246, 251, 256, 261, 269, 278–280, 285, 290, 300, 329, 336, 342, 372, 399, 419f., 422, 428, 434, 448, 450, 472
- Byzantine Italy 13, 232–237, 239
- Lombard Italy 12, 56, 424, 432
- luvavum*, see Salzburg
- Jacob of Edessa, miaphysite bishop and author 464, 470, 475
- Jacob of Sarugh, miaphysite author 462–464
- Jerome, Church Father 106, 218, 292, 304f.
- Jerusalem 95, 112, 478f.
- Jews 26, 30, 67, 113, 118, 163, 227, 231, 454, 474
- Johannes, son of Lupus 302
- John, bishop of Porto 150
- John, bishop of Spoleto 198, 205, 212
- John I Crescentius, see Crescentii
- John I Tzimiskes, emperor 114
- John II Crescentius, see Crescentii
- John III, pope 147f.
- John III Doukas Batatzes, emperor 120

- John VII, pope 182
 John VIII, pope 174, 221, 229, 238
 John X, pope 228 f.
 John XII, pope/Octavian, son of Alberic II
 186 f., 194, 220
 John XVI, pope/John Philagathos 191 f.
 John Cassian, monk and author 201
 John de Melioso, son of Demetrius de Melioso
 187
 John de Papa, Roman aristocrat 182
 John de Primicerio, Roman aristocrat 184–187
 John Galenos, Byzantine grammarian 116
 John Hagiotheodorites, friend of Theodoros II
 Laskaris 119
 John Italos, student of Michael Psellos 232
 John Kinnamos, Byzantine historian 139
 John Kourkouas, Byzantine army leader 131
 John of Biclar, Visigothic historian 377
 John of Ephesus, miaphysite historian 467 f.
 John of Montecassino, hagiographer 211 f.,
 214
 John Particiacus, doge of Venice/Giovanni I Partic-
 cipazio 244
 John Scylitzes, Byzantine historian 114, 138
 John the Deacon, Neapolitan historian 221
 John the Deacon, Venetian historian 190, 223,
 244 f.
 John the Deacon of Rome/John Hymonides, ha-
 giographer 146, 180
 John Tzetzes, Byzantine poet 112
 Jonas of Bobbio, hagiographer 322
 Jordanes, historian 8, 32, 208
 Jovian, emperor 464
 Juba I, king of Numidia 439, 452
 Julian the Apostate, emperor 61, 77 f., 81,
 83–87, 205, 459, 465
 Julian, ‘the Roman’, or ‘the Soldier’, miaphysite
 patriarch 458 f.
 Julius Nepos, emperor 286
 Justin I, emperor 299, 459 f.
 Justin II, emperor 299, 455
 Justinian I, emperor 17, 35, 56, 111, 113 f., 123,
 128, 219, 222 f., 375, 452, 454 f., 460, 465,
 467 f.
 Justinian II, emperor 133, 460, 473

 Kahena, Berber princess 456
 Kairouan 221, 456
 Kalojan, Bulgarian tsar 248
 Kerkouane 447

 Ketī/Caius Iulius Gaetulius, son of Masawallat
 4
 Kibyrrhaioton 132
 Klausen 434
 Kotor 243
 Krk 243
 Kuens 426
 Kyrene 444

 La Coruña 387
 Ladins, see Vlachs
 Lambaesis/Tazoult-Lambèse 441
 Landeric, *maior domus* of Clothar II 319 f.
 Landolf, *gastald* of Capua 226
 Landolfus Sagax, Lombard historian 218, 223
 Landonolf, bishop of Capua 222
 Lateran 63, 145, 147 f., 169, 174–176, 182
 Latins 3, 30 f., 249
 Latinus, Alammanic commander 81
 Latinus, mythical Italic king 17, 31
Lauriacum/Lorch 419
 Lazio/*Latium* 17, 165, 189, 240, 248
 Le Puy 55
 Lebrija/*Nabrisa* 373
 Lecianus, *proconsul Tusciae* 202
Lemovici 46
 Leo, bishop of Agde 272
 Leo I, emperor 277, 459 f., 466, 471
 Leo II, pope 151 f.,
 Leo III, pope 146, 149, 151, 153, 173, 175
 Leo IV, pope 149 f., 153, 176
 Leo V, emperor 222 f., 242
 Leo VI, emperor 237
 Leo de Primicerio, son of John de Primicerio
 187
 Leodegar, bishop of Autun 335
 Leontius, *magister militum per Thracias*, usur-
 per 459
 Leovigild, king of the Visigoths 375 f.
 Leptis Magna 445–448
 Levant 112, 114, 474
 Libanius, rhetorician 72
 Libya 4, 440, 442, 442–447, 455
 Licinius, emperor 61, 266
 Linus, pope 153
 Liutprand, king of the Lombards 14, 204
 Liutprand of Cremona, historian 39, 187, 193 f.,
 232, 238
 Livy, historian 5, 8, 11, 71, 96, 144, 387
 Lixus 447

- Ljudevit, duke of Lower Pannonia 243
 Loire 54, 290, 296, 345, 357, 360
 Lombards 21, 23, 34–36, 38, 43, 146, 176, 198, 202, 209 f., 213, 219 f., 224 f., 237, 294, 342, 345
 Lombardy 21, 398
 Lothar I, emperor 168, 176, 193
 Louis I, the Pious, emperor 173, 242 f., 337, 342
 Louis II of Italy, emperor 149, 168, 175, 221–223, 226–229
 Louis III the Blind, emperor 186
 Lucan, Roman poet 289
 Lucius Domitius Alexander, vicar of Africa 450
 Lupicinus, saint 283–285
 Lupus, duke of the Champagne 33, 302 f.
 Lycaon, king of Arcadia 17
 Lyon 55, 260, 277, 287, 296

 Maccutians 455
 Macedonia, Macedonians 248, 256, 305, 471
 Macrobius, Roman philosopher and grammarian 60
 Maghreb 387, 445
 Magnentius, usurper 76
 Magnulf, brother of Lupus 303
 Majorian, emperor 277, 284 f., 287
 Manuel Comnenus, emperor 247
Maratocupreni 79
 Marcellinus Comes, historian 53
 Marche 248
 Marcian, emperor 277
Marcomanni 256
 Marcus Aurelius, emperor 256
Mariani, ethnic group in Dalmatia 244
 Marianus, saint 54
 Mar(in)ianus, archbishop of Ravenna 10
 Marius of Avenches, bishop and historian 282
 Marozia, *senatrix* of Rome 181, 186
 Marozia II, granddaughter of Theophylact 186
 Martial, Roman poet 10
 Martin, pope 248
 Martin of Tours, bishop 54, 266, 292
 Masties, Moorish lord 453 f.
 Masuna, Moorish lord 453 f.
 Matera 224
Mauretania/Mauretania Tingitana 377, 439, 441, 444–447, 453 f.
 Maurice, emperor 299, 375
 Maxentius, emperor 450
 Maximian, emperor 442
 Maximinus Thrax, emperor 450
 Maximus of Madaura, pagan philosopher 447
 Maximus the Confessor, theologian 467
 Medes 305
 Mediterranean Sea 59, 71, 73, 91, 155, 164, 201, 231, 250, 252, 325, 407, 416, 441, 443, 447
 Melania the Younger 117, 372
 Melfi 241
Mérida/Augusta Emerita 373, 384, 387, 389
 Merovingians 27, 299, 326, 357
 Meseta 371
 Mesopotamia 461
 Metz 53, 303, 316, 357
 Michael II, emperor 133, 137, 222
 Michael IV Paphlagon, emperor 115
 Michael VI, emperor 115
 Michael Keroularios, patriarch of Constantinople 115
 Michael Psellos, Byzantine scholar and historian 115 f., 233
 Michael the Syrian, Syrian historian 460, 467, 477 f.
 Micipsa I, king of Numidia 441
 Middle East 446, 457, 464 f., 474, 476–479
 Milan 64, 66 f.
 Modaharius, Goth 262
 Moesia 256
 Mondsee 421
 Monemvasia 245
 Monnica, mother of Augustine 91
 Montecassino 211 f., 214, 219, 225, 239
 Montenegro 243, 246
 Moors 82, 269, 453–456
 Morlachs, see Vlachs
 Moro Rasis/al-Rāzī, Andalusī historian 380, 387
 Morocco 445 f.
 Moselle 398 f., 401
 Mozarabs 231
 Muḥammad, emir of Córdoba 390
 Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-‘Ash’ath al-Qurashī, Andalusī historian 382
 Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr, governor of al-Andalus 391
 Muslims 130, 379 f., 385–387, 462, 475, 478
 Mutina 256

Nabrissa, see Lebrija
 Najran 462

- Naples 163, 167, 218–221, 226, 228, 235, 240
 Narbonne 371, 390
 Narentans 244
Naristae 256
 Narses, Byzantine general 28, 34 f.
 Near East 71, 165, 224, 479
 Nero, emperor 256, 296, 449, 460–462
 Nerva, emperor 166, 178 f., 460
 Netherlands 399
 Nevitta, military commander 83 f.
 Nicaea 119, 139
 Nicephorus, ambassador of Emperor Leo V 242, 460
 Nicetius, bishop of Lyon 272
 Nicetius, bishop of Trier 316
 Nicholas I, pope 146, 153, 162
 Nicholas Mesarites 119
 Nikephoros, patriarch of Constantinople 131 f.
 Nikephoros Kallistou Xanthopoulos, historian 115
 Nikephoros II Phokas, emperor 133, 238
 Niketas Choniates, historiographer 139
 Nile 443 f.
 Nocera Umbra 207, 219
 Noheda/Ciudad Real 372
 Nonnica/Monnica, wife of Nubel 451
 Norcia 199, 207
Noricum 419, 426, 428, 433, 435
 Normans 231–234, 339, 381
 North Sea 312
 Notker the Stammerer, author 168, 175
 Notker the German, author 396
 Nubel, military commander 450–452, 454
 Numidia 439, 441 f., 445–447, 453 f.
 Numitor, mythical king of Alba Longa 249

 Odilo, duke of Bavaria 431
 Odoacer/Odovacar, king of Italy 27, 451
 Oea, see Tripolis
Oriens 113 f.
 Orléans 29, 269
 Orosius, historian 380 f., 387 f.
 Osor 243 f.
 Ostia 149, 162
 Ostrogoths, see Goths
 Otto I, emperor 184, 187, 192, 224
 Otto II, emperor 173, 180, 225, 240
 Otto III, emperor 171, 173, 175, 182 f., 191 f., 198, 212 f.
 Palatine 162, 173, 176, 178, 181–183, 191
 Palestine 132, 205
 Pancras, martyr 175 f.
 Pannonia 16, 49, 78, 209, 259–261, 264, 266 f., 419, 434
 Paris 54, 98, 259, 298, 313 f., 340
 Parma 256
 Parthenius, grandson of Emperor Avitus 316, 356
 Parthians 459
 Paschal I, pope 151, 168, 170, 176
 Passau 397, 421, 432, 434
 Patiens, bishop of Lyon 286
 Paul, apostle 228, 295, 310, 119, 147 f.
 Paul I, pope 146, 151, 157, 162, 177
 Paul Afiarta, *superista* 176
 Paul of Edessa, bishop 464
 Paul the Deacon 10 f., 17, 21, 23, 34–38, 160, 169, 204, 208, 210, 218, 220, 428, 433
 Paulicians 133 f.
 Paulus, *dux* of Wamba 266, 373 f.
 Pavia 202
 Pechina 390
 Pelagius, pope 150
 Peloponnese 245
 Persia 72, 461, 472
 Persians 20, 75, 80, 84 f., 131, 205, 208, 457, 459–465
 Perugia 198, 205–207
 Pescara 209
 Pescennius Niger, emperor 259
 Petchenegs 246
 Peter, apostle 23, 64, 145 f., 149, 152–154, 157, 174–176, 190, 192, 197 f., 203–206, 210, 212–214, 221, 224 f., 228, 230, 240, 473
 Peter, patriarch of Constantinople 150
 Peter, prefect of Rome 184
 Peter II Orseolo, Venetian duke 244 f.
 Peter Medicus, founder of S. Maria in Pallara 182
 Peter the Subdeacon, author 218 f.
 Petronius Maximus, emperor 285
 Petrus, usurper in *Hispania* 373
 Philippicus Bardanes, emperor 11, 157
 Phocas/Phokas, emperor 23, 131, 138, 209, 214
 Phoenicians 443
 Pićan 433
 Picts 80

- Pippin, king of Italy 422
 Pippin II of Aquitaine 339
 Pippin III, king of the Franks 157 f., 162, 174, 204, 223, 269, 336 f., 339
 Pirton 411
 Pîtres 339
 Platon, father of Pope John VII 182
 Plestia 207
 Pliny, historian 22, 50, 377, 441, 443 f., 446, 449
 Poitiers 267, 299
 Polybius, historian 89, 444
 Pontic provinces 78
 Portus 162
 Praeiectus, bishop of Clermont 15, 313–319, 321, 323
 Praetextatus, see Vettius Agorius Praetextatus
 Priscian, grammarian 7
 Priskos, Byzantine ambassador 118
 Probus, emperor 259
 Procopius, usurper 86 f.
 Procopius of Caesarea, historian 16 f., 28, 53, 306, 371 f., 454 f.
 Proterius, bishop of Alexandria 458
 Provence 29, 38, 339, 429, 435
 Ps.-Callisthenes 472
 Ps.-Joshua the Stylite 461 f.
 Ps.-Zacharias Rhetor 458, 460
 Ps.-Zonaras 118
 Ptolemais 444
 Ptolemy Apion, Cyrenaean king 444
 Publius Papinius Statius, poet 446
 Pustertal 434
 Pyrenees 334

Quadi 72, 80, 256, 377

 Rab 243
 Radelchis II, prince of Benevento 223
Raetia 18, 38, 80, 82, 336, 397 f., 420
 Ragusa, see Dubrovnik
 Ra's Lanuf 444
 Ravenna 10, 21, 36, 66, 163, 167, 179, 198, 201, 226, 229, 242
 Raymond, bishop of Aguilers 245–247
 Raymond of Toulouse 245
 Reccared, king of the Visigoths 374 f.
 Recceswinth, king of the Visigoths 376
 Red Sea 295
 Regensburg 420–422, 428

 Regino of Prüm 174 f., 184
 Reims 303, 315, 338
 Remiremont 303 f.
 Remus, brother of Romulus 387, 460, 472 f.
 Rhegium 256
 Rhine 80, 256 f., 262, 294, 296, 312, 395, 397–399
 Rhineland 328, 336, 343, 357 f., 405
 Rhône 87, 275, 279 f., 285, 287, 305
 Ribuarrians 358–361, 363, 367
 Ricimer, *magister militum* 277, 282, 284, 286
 Rieti 204, 206
 Riotamus, Romano-British military leader 276
 Ripa 162
 Rodelgrimus 228
 Rodrigo, king of the Visigoths 386, 390
 Romagna 21, 248
Romania 20, 116 f., 130 f., 219, 248 f., 301, 396, 399, 421, 471
 Romanians 400, 421
 Romanos Boilas, Byzantine aristocrat 115
 Romanos II, emperor 136
Romantsch 8
 Romanus, *comes Africae* 450 f.
 Romaric, founder of Remiremont 303 f.
 Romulus, founder of Rome 5, 9, 11, 17, 31 f., 94, 98, 102, 106, 178, 249, 387, 452, 460, 472 f.
 Romulus Augustulus, emperor 51
 Rom(w)ulf, *comes palatii* 33, 303
 Rothari, king of the Lombards 19, 31, 35
 Rufinus, *patricius* 460
 Rum Seljuks 39
 Rusticula, abbess of Saint-Jean of Arles 317 f.
 Rutilius Namatianus, poet 12, 49

 Saane/Sarine 398
 Säben 426, 434
 Sabines 3, 31
 Sabinian, pope 152
 Sabratha 445, 447
 Sahara 445 f.
 Sa'id b. Baṭṭīq/Eutychius, patriarch of Alexandria 476
 Ṣa'id the Andalusi 380
 Salerno 219 f., 235, 239–240, 251
 Sallust, historian 96, 98 f., 104, 443 f.
 Salvian of Marseille, author 263, 287
 Salzburg/*luvavum* 15, 18, 396, 398 f., 419, 421, 423–426, 430 f., 433–436

- Sammac, Moorish chieftain 450, 452
 Samo, Slavic ruler 358
 Saône 275
 Saracens 72, 79, 163, 167–169, 211f., 219, 384
 Sardeis 120
 Sardinia 450, 456
 Sarmatians 72, 80f., 256
 Saturninus, *comes* 451
 Saturninus, usurper 259, 264
 Saturninus of Toulouse, martyr 269
 Saxons 29f., 46, 50, 79–81, 169, 229, 266, 269, 295f., 305, 345, 360
 Scarborough 413f.
 Schäftlarn 421, 424
 Scipio Africanus 33, 71, 76, 99f., 103, 302, 443
 Scipio the Younger 439
 Sclavonia 246
 Scudilo, Alammanic commander 81
 Scythia 256
 Scythians 78, 81
 Segobriga 385
 Seleucus Nicator, diadoch 78, 472
 Senacherim/Yovhannēs s. Senek'erim, Armenian lord 134
 Senator, estate owner in Lombard Italy 12
 Seniauchus, military commander 81
 Septimania 334, 374
 Septimius Severus, emperor 177, 259, 277, 446f., 459
 Sequanians 257, 260
 Serapio, king of the *Alamanni* 80
 Serbia, Serbs 243, 247
 Sergia, wife of Crescentius de Theodora 191
 Sergius I, pope 148, 151–153, 163, 186
 Sergius II, pope 149–153, 163, 167–170, 177, 190
 Sertorius, general 87
 Severinus, pope 145
 Severinus/Severin of Noricum, saint 21, 221, 419
 Severus, grandfather of Septimius Severus 448
 Severus of Antioch, miaphysite patriarch 458, 464f.
 Seville 382, 384–386
 Shapur II, Sasanian ruler 464
 Sicily 162, 166f., 221, 224, 226, 231–233, 235, 239, 372, 381
 Sidonius Apollinaris, author 11, 17f., 21, 49, 51, 64, 261f., 265–267, 270, 273, 277, 281, 285–292
 Sidra, Gulf of/Greater Syrtis 444
 Sigibert I, Merovingian king 33, 298–301
 Sigibert III, Merovingian king 357f.
 Sigismund, king of the Burgundians 275, 277f., 280–285, 288, 335
 Silva Carbonaria 30
 Silvanus, Frankish commander 81f.
 Silverius, pope 145
 Silvester, pope 153
 Silvester II, pope 192
 Simitthu 441
 Simplicius, pope 147, 152, 265
 Sinelinda, daughter of Senator and Theodelinda 12
 Sirmium 20, 117
 Slavs 18, 114, 128, 130, 132f., 137f., 241–247, 251f., 396f., 399f., 419, 427, 429, 433
 Socrates of Constantinople, historian 282, 467
 Soissons 42f., 284, 298
 Somerset 405
 South Tyrol 30, 400
 Sozomen, historian 467
 Spain/*Hispania*/*Spania* 11, 20, 32, 38, 49, 56, 260, 262, 264, 271, 297, 301, 334, 337, 371–373, 375–381, 383–388, 390–392, 407
 Spello 207
 Spes, bishop of Spoleto 199, 212f.
 Split 243, 247
 Spoleto 17, 170, 197–214, 220
 St Albans 408
 St Peter's, Roman basilica 63, 147–149, 151, 159, 163, 166, 174f., 182, 192, 209f.
 Staffelsee 420
 Stefania, cousin of Alberic II 181, 186
 Stefano/Stephen de Imiza 181f., 184, 186f.
 Stephen II, pope 146, 150, 157, 176f.
 Stephen II, bishop of Naples 221
 Stephen III, pope 146, 149, 176f.
 Stephen V, pope 145f., 152, 237
 Stephen de Teodoro, prefect of Rome 184
 Sterzing/Vipiteno 427, 434
 Strabo, geographer 256, 377
 Stremonius, bishop of Clermont 54
 Subiaco 183, 189
 Sufetula/Sbeitla 456

- Suintila, king of the Visigoths 375
 Svjatoslav, Grand Prince of the Rus' 114
 Swabia 398f.
 Switzerland 397f.
 Syagrius, military commander 266f., 287, 290f., 296
 Symmachus, pope 148, 151f.
 Symmachus, Quintus Aurelius, author 63–65, 67, 264
 Syria 20, 24, 78f., 380f., 459f., 472, 475, 478f.
 Syrians 30, 116, 133, 198, 204–206, 260, 460f., 463f., 469f., 474–477

 Tacitus, historian 9, 47, 72, 75, 306
 Taifals 256
 Tanger/Tingis 446
 Taranto 235f., 240
 ʿIṣṭīq ibn Ziyād, Umayyad commander 381, 386, 391
Tarraconensis, Roman province 373
 Tarragona/*Tarraco* 373
 Taucheira 444
 Tazoult-Lambèse, see Lambaesis
 Telesphorus, pope 147f., 151
 Tella (Syria) 459
 Teodora, cousin of Alberic II 181
 Teodora III, sister of Marozia II 186
 Terentianus, bishop of Todi 198, 202
 Terni 198, 200, 207
 Teurnia 419
 Teutomeres, military commander 81
 Thapsus 439
 Theodelinda, wife of Senator 12
 Theoderic Strabo 28
 Theoderic the Great/Theodoric 28, 51f., 66f., 277, 279f., 379, 451
 Theodora, wife of Theophylact of Tusculum 181, 185–187
 Theodore, *primicerius* of Paschal I 176
 Theodore bar Kōnī, author 469
 Theodore of Mopsuestia, bishop 465, 470
 Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus 467, 469f.
 Theodoros II Laskaris, emperor 119f.
 Theodorus, Roman *dux* 185
 Theodosius, father of Emperor Theodosius 75, 80, 87, 451
 Theodosius I, emperor 23, 59, 67, 93, 451f., 459–461, 464, 474f.
 Theodosius II, emperor 461, 466, 471
 Theodotus, *primicerius* 176
 Theodulf of Orléans 390
 Theophanes the Confessor 129, 131f.
 Theophano, wife of Otto II 225, 239f.
 Theophilus, emperor 133, 135
 Theophylact, husband of Marozia II 186
 Theophylact of Tusculum 181, 183–187
 Theophylactus, bishop of Ochrid 129
 Thessaloniki 236
 Theudebert, Merovingian king 306, 316, 356
 Theuderic II, king of Burgundy 306
 Theudis, king of the Visigoths 335, 371–373
 Theveste/Tebessa 441
 Thimida 441
 Thomas, rebel against Michael II 133, 137f.
 Thomas bar 'Abdiyā, monk 458
 Thomas of Kafartāb, monothelite bishop 467
 Thomas the Archdeacon 247–249
 Thrace, Thracians 72, 75, 79, 133, 136, 224, 256, 264
 Thullium 4
 Thuringians 295, 346
 Thysdrus/El Djem 450
 Tiber 162, 270, 472
 Tiberius, bishop of Naples 221
 Tiberius I, emperor 256
 Tiberius II, emperor 461, 473
 Tigris 87, 258
 Timothy I, Nestorian Patriarch 475f.
 Timothy Aelurus, patriarch of Alexandria 458
 Timothy Salophaciolus, bishop of Alexandria 458
 Tirol 398
 Titus, emperor 10, 460
 Todi 198, 201f.
 Toledo 372, 374–376, 384–387
 Totila, Gothic king 28, 205
 Tournai 30
 Tours 30, 43, 47, 54, 65, 266f., 297f., 300
 Trajan, emperor 34, 78, 177, 180, 183, 192, 219, 256, 296, 447, 460
 Trajanus, Roman commander 84
 Treverian 44
 Trevi 207
 Treviso 34
 Tribonianus, Byzantine jurist 113
 Trier 56, 257, 259f., 315f., 398
 Tripolis 78, 445, 447
Tripolitani 78
 Tripolitania 439–441, 444–447, 453–456

- Trogir 243
 Troy 91, 94, 96–98, 304, 325
 Tunisia 440, 445 f., 449, 456
 Turks 120, 246
Turnacenses 46
Turoni/Turonenses 29 f., 44, 46, 266 f.
 Tusca, river 439
 Tuscans 31
 Tuscia 60, 202, 204
- Ulfilas 66
 Umayyads 379, 384, 388
 Umbolus, Lombard invader 209
 Umbria 60 f., 204–208, 212, 248
 Upper Austria 397, 399
 Uqba ibn Nafi, Umayyad commander 456
 Urbanus I, pope 205
 Ursicinus, king of the *Alamanni* 80
 Ursicinus, *magister equitum* 78
 Ursinus, bishop of Bourges 54
 Uzes 246
- Vadomarius, king of the *Alamanni* 82
 Valence 276
 Valens, emperor 459
 Valentine, pope 177, 184
 Valentine, bishop of Terni 198, 200 f., 207
 Valentinian I, emperor 49, 75, 86 f., 451, 459
 Valentinian II, emperor 63 f., 67
 Valentinian III, emperor 50, 277
 Valeria, region 211, 260, 420, 434 f., 461
 Valerianus, emperor 442, 461
 Valerius Publicola, consul 76
 Vandals 256, 451, 453–455
 Varro, author 96, 108
Vascones 377
 Vaspourakan, Armenian kingdom 134
 Vatican 174 f., 182, 192, 464
 Vegetius, author 16, 50
 Venantius Fortunatus, poet 21, 33 f., 267, 269, 287, 300–303, 307, 434
Venetia et Histria 419, 434
 Venice 189 f., 223, 251 f.
 Verdun 339, 428
 Vergil/Virgil, Roman poet 91, 95–97, 102, 106–108, 289, 325
 Verona 427
- Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, Roman aristocrat 60–62, 64
 Victor, pope 147, 207 f.
 Victor of Vita 66
 Vienna 43 f., 127, 262,
 Vienne 282
 Vigilus, pope 145, 150
 Vikings 382, 391
 Virgil, bishop of Salzburg 427, 431
 Visigoths, see Goths
 Vitalian, usurper 459
 Vlachs 37, 128, 248, 395 f., 399–401
 – Aromunians 400
 – Ladins 400
 – Morlachs 248
 – Walach 37
 – Walachians 395, 400
 – Walchen 18, 395–398, 400 f., 421, 431
 – Welsh 13, 37, 395 f., 399–401
 Vladimir, Grand Prince of the Rus' 112
 Vorarlberg 397–399
 Vouillé 52, 267, 371
- Walahfrid Strabo 18, 423
 Walgau 421
 Wallonia 400
 Wals 421, 431
 Wamba, king of the Visigoths 373 f.
 Welwyn Hall 403, 408 f., 411
 West Country Britain 405
 Wetti 18, 423
 Willebad, *patricius* 306
 William of Tyre 247
 Willibald, bishop of Eichstätt 245, 420
 Wiltshire 411 f.
 Winichis, duke of Spoleto 204, 210
- Xystus, pope 151
- Yazdgard, Sasanian ruler 464
 Yorkshire 42, 413–415
- Zacharias, pope 153, 162, 176, 182
 Zadar 243 f., 247, 250 f.
 Zama 441
 Zaragoza/Caesaraugusta 384
 Zeno, emperor 459